

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C I V I L W A R S
O F
F R A N C E.

IN WHICH ARE RELATED,

The most remarkable TRANSACTIONS that happened
during the REIGNS of

FRANCIS the Second,
CHARLES the Ninth,
HENRY the Third,

And,
HENRY the Fourth, surnamed
the GREAT.

A NEW TRANSLATION from the ITALIAN of
HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

By ELLIS FARNEWORTH, M. A.

V O L U M E II.

*Bellorum civilium hi semper exitus sunt, ut non ea solum fiant quæ
velit victor, sed etiam ut iis nos gerendus sit quibus adiutoribus
sit parva victoria.*—CICERO Epist. ad familiares, Lib. xii. 18.

L O N D O N,

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M D C C L V I I I.

T O

George Venables Vernon, Esq.

Of S U D B U R Y in D E R B Y S H I R E.

S I R,

A Long series of favours has always determined me to take the first proper occasion of expressing the grateful sense that I have of them. And it gives me a very great degree of pleasure, I can assure you, Sir, that, whilst I beg leave to address this Volume of *Davila* to you, I have likewise an opportunity of publickly acknowledging myself,

S I R,

Your very much obliged,

and most obedient,

humble Servant,

ELLIS FARNEWORTH.



T H E

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F R A N C E.

B O O K X.

A R G U M E N T.

The insurrections occasioned by the death of the Cardinal and Duke of Guise. The union is renewed in Paris and many other cities of the kingdom. The command of the army, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown, is given to the Duke of Mayenne. The King commands a process to be formed upon the actions of the deceased Princes. He continues the Assembly for some time, but at last dissolves it. The different views and inclinations of the Deputies. The King endeavours to appease the Pope, who is highly offended at the Cardinal of Guise's death. He sends the Bishop of Mans to Rome for that purpose: but the Pope is inflexible, and makes bitter complaints in the consistory. The King endeavours to make peace with the Duke of Mayenne, but fails in that design also. The Duke goes to

VOL. II. B Paris,

Paris, and makes preparations for taking up arms: he establishes the general Council of the League, and the particular one of The sixteen at Paris: he dispatches Ministers to Rome to confirm the Pope in his inclination, who, upon that, publishes a monitory against the King of France, and gives great encouragement to the League. The King, being necessitated to begin the war, comes to an agreement with the King of Navarre, and makes a truce with him. The Spanish Ambassador leaves the court, and goes to reside with the heads of the League at Paris. The Pope's Legate departs also, and not having been able to persuade the Duke of Mayenne to consent to a peace, goes out of the kingdom. The war is begun with great fury in every part. The Duke of Montpensier defeats the Gautiers in Normandy. The Kings of France and Navarre meet at Tours. The Duke of Mayenne takes Vendosme, and makes the Count De Brienne prisoner. He attacks the King's infantry in the suburbs of Tours, and makes himself master of many posts. The King of Navarre comes up with his army, upon which the Duke retires, and takes many places in his march to Normandy. The Duke of Aumale besieges Senlis, has an engagement with the Duke of Longueville and Sieur De la Noüe, and loses the day. To repair this loss, the Duke of Mayenne marches towards Paris. The King with his army takes the same rout and follows him; makes himself master of Gergeau, Thiers, Chartres, Eslampes, Montreuil, Poissy, and other places: he joins the Duke of Montpensier. The Swiss and Germans raised for his assistance arrive. He takes the adjacent towns and lays siege to Paris, where the Duke of Mayenne and the people, having but little hopes of defending themselves, yet resolve to hold it out to the last man. James Clement, a Dominican Friar, goes out of the city, is introduced into the King's chamber, and stabs him in the belly with a knife. The King dying, declares the King of Navarre his lawful successor, and persuades him to turn Catholick. The army, and particularly the Nobility, waver in their resolutions: at last they resolve to acknowledge the King of Navarre, provided the Catholick religion might be secured. He makes them a promise, in writing, to embrace the Roman Catholick faith. His army is so much diminished, that he is obliged to raise the siege of Paris: he makes a feint of besieging Rouen, and goes to Dieppe. The Duke of Mayenne, whose army is much increased, follows him thither. They come to several engagements, at Pollet, at Arques, and under the walls of Dieppe. Supplies come to the King from various parts. The Duke of Mayenne marches off and goes into Picardy. The King extends his army towards the isle of France: takes and sacks the suburbs of Paris: goes directly to Tours, and takes many places by the way. He enters that city, is received with great pomp: sits in the Parliament; excuses his delay of changing his religion to the Parliament: marches into lower Normandy, and reduces all that province into his power.

AFTER

AFTER the bloody tragedy, which concluded the year 1588, 1589. there ensued a dreadful alteration of the scene. For the news of the death of the Lords of *Guise* being come the same day to *Orleans*, the next to *Paris*, and from town to town into all parts of the kingdom, it is not possible to conceive how much, not only the common people, who are naturally inclined to take all occasions of change, but all sorts and degrees of persons, and, which seemed very strange, many who in times past had been esteemed prudent and moderate men, were exceedingly enflamed by it. So violent a perturbation of men's minds could not fail of producing very sudden and extraordinary effects in the follies of their fury. For the citizens of *Orleans*, who had long adhered to the League, and during the whole course of the civil wars, always used to be the first in arms, having heard of the Duke of *Guise's* death, and the imprisonment of the rest, by those who had fled with the utmost expedition from *Blois*, and never stopped till they got thither, and particularly by the *Sieur De Rosieux*, one of the Counsellors of the League, openly took arms the very same night, without any determinate resolution, or staying for a head to conduct them; and having either driven out, or overpowered the King's magistrates, who endeavoured to suppress the insurrection, they all ran in a confused manner to attack the castle, in which Monsieur *D'Entragues*, the King's Lieutenant, was at that time, but with a very few soldiers, and, as it usually happens upon sudden emergencies, entirely unprovided with such things as are necessary to defend any place. The people of *Chartres* did the same, though in all the late commotions it had been of the King's party, and having run tumultuously to arms, drove out all those that favoured the King's name, or endeavoured to oppose the revolt, and took the government upon themselves without the concurrence of the magistrates.

But when the news was brought to *Paris* upon *Christmas* eve, about sun-set, first by an express dispatched by Don *Bernardino Mendoza*, and afterwards by *Hippolito Zenzala*, a *Ferrarese*, and one of the Duke of *Guise's* captains, the shops were instantly shut up, and the multitude, with their usual precipitation, ran, some to the *Hôtel de Guise*, where the Duchesses of *Guise* and *Montpensier*, the Duke's wife and sister, then resided, and some to the city gates, to hear more certain tidings and farther particulars of the affair; which when they had learnt, by the arrival of those who fled from *Blois*, and came running directly to *Paris* without making any stop, the people began to set up dismal cries and grievous lamentations, and could not come to any resolution, as there was no one there of sufficient authority to moderate the violence, and regulate the proceedings, of so furious and confused a multitude. For the Dukes of

1589. *Guise*, who was of a soft and tender disposition, was all in tears : and the Duchefs of *Montpensier*, a Lady of high spirit, and of a bold and masculine resolution (who had wounded the King's reputation, and done him more prejudice with her tongue, than all the brothers had done with their swords and machinations joined together) being lame of one foot from her birth, and subject to frequent infirmities, had been ill many days, and was then confined to her bed. Wherefore, the Council of the League, being assembled in the midst of the tumult, resolved to send for *Charles of Lorraine*, Duke of *Aumale*, who having declined going to the Assembly at *Blois*, out of a certain pre-apprehension of the event, had staid at *Paris*, and that very day was retired to his devotions, in a convent of the *Carthusians*, near the city : at whose arrival, though very late, the whole multitude ran to his house, but spent the night only in condolence and lamentations.

The next day the whole city was in mourning ; and after divine service, which was dispatched in great haste, and without the usual solemnity of organs and singing, they went from the churches to the common hall, where the same Council assembled again, together with the most eminent citizens and several of the magistrates ; some of whom came out of anxious curiosity, some for fear of being torn to pieces by the fury of their fellow citizens, and others with a desire to provide some remedy against the unbridled rage and madness of the populace. But it was to no manner of purpose ; for instead of deliberations, there was nothing to be heard but bitter invectives, and abusive menaces against the King : and it was only resolved in general, that till further consideration, the Duke of *Aumale* should be declared Governor of the city, and that under his command they should wait till further intelligence and fresh matter might give them occasion to take other measures ; though at the same time he was not to do or determine upon any thing without the consent of *The council of sixteen*. But as they cried out in a tumultuous manner to have the city put in a proper posture of defence, against the machinations of the *Hugonots*, who, they apprehended, might be encouraged by the event at *Blois*, to attempt something against the peace and security of the publick ; the Duke, having taken upon him the name and authority of Governor, immediately furnished the people with arms, and posted them, under the command of their several officers, to guard the principal places, and to take care that the houses of the citizens were not plundered or molested by seditious people.

The same evening and the next day, the preachers thundered out the praises of the Duke of *Guise*, as a martyr to his religion, and expressed their detestation of a murder so cruelly perpetrated by the King, with such energy from their pulpits, that not only the passions of the common people,

people, but also of the principal citizens, were vehemently excited by their oratory, and enflamed with an eager desire of revenge; which was redoubled both in the preachers and the people, at the news of the Cardinal's death also, and increased to such a degree of rage and madness, that on *Innocent's* day, the 28th of *December*, *The council of sixteen* caused an instrument to be presented to the college of divines, called the *Sorbonne*, in the names of the *Prevôt* and *Eschevins* of the city: in which, after they had set forth, how much the Lords of *Guise* had deserved of the Catholick church, and in how barbarous a manner they had been murdered by the King, for professing themselves protectors of the faith, they desired to know, whether he might not be lawfully deemed to have forfeited his Crown, and whether his subjects (notwithstanding their oath of allegiance) were not at liberty to withdraw their obedience from him, as a hypocrite, an open favourer of heresy, a persecutor of the holy church, and one who had imbrued his hands in the blood of a person that was of the eminent and sacred order of a Cardinal.

The college of *Sorbonne* being assembled, there was no great debate amongst them. For though *John Fabry*, Dean of the college, a man of deep learning, together with *Robert Vauvarin* and *Dennis Sorbin*, two of the senior Doctors, argued, that if what was set forth in the instrument could be proved (which however was very doubtful) the King could not even then be said to have forfeited his kingdom, nor was it lawful for his subjects to withdraw their allegiance from him: Yet so great was the ardour of the younger divines, who had been spurred up by the sermons of *William Rozè* Bishop of *Senlis*, the Rectors of *St. Paul* and *St. Eustache*, of *John Vincestre*, *John Hamilton*, Father *James Commolet*, a Jesuit, Father *Bernard*, a *Feuillant*, and of Father *Francis Feu-ardent*, a *Franciscan*, that they unanimously concurred in the determination of both points, and declared that the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his subjects not only might, but ought to throw off their obedience, and, for the service of the State, had a legal right to enter into confederacies, to impose subsidies, to raise forces, to dispose of the revenues of the Crown, and to do all other things which were necessary and convenient for the support of the Catholick religion and their own security. They added, with the same unanimity, that this decree ought to be sent to the Pope, to be confirmed and authenticated by him in such a manner, that the validity of it might not, in any wise, be called in question for the time to come: after which declaration, the people, having broke loose from all bonds of obedience, and entirely thrown off the reins of modesty, ran furiously to break down the King's arms and statues wherever they found them, and began to hunt about with great eagerness for all such as were dependent upon him, whom they called *Navarrists* and

1589. and *Politicks*. This insolent and tumultuous search forced many peaceable men, and such as were averse to these turbulent methods, to leave their houses, in order to save their lives: many others were obliged to pay a pecuniary composition; and some (though the Duke of *Alençon* took great pains to prevent it) unfortunately lost their lives. Whilst things were proceeding in this manner with infinite disorder, all the streets were full of arms, uproar, and confusion, the very meanest of the people trampling upon the ensigns of royalty, and treating them with the most scandalous and intolerable insolence. All the churches echoed with the harangues of the preachers, in aggravation of the parricide committed by *Henry of Valois*, whom they no longer styled King of *France*, but heretick, tyrant, and persecutor of the holy church: and every place was full of libels both in prose and verse, which amplified and exaggerated the same things in different manners.

But *The council of sixteen*, being desirous to reduce the city wholly into their own hands, and seeing the Parliament divided, one part of which was inclined to side with the people, and the other to persevere in their obedience to the King, resolved that the Presidents and Counsellors that declared for the King's party, should not only be deprived of their offices, as enemies to the publick good, but committed close prisoners to the *Bastile*; plainly foreseeing, that if they continued at liberty, and had power to act as they pleased, they would oppose many of their measures, and interrupt the union amongst the other citizens, which would be attended with very great and manifest danger. Having determined therefore, in the first place, amongst themselves what was to be done, after they had brought all the heads of the people over to their opinion, on the 16th of *January* they beset the palace-hall with a great number of armed men, where, according to custom, the Counsellors of the Parliament were met together, and having secured all the passages, and placed guards at every door, they called out *Achille de Harlay*, first President of the Parliament, and all the rest by name that they had determined to seize upon, who being come, without any hesitation, to the door, to know what they wanted with them, and pretty well guessing what would be the event, the *Sieur De Buffi*, who was deputed to execute that commission, gave them orders to follow him; which command, as it was founded upon force, they obeyed without resistance, and were led, through the insults and reproaches of the people, to the *Bastile*: *Pierre Seguier* and *James Augustus de Thou* only had the good fortune to make their escape in a private manner, who adhering to the King's side, had laboured earnestly to dissuade the Parliament from taking part in the insurrection.

The favourers of the League being encouraged, and the opposers of it terrified, by this violent manner of proceeding, the rest of the Presidents
and

and Counsellors chose *Barnaby Briffon*, a man of profound learning and singular eloquence, but of a hot and changeable temper, and consequently very apt to alter his opinion upon any slight occasion, to be the first President and head of the Parliament; which being afterwards solemnly assembled, to the number of an hundred and sixty, a publick declaration was made by them, in which they assented to the deposing of the King, and to the freeing the city of those persons that had been turned out and committed to prison; in whose places others were immediately substituted. Nor were they satisfied with this: but, to give form to their proceedings, the Parliament being assembled again upon the 30th of *January*, they made an ample decree, to unite and combine themselves for the defence of the Catholick religion, the preservation of *Paris*, and such other cities as should enter into that League, to oppose the power of those that, in violation of the publick faith, had taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes and defenders of the holy church, in the face of the States-General assembled, to take due revenge for their murder, and do justice to those that were injured; and finally, to defend the liberty and dignity of the States of *France* against all persons whatsoever, without exception. Which decree was subscribed and sworn to by the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, by the Duke of *Aumale*, Governor, the *Prevôt de Marchands*, the *Eschevins* of the city, and afterwards not only by a great number of the Clergy and Noblesse, but of the common people also: and this confederacy, besides the usual name and title of the League, was more particularly called *The holy union*. After this decree, Madam *De Guise*, the late Duke's wife, came to the Parliament; where having made her complaint in the usual form, and demanded justice for the murder committed upon her husband; and the Cardinal her brother-in-law, recounting all the services which the house of *Guise* had done to the Catholick religion and to the Crown; and exaggerating the barbarity of that slaughter, under the sanction of the publick faith, and in the presence of the States-General of the kingdom: the Parliament, in which all the several *chambers* were solemnly assembled, decreed that justice should be done her; and chose two Counsellors to institute a formal process, with the usual ceremonies, forbidding all others to interfere, or to take any information in that affair; which they added, because they knew there was a strict inquisition making, by the King's order, into the things that had been done by the Princes of *Lorraine* in their life-time.

At the insurrection of the Parliament and city of *Paris*, as at a beacon or signal for war, the chief cities and most warlike people in *France* took arms likewise, which caused a general rising. For as the news of the death of the Lords of *Guise*, and of the resolution of the *Parisians*, was

1589. carried from one town to another, this popular fury also successively spread itself, like a raging flame, in such a manner, that not only *Orleans* and *Chartres*, which had taken arms at the very first, but *Meaux*, *Cressy*, *Chateau-Pierre-font*, *Corbeil*, *Melun*, *St. Dennis*, *Pontoise*, *Senlis*, *Crcil*, *Clermont*, and all the towns round the isle of *France*, joined in the union of the *Parisians*. The city of *Roien* likewise revolted, together with the greater part of the Parliament of *Normandy*, *Louviers*, *Mante*, *Vernon*, *Lisieux*, *Ponteau de Mer*, *Havre de Grace*, *Honfleur*, *Eureux*, *Fougeres*, *Falaise*, *Argentan*, *Montvilliers*, *Dreux*, and, except *Caën* and the country of *Coûtance*, all the cities and strong places of that rich and extensive province. The same example was followed by *Picardy*, where *Amiens*, *Cambray*, *Abbeville*, *Soissons*, *Laon*, and many other places, took part with the union. *Champagne*, a province governed by the Duke of *Guise*, did the like; for *Rheims*, *Troyes*, *Vitry*, *Chateau-Thierry*, and all the other towns, except *Châlons*, declared for the League without any demur. Nor were the people any quieter or more moderate in *Burgundy*; for *Dijon*, with the Parliament of that province, *Mascon*, *Lux*, and several other towns, threw themselves into the arms of the same party: As did the Parliament of *Aix*, the capital of *Provence*, *Marseilles*, *Carcassonne*, and *Narbonne*, the city of *Bourges* (where the law is chiefly studied) *Mans* in the county of *Mayne*, and other towns of less note. In upper *Languedec*, the Parliament and city of *Thoulouse* took arms in a furious manner, and drew many others after them. In *Auvergne*, the Count *De Randan*, with *Clermont*, *Montferrant*, *St. Porcin*, *Issiére*, and divers other towns and fortresses likewise associated with the union. In *Bretagne*, the Duke *De Mercœur*, forgetting that he was brother-in-law to the King, and had been enriched and preferred by him to that government, was determined, by the interests of his family, and the pretensions that he himself had to that province, in right of his wife, to side with the League. *Nantes*, a city of great consequence, together with *Vannes*, *Quimperlay*, and almost all that province, so full of riches and Nobility, followed his example. In *Guyenne*, the tumult ran exceeding high; at *Bordeaux*, a very large city, where the Governor of the province resides, and which is the seat of the Parliament. But the Marshal *De Matignon*, who held that government in the King's name, with his usual courage and readiness opposed them so effectually, that after he had driven the rebels out of the city, and got the better of them with very little bloodshed, he happily retained it in its obedience to the King; yet *Agen*, *Perrigucux*, and many other towns in that province, went over to the League. The city of *Lions* was the last that rose, as it had been prevented by the opposition of Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, and of the *Swiss* and *Italian* merchants. But the great numbers of the common people got the upper

hand at last: so that the majority resolved to turn to the League, and to invite the Duke of *Nemours* to come to them, who had had that government conferred upon him by the King, to gratify the Duke of *Guise* not long before his death, and had made his escape out of prison at *Blois*. 1589.

The example of the cities and common people, was imitated by no small number of the Nobility in the several provinces, who not only drew after them a large train of tenants and peasants, but also brought over many castles and strong-holds, in which Noblemen commonly reside in all parts of *France*, both for greater dignity and security. So that the party of the League was not only grown very numerous by the junction of so many principal cities, but also was much strengthened by the concurrence of the Nobility, of whom the forces of that Crown chiefly consist. By the course of this almost universal insurrection (which was foreseen and prophetically foretold by the Queen Mother, upon her death-bed) all the provinces of the kingdom were so divided and dismembered, that not only cities declared against cities, and castles against castles, but the Nobility, Gentlemen, and meaner persons, were so embittered against other, and proceeded in so furious and hostile a manner, that they trampled upon the laws, broke all bonds of charity, drove the magistrates out of every place, and of their own accord, without waiting for orders from their superiors, began a most tragical and dreadful civil war, with fire, slaughter, rapine, and devastation of every kind. For as neither the designs of any city, nor the inclinations of this or that particular man, were yet thoroughly known, every one gratified his private interests and resentments in the publick disturbances, fortifying places that were abandoned, in such a manner as they thought proper, seizing upon those already fortified, lying in wait to kill their adversaries, making rich men prisoners, pillaging the country people, robbing upon the highways, committing the most horrible and unheard of outrages, and without the least apprehensions of justice, or any form of government amongst them, filled every place with terror, lamentation, and confusion. So that all commerce being of necessity interrupted, the roads infested, both the Gentry and the common people in arms, and even the very Clergy surrounded with guards and armed for their own security: sometimes under the names of *Huguenots* and *Catholicks*, sometimes of Royalists and Leaguers, sometimes of the Holy Union and *White forces*, they seemed to be possessed with a fatal and general frenzy, and bent upon the destruction of their common country.

But the King, to whom the news of these insurrections was brought every hour from all parts, was exceeding solicitous to appease the Disturbances, and to convince them of the necessity he had lain under of fleeing

1589. himself from the Lords of the house of *Lorrain*. For he thought, if they returned into their respective countries with the impresson of his arguments upon their minds, it might very much conduce to allay the fury of the people, who were now in so violent a ferment, and reduce the cities to their wonted obedience. For which reasons, he caused a very strict inquisition to be made into the correspondencies that had been held by the Lords of *Guise*, both within and without the kingdom, the pensions they had received from *Spain*, and particularly into the proofs of their having been privy to the conspiracy of the Duke of *Savoy*, by which he had possessed himself of the marquissate of *Saluzzo*, a very valuable appendage of the Crown, though beyond the *Alps*. And in this they proceeded by the lights which they had from the writings, letters, and accounts that had been found amongst the Duke of *Guise's* papers, and by the depositions of prisoners: Monsieur *De Monthelon*, Keeper of the Seals, and two Masters of the Requests, assisting to form the process, and to examine witnesses.

But the secret resolutions of the States were various, though they all tended to the same purpose. For those who had before adhered to the King, being confirmed and encouraged by what had happened, contended more boldly and strenuously for the royal authority, and endeavoured to have every thing concluded according to his desires. But the partisans of the League, and those that depended upon the house of *Guise*, being afraid of their own persons, used all means to get the Assembly dissolved in any manner whatsoever, that they might freely depart; with a resolution to dispose of themselves afterwards, according to their own inclinations, notwithstanding any thing that should be determined in the Assembly, which they considered as extorted by fear and compulsion: and though the King was convinced of this by more proofs than one, and very well knew that every one put on a smooth countenance, in order to get liberty to withdraw himself: Yet as he was desirous to justify his actions, he again confirmed the edict of union in the States, hoping thereby to extinguish all suspicion in the Legate (who earnestly pressed for that declaration) and in his Catholick subjects, of his adhering to the *Hugonots*, or of labouring to promote the King of *Navarre's* succession, whilst that Prince continued in disobedience to the Catholick church. After this, he confirmed the edicts that had been made for the moderation of taxes, and lessening the number of offices, and proceeded in the same manner in all other things, taking much pains to shew that he had done all this of his own accord, without being compelled to it by the Duke of *Guise*. Many other decrees were also made concerning the forms of judicature, and matters relating to the ease and relief of the people. And in this manner the States broke up; the most suspected

of the Deputies striving to outdo each other in dissimulation, and pretended zeal for his Majesty's person and service. Amongst whom were the Count *De Brisac*, the Sieur *De Bois-dauphin*, *Bernard* the Advocate, and others, who as soon as they were got away from *Blois*, immediately joined the party of the League again. 1589.

Amidst the daily accounts of so many insurrections, the King was particularly concerned at the loss of *Orleans*, for it had cost him much pains, and he had taken all possible methods to secure it, as a city that lay near him, situated upon the great road to *Paris*, and very convenient to make his head quarters in time of war. And though, immediately after the death of the Duke of *Guise*, he had first sent thither the Sieur *De Dunis*, brother to Monsieur *D'Entragues*, and then the Marshal *D'Aumont*, with a party of his own guards, yet *Claude de Lorraine*, Knight of *Jerusalem*, and brother to the Duke of *Aumale*, coming to the assistance of the people, with supplies sent by the *Parisians*, they assaulted it with so much resolution and obstinacy, that for want of ammunition and other things necessary to defend it, the Marshal *D'Aumont* marched out of it with four hundred men at the end of *January*, and those few that he left were obliged to surrender to the people, so that the city came wholly into the power of the League.

But above all things, the means of appeasing the Pope kept the King in the greatest perplexity. For though the Legate, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *France*, had shewn himself very inclinable to favour his party from the beginning, and ready to represent what had been done, in the most advantageous manner for him at *Rome*, yet he was not certain in what light the Pope would look upon it, as he was at so great a distance, and perhaps might have received ill impressions, both from the reports of the League and the officiousness of the *Spaniards*. For which reason, he, presently after the Duke of *Guise's* death, sent a full and circumstantial account of all that had passed to *John Vivonne*, Marquis of *Pisani*, his Ambassador at *Rome*, that he might be furnished with answers to such things as should be objected, and enabled to excuse his proceedings in a proper manner. And as he was just going before to dispatch *Girolamo Gondi*, a *Florentine*, to the Pope, to intreat him to make the Cardinal of *Guise* his Legate at *Avignon*, he now altered his commission, giving him orders to take post and make all possible haste to *Rome*, in order to excite the death of the same Cardinal to his Holiness, and, if there should be occasion, to solicit absolution for it.

But the Pope having received the news of the Duke's death first, did not seem to give himself much trouble about it, and turning to the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, who was present, said, "So it generally happens to
" men that run such lengths, and then have not sense enough to take

1589. "care of themselves." But four days after, when the news arrived of the Cardinal's death also, and the imprisonment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Archbishop of *Lions*, as he was a man of a most furious and precipitate temper, he fell into such a rage, that he stormed like a madman, and ordering the Ambassadors to be called into his presence, acquainted them with the news he had received, in very rough and severe terms, complaining, in the bitterest manner, that the King had dared, in contempt of the ecclesiastical immunities, the privileges and dignity of the purple, and of all laws both human and divine, to put a Cardinal to death, and to commit two other most eminent Prelates to close prison; threatening at the same time to proceed against the Cardinal Legate in the severest manner, who, though he resided at the King's court, had not taken care to prevent him from committing so atrocious a crime.

Upon this, the Marquis of *Pisani* and *Girolamo Gondi* (who was then arrived) in a modest and dutiful manner, though with great firmness and spirit, set forth the reasons of the King's proceedings, the crime of high treason, of which the Cardinals of *Guise* and *Bourbon*, and the Archbishop of *Lions*, had all been guilty; the vastness of their power and authority, by which they had not only disabled him from punishing them according to the usual forms of justice, but a few months before had audaciously forced him out of his own palace, and obliged him to fly from *Paris* in disguise to save his life. The state of his affairs, they said, was reduced to such a pass, by the practices and machinations carried on and fomented by the brothers of *Lorraine*, in the Assembly of the States, that except the King would submit to live in the condition of a pupil, or to give up his Crown, he was necessitated to punish them, though without the usual ceremonies of justice, yet not without most apparent reason, as their crimes were so heinous and manifest, that he, as King and supreme magistrate, had a right to judge and punish them in any manner whatsoever. That if nothing else, surely the contempt they had shewn of religion, in making use of so many solemn oaths and sacraments of the holy church, only as means to deceive him, had rendered them unworthy of his Holiness's protection, who might easily inform and certify himself by many proofs, that it was not to protect and defend the Catholick faith (which no man could hold in greater veneration than his Majesty) but to indulge their own ambition, and to usurp the Crown from the lawful heirs, that they had so often, and with the loss of so many souls, disturbed and distracted the whole kingdom. Finally, that the King was an obedient son of the church, desirous to satisfy the Pope in all things possible, and for that reason had sent *Girolamo Gondi* to intreat and beseech his Holiness to give him his blessing, that he might be assured he was not dissatisfied nor offended. But the Pope, very far from being appealed or prevailed

vailed upon to do that, replied, "That *Gondi* had been dispatched about
 " a different affair, and that he knew it very well : that the King was
 " so far from being an obedient son, and suing for absolution, that he
 " persevered in his sin, and kept the two chief Prelates of *France*, who
 " were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolick See, still in
 " prison : and that if the Cardinal of *Guise* and the rest had so highly
 " offended, as the Ambassadors reported, the King ought to have de-
 " manded justice from him, to whom it belonged to judge them, and
 " that he should have known very well how to administer it." And be-
 " cause they answered, " That as Ambassadors and persons in a publick
 " character, they ought to be credited in what they had represented con-
 " cerning the King's desire, and the blessing which they demanded in
 " his name ;" the Pope replied, " That they were Ambassadors sent
 " only to treat of temporal matters relating to the kingdom of *France* ;
 " but that contrition and confession were to precede absolution *in foro*
 " *conscientiæ* : and therefore it was necessary to send an extraordinary
 " embassy and a person expressly for that purpose : and to convince him
 " of the sincerity of his repentance, he ought to set the Prelates at liberty
 " that were in prison. That the King and the Ambassadors thought to
 " impose upon him, but they should find they had not to do with a no-
 " vice, but one that was determined to support the dignity of the Holy
 " See to the last drop of his blood ;" and having dismissed them with
 " many harsh expressions, and a countenance full of passion, he caused the
 " Consistory to be called together the next morning, and there made a fu-
 " rious speech : in which he accused the King, in the presence of the Car-
 " dinals, reprehending those that excused or defended him, and threatening
 " to punish Cardinal *Morefimi* in the severest manner, who, forgetting the
 " person he represented, had suffered the privileges and dignity of the holy
 " church to be trampled under foot, without any sense of the affront. Af-
 " ter this, he appointed a certain number of Cardinals to consult of such
 " things as concerned the kingdom of *France* ; the chief of whom were
 " *Serbelloni*, *Fachinetti*, *Lancellotto*, *Cajagni*, and *Di Santa Severina*,
 " which raised the attention of every one, and filled the world with ex-
 " ceeding great expectation.

In the mean time the affairs of the League began to gather strength
 and take form in *France*. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, having privately
 departed from *Lions* the same night that he heard the news of his bro-
 ther's death, apprehending, as it happened, that the King would use his
 endeavours to get him into his hands, came in great perplexity and un-
 certainty into the province of *Burgundy*, of which he was Governor, and
 retired to *Mafcon* : from whence he began to tamper with the other towns
 of that province, particularly with the city and castle of *Dijon*, com-
 manded

1589. manded by the Baron *De Luz*, nephew to the Archbishop of *Lions*; and finding the city, Parliament, and Governor of the castle all ready to receive him and to follow his fortune, he took fresh courage and went thither: from whence he immediately sent the Commendatory *Francis Diu*, Knight of *Jerusalem*, to the Pope, a man well acquainted at the court of *Rome*, and one of the chief and ancient abettors of the League, that he might complain of his brother's death to his Holiness, and beseech him to take the remains of the League, now extremely depressed and afflicted, into his protection. Whilst the Duke staid there, not very well determined what course to take, he received letters from his sister *Madam De Montpensier*, which acquainted him with the revolt of the *Parisians*, and of all the neighbouring towns, exhorting him to behave like a man, and take the command of the League upon him, as his brothers had done; as there was great probability not only of revenging their deaths, but of bringing the first design of the League to a happy conclusion. This exhortation, and these good tidings, added to the news of the revolt of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, gave the Duke such courage, that the letters which the King wrote to him, though conceived in very obliging terms, and which came to his hands soon after, could not prevail upon him to listen to a peace, which at first, perhaps, he would have been very ready to embrace. The purport of his Majesty's letters was, "That he had been forced by necessity to depart from his own natural disposition, to preserve himself against the conspiracies which the Duke and Cardinal his brothers had plotted, and in a manner brought to the point of execution. That nevertheless he had not proceeded with so much severity as any other person would have done, but satisfied himself with taking off the principals, and leaving all the rest alive, who, he hoped, would acknowledge and amend their former errors. That he had not been moved to act as he had done by hatred or passion of any kind, but had always not only loved, but favoured and exalted their family, as he was desirous to do again for the time to come. That therefore he prayed him not to let himself be transported by too immoderate an affection for his brothers, but to remember that he had been absolutely compelled to act in that manner, by those attempts which he was very well assured had ever been disapproved by him, who was so far from encouraging their ambition and evil designs: for which reason he had always been ready to advance him, and often conferred the command of his armies upon him, as he knew him to be a man utterly averse to those wicked schemes, which others had intended to put in execution. He exhorted him to persevere in that good and laudable resolution, not to make himself an instrument to divide the Catholick party, and to tear out the bowels of their common country, nor to associate with factious

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and ambitious men, from which, even in the fervour of his youth, he had ever refrained: but to shew that he was governed by a regard for the publick good, and his duty towards his Prince, and not by those private passions which usually prevail in mean and vulgar minds: and that he would sincerely unite with him, to preserve the peace of the Catholics, and to make war upon the *Hugonots*; which if he would consent to, he offered to give him all manner of security, and any reasonable satisfaction that he could desire. 1589.

But the Duke had now turned his attention upon other objects, and could not be induced to believe that he could ever be secure, much less favoured by the King, who, he thought, gave him those fair words, only because he had escaped the net: and considering the great commotions in the kingdom, he was not without hopes of attaining to a still higher degree of power and authority, than ever his brothers had possessed. So that both his hopes and desires tending to the same end, and thinking himself bound in honour so to do, he determined to seek revenge, and to try if he could obtain the command of the Catholick faction. In which resolution he was absolutely confirmed, upon the arrival of Madam *De Montpensier*, who, without any regard to her own health or the rigour of the season, had come to him with great expedition at *Dijon*. By her earnest exhortations, and the instigations of the Duke of *Aumale*, and many others of the faction, who wrote to him for that purpose, he at last consented to take up arms and to prosecute the designs of the League, declaring himself head of the Holy Union.

After he had taken this resolution, he immediately gave orders to the Sieurs *De Rhosne*, *De St. Paul*, *Chamois*, and *D'Esclavoies*, to recruit their regiments of French infantry, and began to summon the Nobility and Gentry, his dependents, to come in to him, and to endeavour to gain the affections of the people in every place. And as his principal dependence was upon the city of *Paris*, he determined to return thither with Madam *De Montpensier*, as the road was now secure by the taking of the castle of *Orleans*, and by the revolt of *Bourges*, *Troyes*, and *Chartres*. The Duke passed through all those cities, raising forces, and drawing them together, some paid with his own money, some brought in by his friends and adherents, and others furnished by the people. And having already assembled the number of four thousand private men and five hundred Gentlemen, he came, on the 15th of February, to the city of *Paris*. There the Duke and Chevalier *D'Aumale*, putting themselves willingly under his command, and The council of sixteen, with the unanimous consent of the citizens, acknowledging him for their head; the Parliament, having assembled all the chambers or several courts, at the proposal of *Barnaby Brisson*, who had been made first President by the League,

1589. League, declared him Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, with the same power and authority, except the name, that their Kings had usually enjoyed : which yet was to continue no longer than till the States should otherwise determine, as they were to meet at *Paris* in the month of *July* following. Thus the Duke of *Guise's* death was the occasion of his brother's advancement, who with great ease and the general concurrence of the faction, arrived at that degree of power, which he, whilst alive, had in vain taken so much pains, and laid so many deep schemes to obtain for himself. On the 22d of *February*, the Duke took possession of this extraordinary dignity, having first taken a solemn oath, to protect and defend the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick religion against all manner of persons whatsoever : to preserve the dominions belonging to the Crown of *France* entire : to support the privileges of the three orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons ; to cause the laws and constitutions of the kingdom to be observed, and due deference to be paid to the power and authority of Parliaments. After this oath, and many processions and calling upon the name of God, he chose and appointed the council of the Union, consisting of forty of the most able and eminent persons of the League, which, with his assistance, was to deliberate upon and determine the most weighty affairs ; whilst *The council of sixteen*, which still was to subsist, had the particular care of the government of *Paris*.

Having thus taken the command of the League upon him, the Duke not only began to augment his troops, and to form his army, that he might march with it whithersoever occasion should require ; but allotted forces and appointed commanders to conduct the affairs of the League in every province, and to make war upon all those that were yet of the King's party. The Duke of *Merœur*, Governor of *Bretagne*, neither regarding the exhortations of the King, nor the intreaties of his sister, to unite with them, had, by his example and authority, excited all that province to revolt, except the Parliament of *Rennes* and some few towns and little castles ; so that he was grown very strong and powerful there. But the case was different in *Normandy* : for though the greatest part of the towns had declared for the League, yet the Nobility adhered to the King's party ; so that their chiefs there were but few and separated : the *Sieur De la Londe* was at *Roüen*, *Andrew de Brancas* *Sieur De Villars* at *Harvre de Grace*, *Longchamp* at *Lisieux*, and the Baron *D'Echaufour* in the country of *Perche* : wherefore, the Duke sent the Count *De Brijac* thither with command over them all. The Duke of *Aumale* went into *Picardy*, of which he was Governor, a divided province, but of great importance to the League, as it bordered upon the territories of his Catholick Majesty. The Count *De Chaligni* and Colonel *St. Paul*, an old servant bred up in the house of *Guise*, went into *Champagne*, in the government of

which, the young Duke, who was yet in prison, was destined to succeed his father. The Count *De Tavannes*, an old and experienced soldier, had orders to command in *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* own government. The care of *Lionnois* was committed to the Duke of *Nemours*, and in his absence to his brother the Marquis *St. Sorlin*. The command of *Berry* was continued to the Sieur *De la Chastre*, who being Field-Marshal in the Duke of *Nevers's* army, as soon as he could get quit of that commission, followed the party of the League, as he formerly had done. The Count *De Randan* had the chief command in *Auvergne*, and in *Provence* the Marquis *De Villars* and the Sieur *De Vins*, an old adherent of the house of *Guise*. The Dukes of *Joyeuse*, one father, and the other brother to him that was killed in the engagement at *Coutras* with the King of *Navarre*, had the government of *Gascony*, in which province the party of the confederates was not very strong. And in *Dauphiné*, *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, they had but few friends, except the city and Parliament of *Toulouse*.

But before all these preparations, the Duke had dispatched *Lazarus de Coguicille*, Counsellor of the *Parisian* Parliament, to *Rome*, with two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to get the decree of their college confirmed, by which they had determined that the King had forfeited his Crown, and that his subjects might lawfully withdraw their obedience from him: as the Duke plainly foresaw, that a popular cause, wholly founded upon the pretext of religion, must, in a great measure, depend, for support and encouragement, upon the approbation of the Holy See.

But the King, who labour'd under his usual melancholy, though he disssembled it, and since the death of his mother, had been many days troubled with the bloody flux, was no less solicitous about the event of his application to *Rome*, than the Duke of *Mayenne*; not only on account of the uneasiness it gave him to live at variance with the Holy See, as he had a very great veneration for religion, but because, in this case, he was of the same opinion with those of the League, and saw that the foundation of all the adverse party's hopes consisted in approbation and encouragement from the court of *Rome*. Upon which account, though he had absolution given him for the death of the Cardinal, by virtue of a brief that he obtained a few months before from the present Pope, by which he might cause himself to be absolved, even in all reserved cases, by his ordinary Confessor; yet, as he thought this was not sufficient, he sent *Claude D'Angennes*, of his favourite family of *Rambouillet*, and Bishop of *Mans*, a Prelate of deep learning and singular eloquence, who, being thoroughly acquainted with all his reasons, might solicit his absolution from the Pope, and endeavour to make his peace with the Holy

1589. See, to which he was ready to give all manner of satisfaction that his own security would admit of.

As soon as the Bishop of *Mans* arrived at *Rome*, and had conferred with the other Ambassadors, they went all together to demand an audience of the Pope. At which, after the usual compliments, and professions of the most profound submission, they said in the first place, "That they conceived the King had not incurred any censure, as he had not violated the ecclesiastical liberties and immunities: for that the Cardinal was guilty of the crime of rebellion; in which case, the Prelates of *France*, notwithstanding any dignity they may be in possession of, are always understood to be subject to the secular jurisdiction: and so much the more, because, he having been a Peer of *France*, his cause naturally ought to have been tried in the court of Peers, which is no other than the High Court of Parliament, with the assistance of the Princes and great Officers of the Crown. So that if the King had infringed any jurisdiction, it was that of the Parliament, and not the ecclesiastical one, which had nothing to do with the Peers of *France*." But as the Pope was so far from being satisfied with this argument, that he seemed still more provoked and offended at it, alledging the privileges and dignity of Cardinals, who, he said, were immediately subject to the Pope, and no other; the Ambassadors in the next place insisted, "That the Kings of *France* could not incur censure for any sentence they should pass; and urged the privileges of the Most Christian Kings, and the jurisdiction of the *Gallican* church." But this incensed the Pope to such a degree, that he bid them, "take heed how they advanced any thing that favoured of heresy, as this did, for in such case he should make them feel the weight of his displeasure." To which the Marquis replied, "That as Ambassadors, their persons could not be injured nor touched, and that no fear of any kind should ever deter them from asserting his Majesty's rights." Yet as the design of their embassy was to appease and not exasperate the Pope, they alledged, in the third place, "That the King, by virtue of the Apostolick brief granted to him by his Holiness, had caused himself to be absolved, and therefore they only desired, as his Holiness very well knew he had granted him such a brief, that he would either be pleased to confirm it, or not offended, if the King, setting a due value upon it, had availed himself of it in time of need: for as he had not leisure to consider the matter very maturely in a conjuncture of so great danger, and never had any intention to offend the jurisdiction of the Holy See, so, after he had been made sensible of it, he had been touched with a scruple of conscience, and had prostrated himself at the feet of his Confessor, and both desired and obtained absolution, as far as the occasion required, though he could not think he had

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“ been guilty of any real transgression.” To this the Pope answered, 1589.
 “ That the brief was granted for things past, but could not extend to
 “ future sins, the absolution of which could not be anticipated. That
 “ such a case as this, in which the honour of the Apostolick See was im-
 “ mediately wounded, and all Christendom scandalized, was not com-
 “ prehended in that brief: And that the purport of it was only to be ex-
 “ plained by him that granted it. which he now declared, affirming,
 “ that it had never been his intention that the King should receive abso-
 “ lution for his future transgressions, and for so evident a violation of the
 “ dignity of the Cardinalate.”

After this sollicitation had been often renewed, and the reciprocal al-
 legations of right and authority frequently discussed, the Ambassadors at
 last condescended to petition the Pope, in writing, for absolution, as he had
 expressed a desire of having them do so, and said it would be a means of
 appeasing and satisfying him. So that, after the good offices of the *Ve-*
netian and *Florentine* Ambassadors, who had received orders from their
 respective states to exert their utmost endeavours in the King's favour, the
 Bishop, in a very submissive petition, desired absolution from the Pope:
 who answered, in a gracious manner, “ That he should grant it with plea-
 “ sure, as soon as ever he was assured of the King's contrition, which he
 “ could wish he would convince him of, by setting the Cardinal of *Bour-*
ben and the Archbishop of *Lions* at liberty, as he could not prevail upon
 “ himself to grant him absolution for one crime, whilst he was in the
 “ actual commission of another, that was of no less prejudice to the Apo-
 “ stolick See, and which he could not put up.” At this the Ambassadors,
 and those that seconded their application, were exceedingly perplexed,
 as they thought themselves deceitfully used; and that other sort of treatment
 was due to the King of *France*: so that, after a recapitulation of the argu-
 ments that had been urged at former conferences, they added, “ That
 “ by setting those Prelates at liberty, his Majesty would but increase the
 “ flame in his kingdom, to the evident danger of his life and crown, and
 “ therefore, that it was not adviseable to release them.” To which the
 Pope replied, “ That they ought to be sent prisoners to him: for if he
 “ found them guilty, he knew which way to punish them.” But the
 Ambassadors answered, in the first place, “ That the cognizance of things
 “ in his own state properly belonged to the King: and in the next, that
 “ the whole kingdom (thanks to their conspiracies) was in such a fer-
 “ ment, that they could not be sent; for all the country near the *Alps*,
 “ and round about the place where they were, being up in arms, it was
 “ not possible to remove them, nor to conduct them securely: and there-
 “ fore the King was not obliged to impossibilities.” But the Pope obsti-
 nately persisting in his demand, the Ambassadors at last agreed to write

1589. about it to their court, and insisted, that in the mean time, as the King had humbled himself, and submitted to the Apostolick See, the decree of the *Sorbonne* ought to be revoked and nullified, not only as irregular and unjust, but insolent and prejudicial to the rights of the Holy See, of which those divines made so little account, that they had dared to determine a point of so great consequence, as the deposing of a King; a power which, though it should be granted to belong to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, could yet only be lodged in the highest, which is in the Vicar of *Christ*, and not in that of a petulant college, consisting of a few passionate and corrupted persons. But even this was also refused. For though the Pope confessed, that the decree was presumptuous and worthy of censure, yet he said he would defer that, till the King had given him full satisfaction.

This seeming very strange to the Ambassadors, as they had proposed all those spiritual satisfactions, which they could offer, even to the prejudice of the Crown, and with so much humility, that more could not be desired from a King, they resolved to try another way: and the Marquis, who had married a *Roman* Lady, began, by means of her relations, to treat with Donna *Camilla* the Pope's sister, offering, amongst other presents that should be made to the Pope's family, if absolution was obtained by their good offices, to give the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* in fee-farm to his nephew Don *Michael*, which the King engaged to recover at his own expence from the Duke of *Savoy*, as soon as he had made peace with the Catholics in his own kingdom. But neither could this prevail upon the obduracy of the Pope: partly, because the Marquisate was now in such hands, that it could not be obtained without a tedious war: partly, because he saw the kingdom of *France* involved in such distractions, and the Catholick party so strong, that he was in doubt whether his absolution would be sufficient to compose them and restore peace. Besides, at this very time, the Abbé *D'Orbais* arrived at *Rome*, who had been sent by the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Dukes of *Nemours*, Madam *De Montpensier*, and other heads of the League, in the first place, to magnify the strength of the union, into which, he said, almost all the principal cities of *France* had entered, with an infinite number of the Nobility and Commons; so that now the King was deposed and deprived of his Crown, not only in writing, but fact: And in the next, to complain of the inclination which the Pope shewed to absolve *Henry of Valois*, as they called him; by which he, who was head of the Catholick church, and whom it concerned more than any other person to promote the holy union, which had been contracted for the defence of religion, and the privileges and dignity of the Holy See, shewed, that he made but small account of it: that the imputations of treason and rebellion, which were cast upon the memory of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise*, were false and groundless; for they had never taken up

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arms against the King, nor ever conspired against him; but had always shewn due obedience and veneration to the royal name, and supported and defended the Catholick religion against all the forces and machinations of the *Hugonots*. That it was well known to every one, how *Francis* the Duke their father, had lost his life in the service of the Crown and the church of God, as also the Duke of *Aumale* their uncle, slain fighting under the walls of *Rochelle* for the Catholick faith. That it was likewise manifest, how much the late Duke of *Guise* had laboured, and what he had undergone, whilst he bore arms in the cause of his Prince and his religion. That he had carried the scars of those wounds in his face as long as he lived, which he had received whilst he was valiantly fighting against the army of the *Reiters*, for the defence of the provinces and confines of the kingdom. That he had defended the city of *Poitiers*, when it was so long and obstinately besieged by the *Hugonots*, and bravely led up the first squadrons against them at the victories of *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*. That, last of all, he had not only exposed himself, and all his friends, with a handful men, to the fury of that formidable army of *German* Protestants, but absolutely conquered and dispersed it, to the preservation of the kingdom and all good Christians. That in all these toils and dangers, he had never pretended to any thing else but to serve the King, and defend the Catholicks from the imminent oppression of the *Hugonots*. That if the King had been obliged to retire from *Paris* upon the insurrection of the people, it was entirely owing to himself, for having put a garrison into a city where there never had been one before, and for endeavouring to take away the lives of the chief citizens; but no conspiracy of the Duke of *Guise's*, who, on the contrary, had appeased the multitude and quieted the tumult. That since that time the King had been reconciled to them, and agreed to the pacification, in which the Lords of *Lorraine* had neither demanded nor obtained any thing else, but that the publick exercise of the *Hugonot* religion might be prohibited, and that a war might be commenced against them. That even if some little shadow of suspicion had remained, the King ought to have forgotten it, after taking so many oaths and in so solemn a manner; and not to cause two most innocent Princes to be murdered, under the protection of the publick faith, for no other reason but to encourage the *Hugonots*, and to suppress the Catholick party, and the true religion. But supposing that the Duke and Cardinal had actually been guilty of some errors, what could be laid to the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* charge, a very peaceable and innocent old man, who was most cruelly kept prisoner. That this was making use both of force and artifice to deprive the Catholick party of that support, and to cause the succession to devolve upon relapsed and excommunicated *Hugonot* Princes. That the Pope ought to oppose his authority to this so evident a design, punish what

1589. what was past, and provide against the future; and not to be backward in protecting so many people, who had unanimously engaged themselves to lay down their lives, if there should be occasion, for the defence of their religion, and to repair and restore the honour of the holy church, now pulled down and vilely trampled upon. That it became him, as the shepherd, to put himself at the head of his flock, and encourage them all in so good and pious an undertaking. But that it would be very unseemly, if, whilst others bravely took up arms for that purpose, he, who was so far removed out of all danger, should be the only one whose courage failed him. With these remonstrances, the Princes of the League endeavoured to whet up the Pope: and he daily receiving fresh accounts, from different places, of the tumults and insurrections in *France*, as a man of little experience in government, and not knowing how easily popular commotions are extinguished, already gave the King up for lost, and determined not to side with the weaker party, lest he should disgrace himself and the Apostolick See, as the *Spanish* Ambassador and those of the League were perpetually suggesting to him.

In the mean time the King, being very anxious and solicitous about the determination at *Rome*, suspended his resolution, and seemed to have dropped the courage of a lion again, which he had resumed after the death of the Duke of *Guise*. For the Duke of *Nevers*, who carried the war on against the *Hugonots* in *Poitou*, having taken *Ganache* in this interval, could not keep his army together (which was chiefly composed of persons that depended upon the League) after they heard of the death of the Lords of *Lorraine*. So that he was obliged to return to court; and the King, who was distressed for money, and inclined to an agreement, no longer thought of keeping an army on foot, but laboured wholly to bring about a peace, having desired the Cardinal Legate to interpose his good offices for that purpose, and promising to refer all differences to the Pope's arbitrement. But when the Legate had acquainted the Duke of *Mayenne* with this offer, and advised him to consent to a truce, that the accommodation might be negotiated at *Rome*, he refused to comply; alledging, that he could no longer trust a man, who, notwithstanding so many solemn oaths, had violated the publick faith, and the law of nations in the face of the States-General of *France* assembled. That this was only another device of the King's, to gain time, by means of a truce, to arm and provide himself. That the Legate ought not to suffer himself to be made the tool of that deceitful policy, as it tended only to the prejudice of the *Catholic* religion, and the privileges of the church, now contemptuously violated and trampled under foot: but that it was more proper to wait for the determination of the court of *Rome*, as he had fully acquainted his Holiness with the present situation of affairs. But when the King was informed

informed that the Duke of *Mayenne* refused to listen to a truce, and at the same time received letters from his Ambassadors at *Rome*, which gave him an account, that the Pope still obstinately persisted in demanding the prisoners; as he knew not how to release them without increasing the present distractions, since it was certain that the followers of the union, who had already declared him to have forfeited his Crown, would not fail to elect the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, it gave a new turn to the course of affairs: for as he conceived that he had used all possible means to appease the Pope, even to the prejudice of his own honour, he began to change his resolution, that he might not give his enemies an opportunity of suppressing him without making any resistance. This necessity was so apparent, that even the Duke of *Nevers*, who had ever advised his Majesty to give the Pope satisfaction, lest he should divide the Catholick party, had no objection to urge against it; as the exigency of affairs absolutely obliged him to come to some resolution. Wherefore the Count *De Soissons*, who a few days before had defeated some troops of the League, and was come, with what forces he had, to *Blois*, began to set on foot a treaty of accommodation with the King of *Navarre*, and applied himself, with much assiduity, to bring it about. The King, however, was very averse to such an agreement, as indeed he always had been, out of a natural dislike to any connexion with the *Hugonots*. But necessity convinced him, that there was no other expedient left; and all his Counsellors unanimously agreed, "That it highly concerned him to take some speedy resolution, unless he had a mind to be left destitute and abandoned betwixt two potent enemies, one of whom was in possession of every place on this side the *Loire*, and the other had taken all the towns beyond it. Besides, where was the money? What forces had he of his own to depend upon, or what allies to enable him to contend, at the same time, with both factions? That he was sure, which way soever he turned himself, to have one enemy before him and another upon his back; and that whilst his own kingdom was divided betwixt the two religions, and all the foreign Princes took either one side or the other, he with a new and unexampled kind of policy would make them both his enemies. That in such a division, whilst sometimes one party, and perhaps sometimes the other, usurped the royal authority, he would find himself without forces, without funds, without ready money, and, according to the proverb, *Left dry betwixt two rivers*, as he had always apprehended he should be, and was indeed in a great measure at present. That he had already done as much as man could do to appease the Pope. That he had so far descended from his dignity, as to propose an accommodation with those that were actually up in arms against him, and to give such satisfaction to rebels and despisers of his authority, as they did not

1589. by any means deserve. That he had, with unparalleled patience, submitted to bear the insolence of the common people, the invectives of the preachers, the outrageous abuse of both the factions, the presumptuous decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and in a great measure left royal Majesty to be disposed of according to the caprice of the remnants of the house of *Guise*. That at *Rome* he had condescended to do that which none of his predecessors would ever bear to hear of before, and not only petitioned for absolution in writing, for doing a thing that was highly reasonable, just, and necessary, but had offered likewise to refer all differences to the decision of the Pope. What was there more to be done, but (considering the temper of the *Spaniards*, who had the absolute direction of every thing at the court of *Rome*, and of the fiery and inflexible disposition of the Pope) to wait patiently till he was torn to pieces by his enemies, and to have the same outrages committed upon his own person, that had been offered to his statues at *Paris* and *Tholouse*? That now, indeed, it was high time to exert the heart of a lion, and, by the King of *Navarre's* assistance, to *avenge his enemies upon his enemies*. That this was neither a new nor an unheard-of example: for both King *Charles* his brother, and even he himself, had granted peace to the *Hugonots*, in times of less necessity than the present; and that the last breach was not occasioned by any voluntary failure on his side, but by the conspiracies and violent proceedings of the League. That he had taken away the lives of the late brothers of the house of *Guise* in vain, if he still stood in the same awe of them when they were dead, and, now that impediment was removed, did not endeavour to curb all seditions, to recover his own power, and, finally, to restore peace and tranquillity to his kingdom.

Such, in substance, was the advice of his Counsellors. And the King of *Navarre*, being sufficiently apprised that downright necessity must at last oblige the King to take that course, endeavoured to pave a way for it, by many favourable declarations and writings, which he caused to be drawn up and dispersed for that purpose. And many towns in *Poitou* and *Xaintoigne* having surrendered to him after the departure of the Duke of *Nevers*, he had strictly enjoined them all to do no manner of injury to the Catholics; and wherever he had any command, he suffered them to enjoy liberty of conscience, treating the Clergy with great honour and respect, and giving them leave to celebrate mass publicly in all places, without any impediment or molestation. Besides all this, when he came to *Chastelraut*, which place he had taken together with *Niort*, he published a manifesto, wherein he expressed not only his detestation of the insurrections and rebellion of the people against their natural Prince, but his own readiness to shew all due obedience to his Majesty, and to take up arms against them: and at the same time exhorted all those of his

his party to assist him in so laudable an undertaking, to convince all the world what their intentions had ever been, and that they had taken arms, not for the sake of any private interests, but merely for liberty of conscience. The King likewise had justified his actions in writing, and set forth his reasons for putting the Lords of *Guise* to death: and the Duke of *Mayenne* had done the same on his side, endeavouring to put a good face upon their taking up arms, and upon the proceedings of the League. After which protests and declarations, a treaty was set on foot to bring about a truce with the King of *Navarre*, by means of the Duke of *Espernon*, who, after the death of the *Guises*, was restored to his former authority and favour with the King, and after having supplied him with twelve hundred *Gasccon* Harquebusiers, under the command of Colonel *Moncassin*, had sent the Abbé *del Bene* to negotiate this treaty with him. But as many difficulties arose in the course of it, and the King seemed to consent to these measures, as it were by force, Madam *Diana D'Angoulême*, his natural sister, a Lady of great prudence and long experience in State affairs, was employed to treat with him concerning the accommodation. But when the Cardinal Legate heard of it, he made heavy complaints to the King; representing to his Majesty, that it was acting quite contrary to the assurances which he had often given him, that, notwithstanding the death of the Lords of *Guise*, he would certainly make war upon the *Hugonots*. Upon which consideration, he had endeavoured to promote his interests with the Pope, by making favourable reports and representations of his actions to the court of *Rome*; which now would not only prove fruitless and insignificant, but serve to lessen both their reputations, nay, to bring a great deal of blame and infamy upon them, if he so readily entered into an agreement with the *Hugonots*, and turned the arms that were directed against them, to the destruction of the Catholick party, and of those that depended upon the Apostolick See and the Pope's authority. But the King, not being willing to let him into the bottom of the affair, denied that he had concluded any such treaty with the *Hugonots*; but said, that even if he should do so, the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was the same man that he ever had been, and always desirous to extirpate heresy, but to the obduracy of the Pope, who so obstinately denied to give him absolution, and at the same time fomented the insurrections of his rebellious subjects: and to the stubbornness of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the rest of the League, who abhorred the name of peace, and had refused to refer their differences to the arbitrement of the Pope. That he desired no better, nor more competent witness, than the Legate himself, to whom he had always communicated his thoughts without reserve, and whom alone he had employed to negotiate that affair. That he ought to consider the extremities he was

1589. reduced to by the malice and perverseness of others, and not to impute that to inclination which was extorted from him by mere force and necessity.

But as soon as it began to be talked of, that an accommodation was treating with the *Hugonots*, Don *Bernardino Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, immediately left the Court, without taking any leave, and coming to *Paris*, resided there as Ambassador to the Lords of the League. Upon which, the Legate was in doubt how to act, as he thought it would be imprudent to leave the King, and put an end to all hopes of keeping him with the Catholick party: and, on the other hand, he was afraid he should be censured, if he shewed less zeal for religion than the *Spanish* Ambassador had done. Yet when he considered, that the assistance of a physician was most necessary, where the danger was the greatest, he resolved to stay till he saw what course things were like take, and in the mean time to acquaint the court of *Rome* with the present situation of affairs, and his opinion of it. But as the Pope now looked upon him rather as an accomplice in the King's crime, than one that had discharged the duty of a Legate, or an Ambassador, as he ought to have done, he could not help entertaining a violent suspicion of him, and paid but little regard to his letters. There were frequent consultations betwixt him and the Cardinal of *Vendosme*, who, though the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, his uncle and benefactor, was still kept in prison, yet, in regard to the interests of his family, had never left the King. And sometimes the Duke of *Navarre* was at these conferences, together with *René de Beaune*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, a Prelate of great wisdom and eloquence, who being driven out of his diocese for endeavouring to prevent the people from rising there, had taken shelter at Court. They all could have wished, that the King would not have concluded any agreement with the *Hugonots*: but the Pope was so obstinate, the Duke of *Mayenne* so refractory, and the insurrections so general through the kingdom, that though they abhorred the thoughts of it, yet not one of them could tell with what face to find fault with such an accommodation. Madam *D'Angoulême*, therefore, having treated personally with the King of *Navarre*, and then coming to confer with the King at *Blois*, their differences were in a great measure composed. For the King of *Navarre*, attentively considering the fair opportunity of raising himself and his party again, and resolving to fight under the royal banners and authority against enemies, that had been so many years endeavouring to suppress him, willingly accepted all the conditions that were offered him by the King, and only objected to one article. For as some town upon the *Loire* was to be put into his hands, that he might pass and repass that river with his forces, as occasion required, the King would have given him *Gergeau* or *Pont de Sè*, weak towns, and hardly defensible; and

and he demanded *Saumur*, a city conveniently situated for that purpose near *Tours*, and which might easily be fortified and maintained: yet he insisted upon this with great modesty, and rather proposed it by way of request, than as an article or condition of agreement. 1589.

Two events of great moment obliged and finally determined the King to conclude this treaty. One, that Captain *Du Gast*, Governor of *Amboise* (into whose custody the other prisoners had been delivered, after he had killed the Cardinal of *Guise*) having been tempted with infinite promises by the followers of the League, who, at the same time, had artfully raised doubts and suspicions in his mind, began to lend an ear to them. For the Archbishop of *Lions* had made him believe, that the King, to clear himself of the Cardinal of *Guise's* death, had represented to the court of *Rome*, that *Du Gast*, on account of some private resentment, had caused him to be put to death, of his own accord, and without any order from his Majesty; and that he now likewise kept the other Prelates in prison merely to gratify his avarice, with no better authority. And as he was a weak and credulous man, he was easily prevailed upon to believe this story, and began to think of making terms for himself by setting his prisoners at liberty: the apprehension of which occasioned so much anxiety and disquietude in the King's breast, that he was forced to give him thirty thousand crowns, out of the little money that he had, to recover them out of his hands, and to prevent him from releasing them, and going over himself to the party of the League; which he could hardly prevail upon him not to do, even by so large a sum. So that it now became necessary to distribute the prisoners into different places, under separate guards, and at a much heavier expence. The Cardinal of *Bourbon* therefore was sent to *Chinon*, the Duke of *Guise* to *Tours*, the Duke of *Elbeuf* to *Lockes*, and the Archbishop, whom *Du Gast* could not be persuaded to part with, continued alone in the castle of *Amboise*.

The other accident, which so much alarmed the King, was an insurrection at *Tours*, the principal city in *Touraine*, situated upon the *Loire*, and which he had designed to make the chief seat and resort of his party. For the inhabitants, at the instigation of many that inclined to the League, and of certain Ecclesiasticks, began to grow tumultuous, and rose upon their magistrates; the common people having been persuaded, that the town was to be assigned to the King of *Navarre* for his residence. The King, therefore, with the Marshal *D'Aumont*, the Count *De Soissons*, and what few guards he had with him, was obliged to fly to the danger; which being over, and the city composed again, he began to see plainly, that it was necessary to take such a resolution, and that the delays at the court of *Rome* were of so much prejudice to his affairs, that he was reduced into extreme danger of being totally ruined. So that without further delay, the

1589. truce was concluded for a year, betwixt his most Christian Majesty and the King of *Navarre*, upon the following conditions: "That the publick exercise of the Catholick religion should be restored in all places that were held by the *Hugonots*, without any exception. That the goods of the Clergy should be returned to them, in what hands soever they were, and that all prisoners that were in their power should be set at liberty. That the King of *Navarre* should be obliged to serve the King in person, with four thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, wheresoever he should be commanded, and that all the cities, towns, and places of his party, should observe the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, obey the Parliaments and King's magistrates, and receive all those ordinances which his present Majesty had made, or should hereafter make. On the other hand, that the King of *Navarre* should be admitted into *Saumur*, and keep it in his power, that so he might at any time command a free passage over the *Loire*: which, nevertheless, he should be obliged to restore at the King's pleasure, without any demur or opposition." These articles being agreed upon and ratified, *Beaulieu*, the Secretary of State, delivered up *Saumur* to the King of *Navarre*, who gave the government of it to the *Sieur Du Plessis Mornay*, his old and faithful friend.

The same truce was made in *Dauphinè*, betwixt Colonel *Alphonso Corse*, on the King's part, and Monsieur *Les Diguers*, for the King of *Navarre*: upon which, they immediately united their forces for their common defence. The *Hugonots* rejoiced exceedingly at this reconciliation, magnifying their fidelity and obedience to his royal Majesty, to the confusion of those, who till that time had publickly defamed them, as contumacious and incorrigible rebels.

And indeed, it was a thing worthy of very great admiration, and one of the secret mysteries of Divine Wisdom, that when the King of *Navarre* was reduced to so low a condition, and abandoned almost by every body, confined to a little corner of the kingdom, and often in such want, even of things necessary for his own maintenance, that he was obliged to live more like a free-booter, and a soldier of fortune, than a Prince as he was, his enemies, out of too much eagerness in persecuting him, and too ardent a desire to see him utterly suppressed, should endeavour it by so many different ways, by raising so many wars, by entering into so many combinations, by fomenting so many conspiracies, by practising so many artifices, and that they should all redound to his advantage, and serve, in a manner almost miraculous, only to promote his greatness and exaltation. For there was no cool and disinterested man, that was acquainted with the affairs of *France*, who did not plainly see, that, if the King had been suffered to live and govern as peaceably as he was inclined, the King of *Navarre's* forces must have been absolutely destroyed and reduced to nothing: as peace and length

length of time would naturally have dissolved that little union which still subsisted amongst the *Hugonots*, and afforded sufficient means and opportunities of breaking and subduing the resolution of the *Rochellers*, on which he wholly depended : and the King, out of his established aversion to heresy, would have totally extinguished and rooted it out by various means and artifices, and in an insensible manner. Whereas, on the contrary, the course of so many wars and factions did not only confirm the *Hugonots* in their obstinacy, who were so much the more determined to resist, as they thought themselves unjustly persecuted, but also at last, gave the King of *Navarre* an opportunity of reconciling himself to his Most Christian Majesty and the *French* Nobility, furnished him with arms and power, and ultimately, though contrary to his own expectation, and the natural course of things, opened him a way to the possession of the Crown of *France*.

As soon as the truce was verbally concluded, for it was not published in form till many days after, the King being resolved to alter his manner of proceeding, to put on the lion's face now in good earnest, and to front his enemies in the field, dispatched the *Sieur De la Cluelle* to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, to solicit the loan of two hundred thousand ducats, to raise a body of *Swiss* infantry, and another of *German* cavalry : with which, out of regard to the alliance lately contracted with his Majesty, as the Lady *Christina* his Duchess was then upon her passage into *Italy*, to consummate her marriage, the Grand Duke readily consented to furnish him, and immediately sent one hundred thousand to *Ausbourg* by the Chevalier *Guicciardini*, with a promise to advance the other moiety as soon as the levy was begun. Upon which, the King dispatched Monsieur *De Sancy* to *Switzerland*, as he had been many years Ambassador in that country, with a commission, if he could not have the ten thousand foot that he requested from the Catholick Cantons, on account of the opposition which it was apprehended he would meet with there from the *Spaniards*, to raise them in the Protestant Cantons : and at the same time sent *Gaspar* Count of *Schomberg* to hire a body of *German* horse, who, for fear of falling into the enemies hands, took a round about, and, as it proved, a fruitless journey. He also sent *James Augustus de Thou* to the Emperor, under a pretence of notifying the death of the Queen his mother : and *Pierre Forget*, *Sieur De Fresne*, lately made Secretary of State, under the same pretence, to the court of *Spain*. But his real design was, that one might dispose *Rodolphus* not to interfere in those levies that were to be made for his service in *Germany*, and the other, to try, if it was possible, to prevail upon his Catholick Majesty not to lend that open assistance, which he plainly did to the heads of the Union, with whom *Mendoza* actually resided in the character of Ambassador to them.

Having thus provided, in the best manner he could, for things without

the kingdom, he began to attend to those within it: and having called together all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Roüen*, and *Dijon*, who had fled from the fury of the people, he determined that the Parliament of *Paris* should reside in the city of *Tours*, that of *Roüen*, in the city of *Caen*, in the same province of *Normandy*, and that of *Dijon*, at *Chalons*, another city in the duchy of *Burgundy*; and then, by a most severe edict, declared all such persons rebels, as had been chosen into any office belonging to the Parliaments, and should continue to reside in those cities and towns that had withdrawn themselves from their obedience, forbidding every one to have recourse to them for justice, and declaring all sentences void which they should pronounce, under the name and title of Parliaments. He likewise published a declaration against the Duke of *Mayenne*, against the Duke and Chevalier *D'Anmale*, and others, who had caused cities to revolt and taken up arms against him; threatening, that if they did not lay down their arms, and desist from disturbing and molesting the Kingdom, and return to their duty within the space of fifteen days, they should be deemed guilty of rebellion, and be so declared, with the confiscation of all their goods and estates. After these proclamations, he proceeded to action: and having appointed Governors in all the provinces, gave orders to raise forces, to draw them together, and to begin the war in every place. The Count *De Soissons* was made Governor in *Bretagne*: the Duke of *Montpensier* in *Normandy*: the Marshal *De Matignon*, Lieutenant to the King of *Navarre*, in *Guyenne*: the Marshal *De Montmorancy* in *Languedoc*: Monsieur *De la Valette*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Espernon*, in *Provence*: *Alphonso Corso* in *Dauphiné*: the Count *De Turenne* Lieutenant in *Burgundy*: the Duke of *Longueville* Governor of *Picardy*: the Marshal *D'Aumont* of *Champagne*, and Monsieur *De Tenteville*, his Lieutenant: *Philibert* Sieur de *la Guiche* of *Lionnois*: Monsieur *De Montigny* of *Berry*: Monsieur *De Sourdis* in *Beauvais*: the Sieur *D'Entragues* in the duchy of *Orleans*: and with himself he kept the Marshal *D'Aumont* to command the army, and gave orders, that the Duke of *Espernon* and the King of *Navarre* should come to him; the agreement with whom, after some delay, was accepted, and published on the 28th of *April*.

But after it was concluded, and before the publication of it, the Cardinal Legate, who thought he could not decently stay any longer near the King's person, and yet was unwilling to countenance the League in taking up arms by his presence and residence with them, at last resolved, after much perplexity, to go towards *Moulins*, and from thence out of the kingdom, as soon as he should receive orders from the court of *Rome*, where he knew he was exceedingly ill thought of by the Pope, and his reputation blasted by those that favoured the League, and endeavoured

to discredit his representations and advice. And yet the King, after he had tried all means to prevail upon him to reside in some place that adhered to his party, and excused his agreement with the King of *Navarre*, by the urgent necessity of his affairs; and after he had promised that he would still constantly persevere in the Catholick religion, which was rather benefited than in any wise hurt by the accommodation with the *Hugonots*, entreated the Legate to go to the Duke of *Mayenne* once more in person, and endeavour to bring him to an agreement, as he himself had not been able to make him vouchsafe to lend an ear to any treaty, either by means of the Duke of *Lorraine*, to whom he had written with his own hand, or by the mediation of Madam *De Nemours*, with whom he had caused the Queen to treat about it. And that all the world might be convinced of his desire to avoid coming to an agreement with the *Hugonots*, and in order to prevent others from joining the forces of the League, he gave the Cardinal a paper, subscribed by himself, which contained such concessions as he was willing to make to the Lords of the Union.

He offered the cities of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun* to the Duke of *Lorraine*, with the title of Governor, and promised to use his endeavours to to get the heiress of *Boiillon* in marriage for the Count *De Vaudemont*, by which he would come into possession of *Jamets* and *Sedan*, places of great consequence, and much coveted by those Lords. He consented to leave the Duke of *Mayenne* in the possession of his government of *Burgundy*: to confer the governments of all the cities and fortresses in that province upon such persons as he should nominate: to permit that it should descend, in the same manner, to his eldest son: to give him an hundred thousand crowns in ready money, to discharge the debts that he had been obliged to contract upon the present occasions, with an annual pension of forty thousand crowns. To the Duke of *Guise*, he promised the government of *Champagne*, *St. Desier*, and *Roucroix*, for the security of his person, a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and ecclesiastical benefices to the yearly value of thirty thousand for one of his brothers, whom he would endeavour to get promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal. To the Duke of *Nemours*, he offered the government of *Lions*, and a pension of ten thousand crowns. To the Duke of *Aumale*, *St. Esprit de Rié* for his security, and a pension likewise of ten thousand crowns. To the Chevalier his brother, the command of the infantry, and twenty thousand franks *per annum*. To the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the government of *Poitiers*, and ten thousand crowns in pension. He left it to the Pope to expound and adjust the edicts and agreements made in times past, and was desirous that he would take upon him the office of a friendly mediator, to compose all differences, with a power, if he pleased, to join the *Venician* Senate, or the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* with him: and consented, if he chose

1589. chose the *Venetian* Senate, that the Duke of *Ferrara*, uncle to the Lords of *Guise*, should be added on the part of the League: or, if he fixed upon the Grand Duke, that he should call in the Duke of *Lorraine* for the other side, as he was the head of their family.

But even these promises and concessions produced no effect: for the Duke of *Mayenne*, having had an interview with the Legate at *Chasteaudune*, absolutely refused to listen to a peace, and excused himself by saying, he could not accept of any conditions, without assembling the States of the League, and all the Princes of his family, to have their consent to it; adding, that he could not with security have any further commerce with one that had already violated his faith. But the true reason was, that he thought himself now much superior to the King in strength, and because his Catholick Majesty and the Duke of *Savoy* had promised him supplies both of men and money, and his affairs at the court of *Rome* began to take a favourable turn.

When the news of the truce with the King of *Navarre*, and then of the Legate's departure, came to *Paris*, it is impossible to conceive the hatred that it excited against the King, and all those that followed him, and the extravagant effects that it produced, even to the prohibiting, by publick decrees, that they should pray for him any longer in the canon of the mass, as it is the custom to do for all the Kings of *France*, and as the Catholick church does often very charitably, especially in the solemnity of *Good Friday*, even for Hereticks, Pagans, and Idolators. And it is no easy matter to imagine, what a prodigious number of libels and declarations was printed and published against him, without any regard either to reason or modesty. But the noise of arms, which were now clashing in every place, quickly drowned that of libels and sermons.

The first action of the war happened in the province of *Normandy*. The Duke of *Montpensier*, Governor for the King, was gone to the city of *Caën*, whither the Counsellors and Presidents had fled from *Reims*, together with *Pierre Seguier*, one of the *Parisian* Presidents, and where, by virtue of the King's edict, they had fixed the seat of the Parliament. At the Duke's arrival, all the Lords and Gentlemen that adhered to the King's party resorted thither: and by his order, the Sieurs *De Colombieres*, *De Lorges*, *De St. Dennis*, and the Baron *D'Ally* had raised four regiments of foot, so that he had three thousand foot and eight hundred horse under his command. With this army, which daily increased, the Duke resolved to lay siege to *Falaïse*, a considerable town, and defended by a fortress, or great tower, called the *Dongeon*, being assured, that when once that place was taken, *Argentan*, *Vire*, and the other towns about *Caën*, would presently surrender of themselves: by which that city, now grown very populous, by the great number of clients that re-

sorted

sorted thither upon law affairs, and of those that had fled thither for refuge, might be the more commodiously furnished with provisions. But the second day after their departure from *Caën*, a tumult had like to have happened amongst his own men, which would certainly have overset the whole enterprise. *John D'Hemery* *Sieur De Villers*, had the office of Marshal of the field in this army, the same person that had stormed *Danfront* in the former war, and taken the Count *De Montgomery* prisoner there, who afterwards was executed at *Paris* by the order of *Charles* the ninth. The vanguard was led by the Count *De Torigny*, son to the Marshal *De Matignon*: the *Sieur De Baquerville* commanded the light horse, and the rear was conducted by the Count of *Montgomery*, son to the aforementioned Count: so that there was but a bad understanding betwixt him and the Marshal, which was still fomented by the Catholick party on one side, and the *Hugonot* on the other. It happened, as they were to march through the enemy's country, that it was necessary to quarter close together, lest the country people, who were up in arms, should take an opportunity of falling upon such as they found straggling from the main body: upon which account, *Villers* was obliged to confine the Count and the *Hugonots* to straiter quarters than they liked, as they had been but little accustomed to military discipline, and always indulged in the liberty of plundering, or *la picorée*, as they called it. But the Count, having torn the billet that was brought him by his Quarter-master, detached himself to the distance of above three miles from the army, with an intention to lodge in certain villages thereabout, for the greater convenience of provender for his light horse: which being reported to *Villers*, he sent to command him to return to his quarters, as both the rules of discipline, and the Duke of *Montpensier's* orders, absolutely required him to do. To which the Count, having sent back a very arrogant answer, *Villers* ordered his Quarter-master to be seized and immediately hanged up, for having dared to assign him different quarters from those that had been appointed by the Marshal of the field: and having informed the Duke of the affair, he caused the Count *De Torigny* to draw up the vanguard, with a resolution to force the Count to return to his proper quarters. And there would infallibly have been great mischief done (as *Villers* was determined to make himself obeyed, whatever was the event; and the *Hugonots*, on the other side, were fully bent to defend their proceedings) if the Duke himself had not mounted his horse to put an end to the mutiny by his presence, and resolutely commanded the Count of *Montgomery* to submit; which he did, but the next day, under a pretence of going into the confines of the country of *Coûtance*, where his estate lay, to defend it from the incursions of the Duke of *Merccœur*, he left the army, and the command of the rear guard was

1589. given to Monsieur *Du Hallot* and the Sieur *De Crevecœur* his brother. So that, after this tumult was appeased, they proceeded in good order, and under strict discipline, the Duke not suffering the least injury to be offered to the country people, nor any thing to be taken away from them, except victuals: for as his soldiers had received no pay, he could not avoid granting them free quarter.

Siege was now therefore laid to *Falaise*, and they began to batter it with one culverine and two other pieces of artillery, in full expectation of making themselves masters of it, if it was not speedily relieved. But the Count *De Brisac*, who could not get admission into his government of *Angiers*, and had been sent by the Duke of *Mayenne* to command in that province, being attended by some Gentlemen, and others of his dependents, to the number of three hundred horse, went to assist the *Gautiers*, that he might be able to relieve that place in time. The *Gautiers* were country people, who at first had taken up arms against all soldiers that passed through their territories, to prevent the losses and outrages which they might suffer by them: and afterwards, having been made to believe that the King was the cause of all those miseries, and that it was entirely owing to him that so many heavy impositions were added to the calamities of war, they had taken part with the League, and having broken up the highways, blocked up the passes, and fortified their towns and villages, were up in arms, to the number of sixteen thousand, and called themselves *Gautiers*, because they had first begun their insurrections in a town called *La Chapelle Gautier*, to which *Vimouzier*, *Bernay*, and many other towns of less note had afterwards joined themselves. They had chosen three commanders, the Barons *De Maillot* and *D'Eschaufour*, and the Sieur *De Longchamp*, Governor of *Lisieux*, and appointed Captain *Vaumartel* their Serjeant-major; by whom they were instructed in the exercise of their arms, and in the order and discipline of the military profession. And as the Count *De Brisac* had obtained a promise that four thousand of these men, thus disciplined and appointed, should go with him to the relief of *Falaise*, and thought such a number sufficient for that purpose, with the assistance of those horse that he had with him, and an hundred Harquebusiers on horseback, under the command of Captain *Valage*, with two field pieces, he marched that way, imagining the Duke of *Montpensier* would retire upon his approach, for fear of being hemmed in betwixt two fires, as he would be, when he had these forces in his rear, and the town of *Falaise* in his front: so that he might then fortify it in a better manner, and put a stronger garrison into it. But the *Gautiers* being come within four leagues of *Falaise*, took up their quarters in a large village, which they fortified, at the entrance of the high road that led to the enemy, with their two field pieces, and a bar-

a barricado made with barrels full of earth, that they might not be surprised, or attacked without being able to make a proper defence: whilst the Count *De Brisfac* quartered at a little distance from them, by the side of the high road, and sent out parties of horse to scour the country.

Villers, however, made but little account of such a raw and inexperienced rabble: and having been out himself to reconnoitre their quarters, advised the Duke to raise the siege immediately, and attack them on a sudden. Upon which the Duke, who was very desirous of coming to an engagement, and put great confidence in his Marshal's judgment, quitted the siege that same night, and drew off his cannon from battering the walls, with a resolution to attack the *Gautiers* the next morning. By the disposition that *Villers* made for the assault, it was ordered that the culverine, and the other two pieces of artillery, should play along the high road upon the enemy's barricado and field pieces; after which, the infantry should march up to make the assault upon that part, in several divisions, under their respective Colonels: that the Duke of *Montpensier* should attack them, by a road that led into the fields on the right hand; and the Count *De Torigny*, with the cavalry of the vanguard, by another on the left: that the Sieurs *De Surené* and *Baquerville*, with two bodies of light horse, should stand ready to oppose the Count *De Brisfac*, if he, with his horse, should make any attempt to divert the assault. The cannon were so well pointed, that they beat down all the enemy's barricado, and took off the head of Captain *Vaumartel*, who was busily engaged in rallying and encouraging his men: upon which, a signal was immediately given to attack the enemy on every side. The Duke of *Montpensier*, a brave and generous Prince, advanced to the attack on a round trot, at the head of his cavalry: but, whatever might be the occasion, leaving the post that was appointed for him on the right hand, he happened to fall in just at the place where the barricado was broken down, and the enemy's two pieces of artillery were planted, which had not yet given fire, so that it was most likely that many of his men would be slain, and the assault attended with much bloodshed. The wind was very high, and the shouts of the two armies so loud, that no particular man's voice could be distinguished, and the Duke would certainly have been in very great danger, if *Villers* had not set spurs to his horse, and galloped as fast as he could to overtake him, and make him sensible of his error; which he did, though but just in time to stop his career, by laying his battoon across his vizer, and brought him back, by a clear and open passage, to charge the enemy in the flank, as the Count *De Torigny* had likewise done on the other side, and the infantry in the front, where about twenty of them were killed by the discharge of the artillery: by which means the enemy was defeated in less than an hour, with the loss of about two

1589. thousand men, and of all their baggage, colours, and artillery. The Count *De Brisfac*, who, during the engagement, had taken his station upon an eminence not far off, seeing himself so much inferior in strength, retired directly to *Falaise*, without making any further attempt, having opened a way, though with great slaughter of his men, to relieve that place; whilst the King's army, after their victory, marched into quarters in the adjacent villages.

After this, it was debated in a council of war, whether they should return to the siege of *Falaise* or not: but the opinion of *Villers* prevailed, who thought, as the Count *De Brisfac* was now got into it with the rest of his forces, it would be a difficult and a tedious undertaking, and advised that the army, whilst it was flushed with victory, should march against the *Gautiers* to take their towns, and extinguish the insurrection at once. For when that obstacle was removed, there would be no forces left in that province to hinder them from making themselves masters of all the towns in it. With this resolution the army, reinforced with above four hundred fresh horse, marched towards the *Gautiers*, who being resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, had retired into three places, *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and *La Chapelle Gautier*. But their commanders did not enter those towns with them; for *Longchamp* went to his government, and the rest gave out, that they were going to the Count *De Brisfac*, to raise fresh supplies for their succour.

Vimotier was first assaulted and taken, without much trouble, as it was an open *bourg*. Above a thousand of the *Gautiers* were slain upon the spot, and those that fell into the enemy's hands alive, having taken an oath not to bear arms any more, but to follow their tillage, were set at liberty. So that having experienced very great gentleness and good order in the army, by the care which the Duke and *Villers* took to punish those that dared to commit the least outrage or insult, they were pretty well satisfied, and returned to the management of their own affairs. The attack upon *Bernay* was attended with more difficulty, for it was both walled round, and had the best men in it. But the cannon having battered it from morning till noon, the foot marched up to the assault, which was bravely sustained by the besieged: so that they were obliged to renew the battery the next morning, and having made a wider breach, many gentlemen dismounted from their horses, and put themselves at the head of the infantry to strengthen the assault, which being repeated with great fury, the action continued hot and bloody for the space of four hours. At last, young *l'Archant* and the *Sieur De Baquerville* entered the town, and after them the whole army, putting great numbers of the *Gautiers* to the sword: and a house being set on fire by a boy that belonged to Colonel *St. Dennis*, (for which he was condemned by Monsieur *Villers* to suffer death) the greater

greater part of the town was burnt down to the ground. There were killed on the King's side, the Sieur *De la Fontain*, one of *Villers's* Aid du camps, fourteen Gentlemen, and about a hundred private men. The prisoners, having taken the same oath, and upon the same conditions, were set at liberty. But the remainder of the *Gautiers*, who were shut up in *La Chapelle*, seeing their associates defeated, and that their commanders did not come with relief from any place, resolved to surrender, and having sent two of their Parochial Clergy for that purpose, they were forgiven upon the same terms: after which they left their arms and colours, and returned home to their usual employment of tilling the earth.

Such was the success of the first undertaking in this war; the news of which was received with great joy by the King at *Tours*, where he was busy in augmenting his army, and settling his interview with the King of *Navarre*. For which purpose, the Sieur *Du Plessis Mornay* was come to his Majesty a good many days before, and the Abbé *Del Bene* was likewise gone to the King of *Navarre*. Nor were they yet fully agreed concerning the place, and manner of their meeting. For his Majesty was rather desirous that the *Hugonots* should make war apart: and the King of *Navarre* did not care to come to court, as he was dissuaded from it by those about him, who never ceased to remind him of *Paris*, and the massacre on *St. Bartholomew's* day. But necessity put an end to these doubts, by the coming of the Duke of *Mayenne*: who being engaged in a popular cause, and desirous of getting a name, to strengthen his party, and attach them more firmly to him, had left *Paris*, and was come to *Chaâteau-dune*, where he assembled his army from all parts: which, with two regiments sent by the *Parisians*, amounted to eight thousand foot and two thousand horse. His first attempt was upon *Vendôme*, a large city, and part of the King of *Navarre's* patrimony, into which the Counsellors and Presidents of the Parliament had retired, by the King's order, for their security. But as the Governor was treating secretly with the League, and intended to go over to that party, the Duke of *Mayenne* sent the Sieur *Du Rboisne* suddenly thither, with two thousand foot and six hundred horse, who being admitted, according to agreement, made himself master of the city, and took all the Counsellors and Magistrates prisoners, with many clients that attended them, who were afterwards obliged to ransom themselves with large sums of money.

After *Vendôme* was taken, it was thought, and with great reason, that the Duke would endeavour to make a further progress: upon which, the King sent the Duke of *Espernon* forward, with the vanguard of his army, toward *Blois*, that he might lie in the way, and obstruct the march of the enemy. But the Duke, being apprehensive that *Blois* also might fall into the enemies hands, hastened directly thither with all his infantry, and left the

1589. the Count *De Brienne* with the cavalry, quartered upon the road that leads from *Blois* to *Anboise*, and near *St. Ouyn*. The Marshal *D. Lumont*, with the rest of the army, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Tours*, to prevent any attempt upon that city : and the King dispatched the Abbè *Del Bene* a second time, to hasten the King of *Navarre's* coming ; who, after he had sent the *Sieur De Chastillon*, General of his infantry, before-hand, to present his duty to the King, and to receive his commands, at last waited upon the King himself in the *Parc du Plessis*, a place at a little distance from the walls of *Tours* : where, when his Majesty came to meet him, he not only dismounted from his horse, at a considerable distance from him, but, as soon as ever he came up to him, he kneeled down, and would have kissed his feet. But his Majesty raised him up again, and embraced him very tenderly, and forgetting all former animosities, immediately entered into a free conversation with him, conducting him toward the city, through the army, which was drawn up on that occasion, and through the multitude of people that was come out of the gates to salute him. From whence they proceeded to the King's quarters, with infinite acclamations both from the soldiery and the citizens, every one being charmed with his Majesty's courtesy on one side, and the King of *Navarre's* dutiful submission on the other. The next day, after a secret conference, that lasted above two hours, the King of *Navarre* returned to his forces, which were yet quartered beyond the river : and the King, having put his infantry into the suburb of *St. Syphorien*, kept only his guards in the city, and the Nobility about his person.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, seeing *Blois* so strengthened by the Duke of *Espernon's* arrival, that there was no probability of taking it, left that city and the Duke of *Espernon*, and marched on with his army as far as *Chasteau-renard*, but seven leagues distant from *Tours*, and the body of the King's army : and having received intelligence that the Count *De Brienne* staid at *St. Ouyn*, where he kept no very strict guard, and had suffered his men to dispose themselves in a straggling manner (according to the licentiousness of the times) amongst the adjacent villages : he marched nine leagues out of the strait road with incredible expedition, and coming suddenly upon the Count, found him so ill prepared for an attack, that many of his men were cut off or taken prisoners in a moment, and he fled, in great disorder, to the town, where he shut himself up, without any sort of provision to defend it. But the Duke pursuing him thither, and having planted his cannon with the same expedition, the Count was obliged to surrender, and was detained prisoner. The Marquis *De Camillac*, who, as General of the artillery, commanded in the fortifications which they had raised, and many of the best soldiers, lost their

their lives ; the rest, upon a promise not to bear arms for a certain time, 1589. were set at liberty.

After the Count *De Brienne* was defeated and taken prisoner, the Duke of *Mayenne* resolved to attack the King himself in his quarters. For as he was not yet joined by the King of *Navarre*, and his foot were but ill secured in the suburb of *St. Syphorien*, which was a spacious and irregular place, he thought he might make himself master of it without any great difficulty, if the attack was sudden. With this resolution he decamped on the 7th of *May*, in the dusk of the evening, and taking two culverins, which they dragged along with infinite labour, he arrived near *Tours* with all his forces, about sun-rise. The King's foot were quartered in the suburbs ; and as the place, which lay something low, was commanded by a hill, on the top of which there were some houses, Colonel *Montcaussin*, who had the charge of the van, drew a ditch round the houses, and posted himself there with a strong guard, to prevent the enemy from getting possession of it, as it stood directly in the way that leads to the town from *Blois* and *Chasteau-renard*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, having caused his army to make a halt upon a plain, before he came to the hill, to refresh his men a little, after the fatigue of so long and speedy a march, ordered two regiments, commanded by the Sieurs *Du Cluseau* and *Du Bourg*, to advance and make themselves masters of those houses, which entirely commanded and obstructed the high-road. This detachment arrived very suddenly, yet not before it had been discovered by the scouts : so that both sides being prepared, there began a very hot skirmish, just at the time when the King was come to visit that post himself. His presence was of wonderful service : for, besides his assistance in making a proper disposition for the engagement, the Sieur *De Montigny*, who was with him, ran to the front of the battle, at the first discharge of the musketry, and both by his exhortations and example, greatly encouraged those guards to do their duty, and behave themselves like men ; who considering that they fought in the sight of the King himself, made so gallant a resistance against the superior number of the enemy, that they repelled their fury, till relief came up to them. The King, with great presence of mind, and with a steady, composed countenance, though he was unarmed, and but slenderly attended, having caused the regiments of *Jarzé* and *Rubempré*, which were on the right and left of the skirmish, to be well supplied with ammunition, commanded them to charge the enemy ; and having himself drawn up the *Swiss*, that were under the command of Colonel *Galati*, he sent them immediately to take care of the city : for he was in no less apprehension of a tumult within, than of the attack without the walls. But his greatest difficulty was to restrain the ardour of the Noblesse, who, out of their natural generosity

1589. nerosity and desire of glory, were eager to engage in the action: and as they were going to fall on in a loose and disorderly manner, in all likelihood they would have suffered greatly, if he had not checked their impetuosity by his own personal authority and command, and drawn them up in separate bodies, with orders to stay near his person, that so he might send them to assist at different places as occasion required.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* had planted his culverines upon the hill, and kept so heavy a fire with them, that the guards were obliged to quit the houses, where the *Sieur De Montigny*, who was engaged in the first ranks, received a wound by a musket-ball, Colonel *Jarvis* was slain, and above two hundred private men. And tho' the enemy had the higher ground, and the Duke still brought up fresh forces where they were wanted, yet *Moncassin* and *Rubempré* made a brave resistance, and the fire of the musketry was so hot on both sides, that great numbers were killed. But the Duke having ordered the regiment of *Chamaigueray* to advance, together with that of *Ponsenac*, which consisted of old soldiers that had served under his brother the late Duke of *Guise*; and both the King's Colonels being wounded, the foot began to retire, and the enemy pushing resolutely forward, at last made themselves masters of the whole suburb. The King, however, being very solicitous to have it recovered, lest he should be besieged in a city that was so ill provided, and beyond which he had none left to retire to, ordered Monsieur *De Grillon*, who, a Colonel of his guards, commanded the infantry, to attack the enemy, and endeavour to drive them out. *Grillon* boldly advanced, with the flower of his men, and two gallant squadrons of Gentlemen, who having dismounted from their horses by the King's permission, were ready to fall on with sword and pistol. These at their arrival renewed the battle and having recovered one of the streets of the suburb by their first push, the engagement grew very hot again, and they fought with various fortune, and very great obstinacy, till the decline of the day. At which time the Duke's artillery playing, with more fury than ever, from the higher ground, and *Claude Chevalier D'Aumale* coming up with two fresh squadrons to relieve his party, *Grillon* very much wounded, and his men spent with the continual fatigue of a whole day, were obliged to quit the suburb, and retreated to defend the bridge, upon which the King himself was posted, with all the Nobility that attended his Court. The encounter there was sharp and bloody; but some small field pieces, that were planted at the entrance of the bridge, kept back the enemy, who being already masters of the whole suburb, exerted their utmost endeavours to get possession of it.

Whilst they were thus engaged with so much resolution on both sides, that the event was doubtful, the King of *Navarre*, having had immediate notice

notice sent him of the danger, instantly moved, with all his forces, to relieve the King; and for fear of coming too late himself, he sent Monsieur *De Chastillon* before him, with fifteen hundred of the best foot in his army, who arriving about sun-set, marched directly to the place of battle. These forces coming in fresh, and desirous to signalize themselves in the most dangerous service, repelled the fury of the enemy so effectually, that night coming on, put an end to the action, each side desisting, as it were by consent, and waiting for the return of day-light. The defence of the

was given in charge to Monsieur *De Chastillon*, whose men were the freshest: and the King, with the Duke of *Montbazon* and the Marquis *D'Anjou*, took upon him to guard the city, having the *Swiss* infantry and the Nobility of the court with him. There were above four hundred soldiers and many commanders killed that day on the King's side; among whom were the Chevalier *Berton*, nephew to Colonel *de la Roche*; and *St. Malin*, the person who gave the first wound with his dagger to the Duke of *Guisse* or *Bleis*. On the League's side, about a hundred private men, and but two commanders and very few persons of distinction were slain. The Chevalier *D'Aumale*, as General of the infantry to the League, was left to maintain the suburb which they had taken, and the Marquis *De Pienne*, with his regiment, drew up right over against the Sieur *De Chastillon* at the entrance of the bridge, both sides labouring all night, with the utmost diligence, to entrench them-

Many outrages of all kinds were committed in the suburb; nor was there any more reverence shewn to churches and religious houses by the Duke of the League, than if it had been taken by *Huguenots*; though the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was naturally averse to all sorts of military excesses, used his utmost endeavours to prevent it. But the licentiousness of a volunteer army that receives no pay, is very hard to be restrained. They lay in continual apprehension all night, and many alarms were given on both sides. But on *Tuesday* the ninth of *May*, the regiment of *Charboniere*, which had been sent to their relief by the King of *Navarre*, appearing about break of day, and it being known that he was not far off, and advancing fast with the rest of his army, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having given up all hopes of making any further progress, ordered his dead to be buried, and quitting the suburb that he had taken, retreated in good order, and unmolested, to his former quarters.

The King's behaviour upon this occasion was much taken notice of, and exceedingly animated his party; though they had lost the suburb, when they saw him appear in his former Majesty, and first draw his army up himself in an undaunted manner, whilst he was but thinly attended and altogether unarmed; and then, having put on his armour at the

1589. head of his Nobility, come to direct the order of the battle, carefully providing against all accidents, and reassuming the name and authority of a General, which he had supported with so much glory and reputation in his younger years, though he had thought proper to lay it entirely aside for a long time, for the more effectual accomplishment of his secret designs.

On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne* and the heads of the League, availing themselves of the credit of having taken the suburb, and driven the King's forces from their post, published many printed accounts to encourage their party; in which they took great pains to magnify and exaggerate every circumstance of that action, amplifying the number and quality of those that were slain, extolling the valour of their own soldiers, boasting of the death of *St. Malin*, as a stroke of divine vengeance, and from thence predicting a speedy and compleat victory over their enemies.

But about the same time they sustained a much greater loss: for *Senlis*, a city ten leagues distant from *Paris*, and very convenient for either party, as affairs then stood, having at first sided with the League, had now declared for the King, and called in *William de Montmorancy* Lord of *Thore*. And, not many days after, the Duke of *Aumale*, who knew there was but a weak garrison there, resolved to lay siege to it, firmly expecting to make himself master of the town before it could be relieved. For which purpose, having sent for the *Sieur De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambray*, and all the Noblesse of *Picardy* and the isle of *France*, that adhered to his party, with seven hundred horse and nine thousand foot (but most of them raw men, and raised in haste at *Paris* by the *Sieur De Menneville*) and nine pieces of cannon, he sat down before it on the 7th of *May*. The besieged made a brave defence at the beginning; and the day after the enemy had opened their trenches, they made so vigorous a sally, that above a hundred of the *Parisians* were left dead upon the ground, and amongst them the *Sieur De Chamois*, an old dependant upon the house of *Guise*. But after the artillery was planted, as they had but a very small quantity of ammunition, and still less of other provisions that were necessary to enable them to sustain a siege, they sent for the Duke of *Longueville* to their relief, who, with Monsieur *De la Neûve*, was come to *Compiègne*. But their forces were much inferior to those of the enemy, and the Noblesse of the province were not yet assembled: so that the besieged, not being able to hold out any longer, and despairing of relief from any quarter, were reduced to a necessity of capitulating. But when the news came to *Compiègne* that they were going to surrender, the Noblesse began to intreat the Duke of *Longueville* that he would lead them on to battle, as they thought it a great disgrace to them to suffer that town to be taken before their faces, without striking a blow. The

Duke

Duke of *Longueville* was a young Nobleman of great courage, but suffered himself to be governed in all things by the advice of Monsieur *De la Noüe*, and the Baron *De Givry*, who commanded the light horse. Those two commanders thought the inequality of forces so great, as they had not above eight hundred horse, and not quite two thousand foot, that it would be extreme madness to think of an attack, especially if the enemy should draw up in order of battle, and plant their cannon before them. But the young Nobility, who could not bear to stand idly looking on, were so eager and impatient to come to an engagement, that the commanders resolved to go within sight of the enemy, and there wait to take the advantage of some convenient opportunity, as they could easily retreat without danger, and found it not possible, by any means, to relieve the town. When they were come to the top of a hill, which overlooks the plain where the city stands, they perceived that the Duke of *Anjou* was apprised of their coming, and had begun to draw up his army in the field. Upon which, *La Noüe* advanced before the rest to reconnoitre them more narrowly; and observing, as he was a very experienced soldier, that their men behaved in an awkward manner, and seemed in great confusion whilst they were forming, with their pikes waving backwards and forwards (a certain sign of inexperience and want of discipline) and above all, that they had left their artillery behind them, and, either out of too great confidence in their strength, or for want of judgment in such undertakings, had omitted that advantage, he turned back to *Givry*, and told him, that the rawness of the enemy almost persuaded him to hazard a battle; which being overheard by the Nobility, and the Duke of *Longueville*, who was as eager as any of the rest to distinguish his youth by some gallant action, they all earnestly intreated him to follow that resolution. Being encouraged therefore by so general an ardour, he drew up his cavalry in five divisions, and ordered the foot to descend into the plain with three field pieces, which they had brought with them, and to begin the battle. The field-pieces were so concealed in the midst of the foot, that they could hardly be seen, and marched so fast, that they kept pace with the rest of the army, and were not discovered by the enemy. So that, when the *Sieur De Balagny*, who led their vanguard, inconsiderately advanced to the attack, there was such havock made in his squadron, at the first encounter, by the artillery, which gave fire three times with great success, that before they had time to rally, the Baron *De Givry* rushed upon them with his light horse, and the *Sieurs D'Humières* and *Bonivet* supporting them with two gallant squadrons of the Noblesse, he was not only forced to give ground, but to run away without making any further resistance. This onset being followed by the Duke of *Longueville* on one side, and the *Sieur De la Noüe* on the other,

1589. they routed the cavalry with very little opposition : and having pursued it not above three hundred yards, they wheeled and fell in upon the flank of the *Parisian* infantry ; which being charged in the front by *La Nèie's* musketry, and there being no commanders who had abilities enough to deliver them out of that danger, their ranks were broke, and they made no defence, but having thrown down their pikes and muskets, began to run away in great disorder and confusion. But as they were pursued by the cavalry, and the besieged made a sally upon their rear at the same time, there ensued a terrible slaughter of them, and so compleat a victory was gained by the King's forces, that they entered the trenches and took all the enemy's artillery, which was kept by the conquerors, and above thirty pair of colours. No officer of distinction, and not above twenty private men, were killed in the King's army. That of the League lost above twelve hundred, amongst whom was the *Sieur De Menerville*, an old dependant on the house of *Guise*, who making a stand at the place where the artillery was planted, received a mortal wound in his side by a musket ball.

The Duke of *Aumale* retired to *St. Dennis*, as he could not well tell how to carry the news of this defeat himself to *Paris*. But when it was brought thither by the *Sieur De Balagry*, the whole city was seized with such a panic, that *Madam De Montpensier* and *Madam De Guise* were hardly able, with all their endeavours, to comfort the people, whose spirits, according to the nature of the multitude, are soon raised, and as soon dejected. But when the Council of the Union was assembled, they resolved to recall the Duke of *Moyenne* as soon as possible, as the only person they could fully confide in, or thought able to defend them against the danger of a visit from the enemy's army, which, being much increased since the late victory, now over-ran the whole country.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after he left *Tours*, despairing of being able to make any progress in those parts against both the armies joined together, had marched back, with the utmost expedition, towards *Normandy* ; and being come to *Alençon*, a very large city, and of great importance, had, in a sudden manner, got possession of it by a composition with the inhabitants. From which he reaped this advantage, that the Duke of *Montpensier*, already victorious in that province, could not find means to join the King, and add still greater strength to his army. And therefore, after he had taken *Alençon*, he designed to pass on further, in full expectation of making a greater progress every day. But as the whole undertaking depended upon the security of *Paris*, and seeing that city not only straitened for provisions (because the Duke of *Longueville* had blocked up all the passages to it) but the people dispirited, and ready; now he was absent, to run into tumults, he resolved to desist from all other attempts, and

and return immediately to compose and relieve it. For which purpose he made long marches, and, without attempting any thing in the way, came, in the beginning of *June*, with his whole army, into the ile of *France*, which surrounds the city of *Paris*. 1580.

In the mean time, the King, to whose side the city of *Poitiers* had lately come over, having put his army in order at *Chapellault*, resolved to pass the *Loire*, and march toward *Paris*, with a design either to distress that city, or to engage the enemy, if they advanced to meet him, in the open field. The Sieur *De Chastillon* marched before with the advanced guard; the King of *Navarre* and his forces made the van: the King himself commanded the main body, in which were the Duke of *Montbazon*, the Marshals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, Monsieur *D'O*, and many other Noblemen and Commanders: and the Duke of *Espernon* brought up the rear. After the second day's march, the King received letters from Monsieur *De Sancy* by an express, who had come in disguise through bye-roads, and brought them secretly enclosed in the cover of a breviary. By these he informed him, that the *Swiss* of the Canton of *Bern* had not only given him leave to raise men there, but had lent him a sum of money, upon condition, that the King should defend them and the *Genevese* against the attempts of the Duke of *Savoy*: with which he had raised ten thousand foot of that nation, two thousand *German* horse, and three thousand *French* Harquebusiers: and that having not only begun a war with the Duke in the confines of *Geneva*, but engaged the Canton of *Bern* to make an opposition in those parts, till such time as his Majesty could extricate himself out of his present difficulties, and be able to send a powerful body of forces to their assistance, he himself was arrived in the territory of *Langres*, and was marching through the province of *Champagne* directly toward *Paris*.

This news gave great satisfaction, not only to the King, who had been very anxious about the event of that negotiation, but to the whole army also, as they all now firmly believed they should be able, with the assistance of those forces, to suppress the insurrections of the League in a few weeks: and his Majesty being convinced, that expedition was above all things necessary, immediately sent out dispatches several ways, especially to the Duke of *Longueville* and Montieur *De la Noüe*, with orders to assemble as many forces as they possibly could, and move without delay to meet that army in *Champagne*: and to the Duke of *Montpensier* to follow the Duke of *Mayenne* (who had left the confines of *Normandy*, and was returned towards *Paris*) and to come and join him, where he thought most convenient. After which, the army pursued their intended march, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, as every man thought he was going to a certain victory.

But

1589.

But this common joy was in some measure abated by the misfortune of the Count *De Soissons*, who having been sent by the King, together with Monsieur *Lavardine*, to command in *Bretagne*, whilst he was going to join the Noblesse of the province, which was assembled at *Renes* for that purpose, and had taken up his quarters at *Chateau-giron* in a negligent manner, without setting proper guards, was attacked about midnight by the Duke *De Mercœur*: who, having made a sudden and expeditious march thither with his forces from *Vitry*, which was many leagues distant, took the Count prisoner, after such a defence as the nature of the place would admit of, and his strength enable him to make. This accident obliged the King, though he could very ill bear to diminish his army, to send a detachment into that province, under the command of *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Dombes*, son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, who, though very young, began to give evident proofs of a generous spirit and great courage.

The army pursued its march in good order and strict discipline: and the vanguard being arrived at *Beaugency*, on the 21st of *May*, the *Sieur De Chastillon*, with the troops under his command, advanced to get intelligence, and to reconnoitre the country; whilst, at the same time, Monsieur *De Saurveuse* was marching with three hundred lances, and one hundred light horse, to join the Duke of *Mayenne's* army. This officer, not having been apprized of the King's motions, had left *Bonneval*, a very rich monastery in the territories of *Chartres*, and was proceeding on his march, when the advanced parties, sent out by each side, met, and began a skirmish, without knowing each other. But the *Sieur De Chastillon*, who was superior in forces, and better prepared for an engagement, attacked the other party so furiously on every side, that after *Saurveuse* had lost a hundred and fifty of his men, who yet fought very bravely, he himself, with sixty Gentlemen, was taken prisoner, and died of two wounds that he had received in the engagement, a few days after.

So prosperous a beginning determined them to proceed; and on the 23d they encamped near *Gergeau*, a rich and pretty large town, where there is a bridge, that is one of the principal passes over the *Loire*. The *Sieur De Jalanges* was Governor of this town: and being summoned to surrender, before the King's army proceeded, to batter it, he absolutely refused: upon which, the cannon were immediately planted against it, and soon made so large a breach in the wall, that they took the place without much difficulty by storm, and instantly ordered the Governor to be hanged. The town was sacked by the army, and the besieged cut to pieces; as the King, contrary to his natural disposition, was obliged to make a severe example, after he had so often declared, that he did not make war upon a common enemy, but upon a parcel of obstinate and incorrigible rebels. The taking
of

of *Gergeau*, was succeeded by that of *Piviers*, where the same rigour was exercised upon the magistrates of the place. So that the inhabitants of *Chartres* did not so much as wait for a summons, but threw open their gates, and received the King with all his army, and having driven out the dependants of the League, put themselves entirely under his Majesty's protection. 1589.

Whilst the King was at that place, he received advice, by the *Sieur De la Chelle*, that the Pope had published a *Monitory*, in which he declared he would proceed to ecclesiastical censures against his Majesty, if he did not release the Prelates out of prison, within the space of sixty days, and if he did not make due submission for the death of the Cardinal of *Guise* in the same time: which affected the King in such a manner, that he was not able either to eat or drink, for above forty hours afterwards. This declaration from the court of *Rome* had been obtained by the Dean of *Rheims*, who having been dispatched thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had set the proceedings of the League in so fair a light, at the same time exaggerating the strength of the confederates, and the weakness of the King's forces, that the Pope was at last induced to it, and the more readily, after it was reported, that his Majesty was treating of an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and designed to join the *Hugonots*. The *Monitory* was posted up at *Rome* on the 23d of *May*, and published a few days after at *Meaux*, ten leagues distant from *Paris*; the Bishop of which place was made High Chancellor by the Duke of *Mayenne* in the Council of the Union. The King was so shocked at this treatment from the Pope, that it occasioned a general dejection in his army, and very much retarded its progress. Upon which, the Archbishop of *Bourges* endeavoured to comfort him, by saying publicly, "That as his Holiness was abused by the misrepresentations of the confederates, and had proceeded in that manner, upon a supposition, that what they had done was out of zeal for religion; so, when he should be better informed, and convinced that they had taken arms only to gratify their own ambition and private sentiments, and not out of any real regard for the honour of the Apostolick See, or the defence of the Catholick faith, he certainly, as a common father, would change his opinion." But the King replied, with a deep sigh, "That he thought it very hard, that he, who had always fought and laboured so strenuously for the support of religion, should be rashly excommunicated, because he would not suffer his throat to be cut by the hands of his rebellious subjects: and, that those who had sacked *Rome*, and kept the Pope himself prisoner, had never been excommunicated." To which the King of *Navarre*, who was present, immediately answered, "But they were victorious, Sir: Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and then be assured, that these censures will be revoked," but

1589. "but if we overcome, we shall all die condemned hereticks." This advice was much approved of by the King, and all that were present, and orders were accordingly given for the army to march, and lay siege to *Esfampes*; which place being taken by assault, the King, whose natural propensity to melancholy was heightened, and his passions enflamed by so many provocations, caused all the magistrates to be hanged, and gave the free plunder of the town to the soldiers. From *Esfampes*, the King, being desirous to block up the passages of those rivers by which the city of *Paris* was supplied with provisions, marched forward with the body of his army to besiege *Poissy*: and the Duke of *Espernon* with the rear, took *Montrecau*, upon the river *Yonne*, and sacked it with the same fury. By the surrender of *Poissy*, which made but little resistance, the King became master of a very fine and spacious bridge, that opens a passage there over the *Seine*; by the help of which he was able to extend himself on both sides of the river. In this place the Duke of *Montpensier*, who had followed the Duke of *Mayenne* out of *Normandy*, without meeting with any opposition, came to join his Majesty; who intending to make that town his magazine, gave the government of it to the Sieur *De Villers*, and left his baggage, ammunition, and part of his artillery there, with a garrison of two thousand foot.

After *Poissy* was taken and garrisoned, the King of *Navarre* proceeded immediately with the van to besiege *Pontoise*, of which Monsieur *D'Alincourt* was Governor, and with him the Sieur *D'Hautefort*, who had likewise been put in by the Duke of *Mayenne*, to assist upon occasion. These two officers having fortified a church, which stood in a corner of the town, and reduced it into the form of a raveline, stood resolutely upon their defence. The first attempt was made upon the church, which being hotly battered and assaulted, and no less obstinately defended, held out for the space of nine days: at the end of which, *Hautefort* being killed by a cannon ball, the church was taken, and utterly demolished, and the besieged retired to defend the walls. But the Sieur *D'Alincourt* being wounded in the shoulder, and the bravest of the besieged slain by the continual fire of the artillery, and in the fury of a bloody assault, the rest were necessitated to surrender, and had leave to march out of the town on the 24th of *July*, upon condition, that they should not bear arms again in the service of the League, for three months.

The day after the taking of *Pontoise*, the foreign army arrived at *Poissy* bridge. For Monsieur *De Sancy* being first met by the Count *De Tavannes* with five hundred horse, in the confines of *Burgundy*, and afterwards by the Duke *De Longueville* and the Sieur *De la Noüe* in *Champagne*, with twelve hundred horse, and two thousand *French* musketeers, had advanced with great expedition. Nor durst the Duke of *Mayenne* venture to face

him with an army so much inferior, tho' he made a feint of opposing his passage: so that on *St. James's* day they passed the bridge at *Poissy*, where they were received with great joy, and furnished with plenty of all manner of necessaries by Monsieur *De Villers*, who had caused many carriages laden with wine and provisions to be sent thither to regale the *Swiss* and the *Germans*. The next morning, which was *St. Anne's* day, the King desired to view them in their several divisions, which were drawn up for that purpose in the field: and being attended by the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Montpensier*, he welcomed them all, and saluted the commanders with great familiarity, honouring them with such warlike presents as the disturbed and necessitous state of his affairs would only admit of. There were ten thousand *Swiss*, two thousand *German* foot, two thousand *Reiters*: to which the forces of the King, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Baron *De Givry*, and of the King of *Navarre* being added, the army amounted to forty-two thousand effective men. The terror of this army made all the places thereabout surrender, except *Le Pont de St. Cloud*, a town about a league from *Paris*, which had the hardiness to shut its gates upon them, but was victoriously entered on the 29th of *July*, and the succours which the Sieurs *De Bourdaisiere* and *Tremblecourt* had attempted to throw into it, with two regiments of foot and four hundred horse, were likewise furiously driven back by the cavalry.

Affairs at *Paris* were already in a very bad condition. For all the bridges being in the hands of the enemy, all the neighbouring towns taken, all the passages of the river blocked up, and the city straitened on every side, there was no other hope now left but in the presence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had shut himself up with his army in the suburbs of *Paris*. His army consisted of eight thousand *French* foot and eighteen hundred horse. But so great was the scarcity of provisions, and the terror so general that was occasioned by the King's success and severe manner of proceeding, that within two days the *French* foot were reduced to five thousand, and the *Germans* demanding meat and money, began to threaten that they would go over to the enemy. Nor were the inhabitants more resolute or more unanimous than the soldiery. For as the common people, according to custom, had been very forward to rebel, so, in hopes of being overlooked and escaping unpunished, on account of their meanness and obscurity, they were easily prevailed upon to submit to the King: and those who from the beginning had secretly been in his interest, but durst not declare themselves, were now so animated by his approach and the dejection of the other party, that they began to go boldly about the several quarters of the city, persuading the people to return to their obedience; and threw them into such despair, by representing to

1589. them the terrible situation they were in, that the Duke of *Mayenne* was no less afraid of the *Parisians* than of the King's army. Yet with a courage answerable to the greatness and urgency of the necessity, he dispatched young *Meneville* to the Duke of *Lorraine* (who had lately made himself master of *Jamets*, after a siege that lasted a whole year) desiring him to come personally to his relief, and sent orders for four thousand *Germans*, who had been raised by his commission, to join him with the utmost expedition, that they might advance together to raise the siege of *Paris*. But there could be no dependance upon these succours, as they were at such a distance that they could not arrive in due time. For the *Germans* were yet in their own country; the Duke of *Lorraine* was not fully determined how to act; the reputation of the League was greatly sunk in every province; and the people, now the first transports of their passion were over, and they saw themselves in such danger, began to think of returning to their duty to his Majesty: who having taken *St. Cloud*, had himself invested the Fauxbourg of *St. Honoré*, and all that side of the *Louvre* that looks towards the river; whilst the King of *Navarre*, on the other side, sat down before that part which reaches from the Fauxbourg of *St. Marceau* to that of *St. Germain*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was quartered in the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, and defended both *St. Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, having caused his posts to be fortified every where with trenches. The *Sieur De la Chastre*, with the *Germans* and a regiment of *Walloons*, took upon him to defend the Fauxbourgs of *St. Honoré*, *Montmartre*, and *St. Dennis*, which were likewise enclosed and fortified in the same manner. In the city, the Duchesses of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, and *Guise*, with the preachers (who yet, in a great measure, had now lost both their courage and reputation) took much pains to animate the people, as they saw them in such a state of dejection and despair. Monsieur *De Roshne*, who acted as the Duke's Marshal, was exceeding diligent in visiting every place; and the Priests and Friars in general had taken up arms and did the duty of soldiers.

The city being reduced to such extremities, and in so much terror (of which the King was thoroughly informed, by numbers of people, who ran away every hour from the city to his camp) his Majesty, on the 31st of *July*, had a mind to reconnoitre the enemy's posts in person: and by the advice of the Marshal *D'Aumont* and Monsieur *De la Noüe*, who attended him, resolved to refresh his army the next day, and on the 2d of *August* to make a general assault upon their works, with a full assurance of success, as he was in a manner certain, that the *Germans* would mutiny, and that many in the city would take up arms in his favour; some out of ancient affection and unvaried attachment to his person, others in hopes of obliterating the memory of their late insolence and rebellion by
their

their present services. In his return toward *St. Cloud*, he stopped his horse upon a hill, from whence he had a full prospect of the city, and could not help saying, with some emotion, "*Paris*, thou art the head of the kingdom; but a head too great and too capricious: it is necessary to take some blood from thee, in order to restore thy health, and to preserve the rest of the kingdom from the like phrenzy. I hope, in a few days, here will be neither walls nor houses, nor any thing else left, but the bare place where *Paris* once stood." And indeed there was no man who did not already prognosticate that event: and the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, together with the Sieurs *De Rohan* and *De la Chastre*, being resolved not to survive their ruin, had determined to mount their horses and die honourably, sword in hand, in that enclosure that lies betwixt the modern walls of the town and the suburbs, which they saw they could not defend.

But as many strange and wonderful events still happened in the course of these wars, so a very unexpected and unthought-of accident proved a remedy against that imminent danger, which neither the valour nor experience of the commanders were able to prevent. There was in *Paris* one *James Clement*, of the order of the *Dominican* Friars (who are commonly called *Jacobines*) born of mean parentage at the village of *Sorbonne*, in the territory of *Sens*, a young man about two and twenty years of age, and always looked upon by his brethren, and many others that knew him, to be a half-witted fellow, and rather a subject of diversion, than in any wise to be feared, or thought capable of undertaking any serious or important affair. I remember to have seen him myself, and have often heard the other Friars entertain themselves with him, when the court was at *Paris*, and I used to visit *Stephen Lusignano*, a *Cypriot*, then brother of the same order, and afterwards Bishop of *Limisso*. This fellow, either prompted by his own inclination, or spurred up by the sermons that he daily heard preached against the King, in which his Majesty was styled *Henry of Valois, the tyrant and persecutor of the faith*, determined to hazard his life in attempting, by some means or other, to kill him. Nor did he keep this bold resolution secret, but often said publicly amongst his brethren, "That it was necessary to take up arms and cut off the tyrant:" at which they only laughed, as usual, and gave him the name of *Captain Clement*. Many took pleasure in putting him in a passion, by telling him of the King's proceedings, and that he was advancing against the city of *Paris*. To which, whilst the army was at a distance, he only answered, "That it was not yet a proper time, and that he should not give himself that trouble at present:" but when the King drew near, he began to grow more serious, and told one of the Fathers of his order, that he had a strong impulse to go and kill *Henry of Valois*, desiring his

1589. advice whether he should put it in execution. The Father having communicated this affair to the Prior, who was one of the chief Counsellors of the League, they both answered, "That it behoved him to be thoroughly convinced that it was not a temptation of the Devil: that he ought to fast and pray, and beg of God to illuminate his mind and direct him what to do." A few days after, he came to the Prior and the other Father again, telling them he had done as they advised him, and that he felt himself more strongly moved than ever to undertake it. And the Fathers, as many said, having consulted about the matter with Madam *De Montpensier*; or, as the favourers of the League pretend, of their own mere motion, exhorted him to the attempt, assuring him that, if he lived, he should be made a Cardinal, and if he died, for delivering the city and killing the persecutor of the faith, he would certainly be canonized for a saint. Upon which, the Friar, not a little animated by these exhortations, endeavoured to get proper credentials from the Count *De Brienne*, who was taken at *St. Ouy* and still detained prisoner in the city; telling him, that he had an affair to negotiate with the King, of very great importance, and which would redound to his infinite satisfaction and advantage. The Count, not knowing the Friar, and hearing how the city stood affected, and that many were contriving to bring in the King, imagined what he said was matter of fact, and made no difficulty of granting him his letter; with which he departed, the last day of *July* in the evening, and went directly from the city to the King's camp, where he was immediately seized by the guards: but upon saying he had business and letters to communicate to the King, he was brought to *James de la Guesle*, the King's Attorney-General, who executed the office of Judge-Advocate in the camp. The *Sieur De la Guesle* having heard the Friar's errand, and knowing that it was dark when the King returned from reconnoitring the enemy's works, told him that it was too late that night, but that he would introduce him the next morning without fail; and that in the mean time he might stay in his quarters for security. The Friar accepted the invitation, supped at the same table with *La Guesle*, cut his meat with a new knife that had a black haft, which he had with him, eat, drank, and slept without any concern. And as there was a sort of a prophecy current, not only in the camp but through the whole kingdom, that the King should be killed by a Friar, he was asked by many, whether he came for that purpose: but he answered very composedly, "That those were not things to be jested with in that manner." In the morning of the 1st of *August*, Monsieur *La Guesle* went to the King's quarters very early, and having acquainted him with the Friar's desire to speak with him, was ordered to bring him in immediately, though he was not yet quite dressed, but still without his buff-coat,

which he used to wear with his armour, and had no other cloaths on his back but a thin taffaty waistcoat all unbuttoned. The Friar being introduced, they both withdrew to a window on one side of the room, and he delivered his letter from the Count *De Brienne*, which the King read; and having ordered him to proceed to acquaint him with his business, he pretended to feel for another paper that he had to present. But whilst the King stood attentively expecting it, he drew the same knife out of his sleeve, struck him with it on the left side of the navel, and left all the blade buried in the wound. The King had no sooner received the blow, but he hastily drew out the knife with his own hands (which made the wound still wider) and struck it up to the hilt in the Friar's forehead, who, being at the same time run through the body by *La Guesle*, instantly dropped down dead, and was thrown out of the window by the Sieurs *De Montpensat*, *De Lognat*, and the Marquis *De Mircpoix*, Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber, who were present at the fact; where he was torn to pieces by the common soldiers, his limbs burnt, and his ashes scattered in the river.

The King was immediately carried to bed, and his wound not judged mortal, upon examination, by the surgeons. Wherefore, having called his Secretaries, he ordered an account of this accident to be dispatched into all parts of the kingdom, exhorting the Governors and Magistrates not to be dismayed, as he hoped to be so well again in a few days as to be able to get on horseback. The same exhortations and hopes were given to all the commanders and principal officers of his army; and having ordered the King of *Navarre* to be immediately sent for, he committed the care of the army, and the diligent prosecution of their present undertaking, entirely to him. But at night his wound grew so painful, that it brought a fever upon him, and when the surgeons came to examine it more narrowly, they found his bowels were pierced, and all agreed that he could not live many hours. After which, the King, who commanded them to speak the truth, being informed of his danger, desired that his Chaplain, *Stephen Boulogne*, might be sent for, and with very great devotion made confession of his sins. But before absolution, his Confessor having told him, that he heard the Pope had published a *Monitory* against him, and therefore he ought fully to discharge his conscience in the present extremity; he replied, That it was true, but that the *Monitory* itself imported, that in the article of death he might be absolved; that he would comply with the Pope's request, and solemnly promised to release the Prelates, though he was convinced their imprisonment had cost him his life and crown. Upon this satisfaction, the Confessor gave him absolution, and administered the sacraments to him the same night. But his strength beginning to fail, he ordered his chamber-doors to be thrown open,

1589. open, and the Nobility to be called in, who gave the most sincere proofs of real affliction and concern, by the bitterest and most affecting lamentations: and turning himself toward them, whilst the Duke of *Espernon* and his nephew the Count *D'Auvergne*, stood by his bed-side, he said, with an audible voice, "That he was not afraid to die, but that it grieved him to leave the kingdom in such distraction, and all good men in a state of affliction and persecution: That he desired no revenge for his death; for he had learned from his youth, in the school of *Christ*, to forgive injuries, as he always had done upon every occasion in times past." Then addressing himself to the King of *Navarre*, he told him, "That if the practice of killing Kings should become common, he himself could not long be secure." He exhorted the Nobility to acknowledge the King of *Navarre* for their natural Sovereign, as the Crown lawfully devolved to him, and not to demur upon it, on account of difference in religion: for that he was well assured both the King of *Navarre*, who was a Prince of a candid and generous disposition, would at last return into the bosom of the church, and that the Pope, when he was better informed, would receive him with open arms, to prevent the utter destruction of the kingdom. In the last place he embraced the King of *Navarre*, and said to him twice over, "Brother, I assure you, you will never be King of *France*, except you turn Catholick, and humble yourself before the church." After which, having called his Chaplain, he rehearsed the Creed, according to the use of the *Roman* church, in the presence of them all, and having crossed himself, began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm, but his speech failing him at the twelfth verse, he departed very quietly, having lived thirty-six years, and reigned fifteen and two months. By his death the royal line of the house of *Valois*, descended from *Philip* the third, surnamed *the Hardy*, became extinct: and by virtue of the *Salic* law, the Crown devolved to the family of *Bourbon*, nearest in blood, and descended from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, second son to *St. Lewis*.

The whole army was exceedingly afflicted at so tragical an event, especially the Nobility, who lamented the death of their Prince in the tenderest and sincerest manner: whilst, on the other hand, the *Parisians* made the most extravagant rejoicings; and some of the principal men, who had worn mourning ever since the death of the Lords of *Guise*, now left off their black, and put on green, with plumes, and lace, and other finery. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, according to his wonted prudence and moderation, was very far from behaving in that manner, taking great pains to clear himself, and spread it abroad, that he had not the least concern in the affair, but that it was directly and immediately the hand of God. He was not much credited, however. For the suspicion was not easy to be rooted

rooted out of people's minds; as it seemed highly improbable that the superiors of the convent, particularly the Prior, who was one of the Counsellors of the Union, and much confided in, should not have consulted with the Princes about the fact, and that they should have worked upon the credulity of the Friar, and encouraged him to commit it by such powerful allurements; and all this without their privity. But as the events that happen in the course of civil wars, are often either falsely related, or misrepresented, by the malice of contending factions, others have added many fictions to the truth, which a certain writer, perhaps out of ignorance or carelessness, or it may be out of hatred and partiality, has not scrupled to publish in his writings.

Howsoever that might be, it is certainly worthy of very great consideration, and wonderful to think, how the singular virtues and noble accomplishments of so great a Prince, should bring him to so cruel and unfortunate an end; as we may from thence learn this excellent lesson, That the skilfulness of the pilot avails but little, if the gale of divine Favour, which governs human affairs with eternal providence, does not help to bring our actions to their desired port. For *Henry* the third was endowed with all amiable qualities, which even in his earliest youth were exceedingly revered and admired; singular prudence, royal magnanimity, inexhaustible munificence, most profound piety and ardent zeal for religion, perpetual love to the good, implacable hatred to the bad, infinite desire of doing good to every one, popular eloquence, affability becoming a Prince, generous courage, firm resolution, and wonderful dexterity in arms: for which virtues, during the reign of his brother, he was more admired and esteemed than the King himself. He was a General before he was a soldier, and a Statesman before he came to years of maturity: he made war with spirit, eluded the vigilance of the most experienced commanders, won many bloody battles, took fortresses that were deemed impregnable, gained the hearts of people far remote, and was renowned and glorious in the mouths of all men. Yet when he came to the Crown, and endeavoured, by too much artifice and subtlety, to free himself from the yoke and bondage of the factions, both parties conceived such a hatred against him, that his religion was accounted hypocrisy; his prudence, low cunning; his policy, meanness of spirit; his liberality, licentiousness and unbridled prodigality; his affability was despised, his gravity hated, his name detested, his private friendships and familiarity imputed to enormous vices; and his death, being extremely rejoiced at by factious men and the common people, was rashly judged a stroke of divine Justice.

After the King's death, the army continued all that day, as it were stupified and thunderstruck: nor were the *Parisians* in less wonder and
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amazement, when, by an unexpected accident, they saw themselves left quiet and unmolested that day, in which, with the utmost terror and apprehension, they looked for nothing but utter desolation. But the King of *Navarre*, having returned directly to his quarters at *St. Cloud*, though he had fully determined with himself to assume the arms and title of the King of *France*, was yet very doubtful and solicitous about the event of it. For the *Hugonots* that depended upon him were few and weak, and if he should seem to acknowledge the sceptre from them, he was sure to alienate the stronger and more numerous party. In the Catholics he could have but little confidence, as he was of a different religion, and had not gained their affections by the merit of any former benefits, but had always been very averse to them, nay their open enemy, and was not so much as known by sight to many of them before that time. As for the foreign troops, he could not tell what resolution they would take, as they were under commanders of small credit and authority, without instructions from their Princes how to act upon such an unforeseen emergency, and more likely to mutiny and disband for want of pay, than to follow him who had nothing to give them. For as he was but lately come out of that narrow angle of the kingdom, where he had been confined so many years, he was so far from being able to pay them, that he had not wherewith to support himself. And in the late King's coffers there was found but very little ready money; the vast expences of the war having swallowed up both the revenues that had been collected, and the sums which his friends had lent him in his necessities. To this were added, the prejudices that many of the principal men in the kingdom had conceived against him. The Duke of *Montpensier*, though he was of the same house, yet out of regard for religion, which he held in very great veneration, had but little correspondence with him, not being able to endure, and esteeming it a disgrace to the whole family, to see him surrounded with *Hugonot* Ministers and Preachers. The Count *D'Auvergne*, bastard of *France*, a young man of a fiery temper, took an opportunity of quarrelling with him upon every slight occasion, as quartering of soldiers, and dividing plunder, and seldom used to salute him. Monsieur *De Vitry*, Monsieur *De Villers*, and many others, who in times past had received favours from the house of *Guise*, and had lately served the deceased King, because their spirit would not suffer them to be called and accounted rebels, now that obligation and bond of obedience was dissolved by his death, could not by any means prevail upon themselves to follow an enemy to the house of *Lorraine*. And, which was of the greatest importance, the Duke of *Espernon*, who, as it usually happens, hated and persecuted all those that he thought were likely to eclipse or lessen him in his master's favour, had broken, almost openly, with him

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in the late King's life-time. For the King of *Navarre*, who was a spirited man, and one that spoke his mind very freely, having perceived that the Duke of *Espernon* looked upon him with an evil eye, and endeavoured to put his Majesty out of conceit with him, had publickly complained of him, and said, "That if he thought to treat him as he had done the Lords of *Guise*, he would not bear it." And *Espernon*, on the other hand, had said more than once, "That the King of *Navarre* did not use to make war like a King, and in a regular manner, but like a free-booter and a plunderer, and that all manner of outrages and enormities were committed by the *Hugonots*." And at the taking of *Esclampes*, having caught a foldier of the King of *Navarre's* own troop of dragoons, who had stolen a pix out of one of the churches and thrown the host upon the ground, he instantly killed him with his own hand; so that there was far from a good understanding betwixt them. All these considerations, added to the straits and difficulties which he then laboured under, made the King of *Navarre* very dubious and uncertain what might be the event of such a declaration: and so much the more, as he knew several people, employed by the League, were secretly come from *Paris* into the camp, to tamper with those that were discontented, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* offered them all very large and advantageous conditions.

But whilst the King was thus perplexed with doubts and involved in cares, private men were no less alarmed and full of apprehensions. For the *Hugonots* imagined that the King would renounce their religion for the sake of the Crown, and therefore were afraid he would soon be reconciled to the church of *Rome*. And the Catholicks, seeing him continually surrounded by *Du Plessis Mornay*, *Des Amours*, a Minister, the *Sieur De la Noüe*, and many others who were staunch *Calvinists*, and calling to mind the transactions of former times, were persuaded he would not forsake that religion, and those persons with whom he had lived so long, and who had constantly stood firm to him in all his distresses and adversity: and many of both religions were biassed by other interests and considerations of various kinds.

The army being in this fluctuating and unsettled condition, the Catholicks, who were the greater number, assembled the night before the 3d of *August*, to consult what course they should take. Here their opinions were very different. For many thought it most adviseable to follow the King of *Navarre*, and support him in his pretensions to the Crown, not only out of regard to the justice of his cause, but in obedience to the expresse tenour of the *Salic* laws, and to continue the kingdom in the lawful succession. They said, "That by doing otherwise, either the kingdom must necessarily be divided amongst so many petty Kings,

1589. " as there were armed Princes and Pretenders, or they must submit to
 " the dominion and arbitrement of foreigners. That this was the sure
 " way to foment discord and perpetuate civil wars, to the destruction of
 " the publick, and of every individual ; and to expose their common
 " country to fresh dangers and disasters, and endless bloodshed. That
 " the hand of God was plainly to be distinguished in favour of his just
 " cause, by arming him with forces in so opportune a conjuncture, by
 " reconciling him with his good subjects, and by putting him miracu-
 " lously in a condition both to obtain and defend his crown. That it
 " was their duty to follow the guidance and dispositions of Heaven, and
 " to leave the care of future events to divine Providence. That by the
 " law of God, Princes were to be borne with, and not deprived of their
 " rights and inheritance, for any particular defect. That the King of
 " *Navarre* was an ingenuous Prince, full of clemency, moderation, and
 " sincerity. That there was not the least reason to fear a violent or tyranni-
 " cal exercise of power from him, but much, on the contrary, to hope for
 " a mild and regular government, with the same liberty of life and con-
 " science, that he had hitherto constantly granted to every one. That, in
 " short, it was a thing unworthy of the *French* name and Nobility to side
 " with rebels, who had impiously imbrued their hands in the blood of
 " their Prince, and with manifest violence and injustice, endeavoured
 " to despoil the right heir of the lawful succession to the Crown. But,
 " on the other hand, that it was an action worthy the name of Cavaliers
 " and Gentlemen, which they so much valued themselves upon, to re-
 " venge his innocent blood, so unjustly shed by his subjects, and to sup-
 " port the true and lawful heir in the possession of the Crown." Such
 " was the opinion of the *Sieur De Rambouillet*, the *Baron De Givry*, and,
 " above all, of the *Duke of Longueville*.

But many argued, on the other hand, " That they ought to observe
 " the laws of God before any human institutions, and that the salvation
 " of the soul was always to be preferred to all worldly and transitory
 " things. That the consideration of religion was prior to the rights of
 " Kings ; as one depended upon the law of nature, and the other only
 " upon the particular constitution and establishments of different nation .
 " That they had a recent and very remarkable example before their
 " eyes, and no further off than in *England* : where a change of religion
 " in the Prince had caused the destruction of the Catholics, and alien-
 " ated the whole kingdom from the Apostolick See. That the miseries
 " of war and the calamities that attend it, might be ended in a short
 " time ; but the danger of losing both their religion and their souls, ex-
 " tended to their children, their grand-children, and their latest posterity,
 " which would sustain an irreparable and eternal loss by their present
 " conni-

“ connivance. That it was true, Princes were to be borne with, though
 “ wicked and of another religion ; but that was to be understood of those 1589.
 “ that were already placed and confirmed in the throne, not of such as
 “ were still to be received and established. That all means had been
 “ tried with the King of *Navarre*, that all arguments had been used,
 “ that he had been persuaded by the States-General, and earnestly in-
 “ treated over and over again by the late King, to change his religion,
 “ and yet could never be prevailed upon. That if he would not re-
 “ nounce *Calvinism* in the lowest ebb of his fortune, it was not to be
 “ hoped he would do so in the height of prosperity. That what was
 “ said of his good qualities and disposition was very true, but that he was
 “ so exceedingly bigotted to his religion, that he would think it merito-
 “ rious to force men’s consciences ; and though he himself was not of a
 “ tyrannical nature, yet perhaps he might be succeeded by one of a dif-
 “ ferent turn. That it was good to look forwards, and to beware of
 “ alienating a most Christian kingdom from its obedience to the Holy
 “ See, and from the communion of the church of God.” These argu-
 ments were advanced by Monsieur *D’O*, the *Sieur De Manüy* his brother,
 Monsieur *D’Entragues*, *Dampierre* the Field-Marshal, and the majority
 of the Assembly.

Besides these two contrary opinions, a third expedient was recom-
 mended, which seemed in some measure to reconcile and balance them.
 For the Marshal *De Biron*, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, the Duke of *Esper-
 non*, and others of the most prudent and moderate men in the Assembly,
 proposed, That the King of *Navarre* should be declared King of *France*,
 and that they should obey and support him as such ; but upon an assurance
 that he would change his religion, and embrace and maintain the *Roman*
Catholick faith. And this motion was founded upon the declared will
 and pleasure, as well as the wise determination, of their deceased Sovereign,
 who at his death had pronounced him his lawful successor, but at the
 same time had also admonished him to turn *Catholick*, if ever he expected
 to sit in peace upon the throne of *France*.

This proposal was in a manner generally approved of ; and instructions
 were given to those that made it, to let the King know, with all due mo-
 desty, what they had determined. The Duke of *Luxembourg*, therefore,
 attended by the rest, immediately went to wait upon him with the mes-
 sage, and told him, “ That the Princes, Lords, and Officers of the Crown,
 “ together with all the *Catholick* Nobility that was in the camp, which
 “ made the greatest and best part of the kingdom, were ready to ac-
 “ knowledge him King of *France*, to serve, obey, and support him
 “ against all others, since God and nature had called him to the Crown
 “ by lawful succession : but at the same time, they besought him, that,

1589. " for the general contentment and due satisfaction of his subjects, for
 " the benefit, peace, and tranquillity of his kingdom, for the honour of
 " his own person, and out of regard to the title of *Most Christian King*,
 " he would be pleased to embrace the Catholick religion, and return
 " into the bosom of the holy church, to take away the pretences of his
 " enemies, and all scruples of conscience in his friends, that so he might
 " be served, honoured, and obeyed with universal consent and approba-
 " tion. That his Majesty would not think this their proposal and most
 " humble supplication, by any means strange; as it would appear much
 " more strange to their consciences, and to the whole Christian world,
 " that any one should be established in the throne of *France*, who was
 " not a Catholick, as all his glorious predecessors had been, from the
 " time of *Clovis*, the first of their Kings that received baptism."

The King, though he was much disturbed and perplexed in his mind, yet, either because he preferred his religion to the Crown, or knew that by endeavouring to please the Catholicks, his new subjects, he should displease the *Hugonots*, his old adherents, took also a middle course, and answered, " That he thanked the Nobility, with a heart sincerely *French*,
 " for their acknowledgment of his right: that he was thoroughly sen-
 " sible they were the principal support of the Crown, the main re-
 " source of the kingdom in war, and the security of the sceptre in time
 " of peace. That he embraced them all with tenderness of heart, and
 " was ready to acknowledge their loyalty and devotion, both in publick
 " and in private; but desired they would not think it strange, if he did
 " not so immediately comply with their first request, as the nature of the
 " thing required time, and advice, and mature consideration. That he
 " set a higher value upon his soul and conscience, than upon all worldly
 " grandeur. That he was brought up and instructed in a religion which
 " he had always thought the true one; nevertheless, if he was in an
 " error, he should be open to conviction. That he was ready to submit
 " himself, either to a general or national Council, and to be instructed
 " by learned and conscientious men, who would not disguise the truth:
 " but that these were motions proceeding from God, effects of time and
 " reflection, and which ought to be matured in peace and tranquillity, and
 " not amidst the noise and distractions of war, and with a dagger at his
 " throat. That he was firmly resolved to give all his subjects satisfaction,
 " but that the present conjuncture was not by any means proper to put his
 " designs in execution, lest his actions and declarations should seem coun-
 " terfeit and insincere, and extorted by force, or else determined by
 " worldly interests. Upon which account, he intreated them to wait for
 " a more convenient opportunity; and in the mean time, if they desired
 " any security for the maintenance of the Catholick religion in the same
 " state

“state that it then was, he was ready to give them all the satisfaction they could wish for.” 1589.

With this answer, the Deputies returned to the rest of the Catholics assembled in the *Hôtel de Gondi*, and the King likewise retired to consult with his most intimate friends. The *Sieur De la Noüe*, a man of great experience in worldly affairs, though he was a *Hugonot*, freely told the King, “That he must never expect to be King of *France* if he did not turn Catholic: but that he ought to endeavour to do it with reputation, and without doing an injury to those that had so long served and supported him.” On the other hand, *Du Plessis Mornay* and the Ministers insisted, “That liberty of conscience and the cause of God ought to be preferred to all earthly greatness;” magnifying the strength of their party, and telling him, “That they who had defended and preserved him so many years, were also able to establish him in the kingdom.” The King, knowing that these last were governed by their interests, approved of *Monsieur De la Noüe’s* opinion, and resolved within himself to turn Catholic: but, like a generous and magnanimous Prince, would not seem to do it out of ambition or constraint, and thought the proposals that he had made to the Catholics were but reasonable: so that he determined to stick to those terms, and to add nothing further than to prefix a certain limited time for his conversion.

God seemed miraculously to inspire the Catholic party with the same disposition and inclinations. For though many of them, and particularly some Prelates that were in the camp, opposed it: yet the greater part, out of a just indignation for their Prince’s death, would not hear of any agreement or accommodation with the League. It was therefore at last concluded, that the King should take a stated time for his conversion, and engage to preserve the Catholic religion upon the same footing that it then was; upon which conditions they would acknowledge and follow him.

The Deputies having carried this resolution to the King, and treated a long time with him and his Counsellors, an instrument was at last mutually agreed on betwixt both parties, by which the Catholic Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, Noblesse and soldiery, on one side, acknowledged *Henry of Bourbon* for their lawful Prince, and took an oath of allegiance to him, as King of *France*, promising to pay him due obedience, and to serve and support him against every other person: And on the other side, he solemnly swore and promised, upon the word of a King, to cause himself to be instructed in the Catholic religion, within the space of six months, by an Assembly of eminent and learned men; and, if there should be occasion, to call a national Council, to the decrees of which he would humbly submit himself: and promised, in the mean

1589. mean time, to maintain the said *Roman* Catholick, Apostolick religion inviolable; not to make any innovations, or change any thing in it, of what kind soever, but to protect, defend, and secure it: to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices and revenues (in the manner observed by the Kings his predecessors) to worthy and able men, and of the same religion: to cause the exercise and ceremonies of it to be publickly established in all places under his own particular jurisdiction, as he had consented to do in the agreement concluded with the late King, in the month of *April* last past. That he would put no Officers nor Governors but such as were Catholicks, into the towns that were under his obedience, nor into those which hereafter should submit to him, or should be taken, except those places only which had been already granted to the *Hugonots*. That he would admit none to any dignities, offices of the Crown, or magistracies whatsoever, but such persons as publickly professed the Catholick religion. That he would conserve and maintain the Princes, Peers of *France*, Ministers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, cities, corporations, and the three States of *France*, not only in being, but in their wonted privileges, immunities, prerogatives, offices, employments, and magistracies, without any prejudice or innovation whatsoever. That he would endeavour to take just and proper revenge for the parricide committed upon the person of King *Henry* the third, by severe and exemplary punishment, and the destruction and extirpation of disobedience and rebellion. Finally, that he would permit his Catholick subjects to send an Ambassador to the Pope, to inform his Holiness of the reasons why they had acknowledged him, and sworn allegiance to him, and to sue for and obtain those things from the Apostolick See, which they should think necessary for the universal good of the kingdom.

On the 4th of *August* this instrument was signed by the King, on one part, and on the other, by most of those that were then in the camp: and was afterwards authenticated and registered in the Parliament of *Tours*, according to the forms that had usually been observed by those courts, in the times of former Kings. Thus, the urgent necessity of affairs, and resentment for the King's death, so fresh upon their minds, brought about this accommodation, which, at another time, could not, by any means, have been effected.

Yet this agreement was not sufficient to retain every body: for the Duke of *Espenon*, under the pretence of a dispute about precedence with the Marshals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, had not signed the instrument; because they, as Marshals and in the camp, claimed a right to sign first, and he, as Duke and Peer of *France*, pretended to the same. But in reality, for fear of being ill used by the King, and that in his present distress, he would, either by force or intreaties, extort a sum of money from

from him, as every body knew his coffers were full. So that, pretending 1589.
 he had obtained leave from the late King to return to his governments; he departed the next day from the army with his troops, and with many others who followed his example, and took that opportunity of returning to their houses: and having passed through *Touraine* by *Lockes*, he came at last to *Angoulesme*. *John* *Sieur De Villers*, who had the government of *Poissy*, a man very zealous for the Catholick religion, and who, in his younger years, had been preferred by the Lords of *Guise*, gave up his government, now the obligations ceased which he had to the late King, together with the artillery and ammunition of the army, to *Philibert* *Sieur De la Guiche*, who received it by order from the King: after which, he retired into his own country, with two hundred horse, and many Gentlemen that had attended him: many others did the same. *Monsieur De Vitry* took a bolder resolution (which nevertheless was also followed by many) and went over to the League without any demur; alledging, that he did not see any certainty at all in the King's promises, and that he would not bear arms in favour of the *Hugonots* against the Catholick religion. And the common soldiers, some out of impatience, some for want of pay, and others to avoid future hardships, began to straggle away and disband of themselves in such a manner, that by the 7th of *August*, the army was diminished above one half in number, and daily continued decreasing. It was likewise apprehended, that the *Swiss* would have left them. But the Marshal *De Biron*, who now was at full liberty to pursue his ancient inclination and attachment to the King, prevailed upon them, by various arguments and intreaties, to promise that they would follow the King for the space of two months, till they should receive fresh commissions from their Cantons: to which, a good sum of money, that the King borrowed from his friends, and divided secretly amongst their commanders, contributed more than any arguments or intreaties: so that without demanding further pay, but living upon free quarter, they peaceably followed the King's colours. Nor were the *Hugonots* more steddily, or better satisfied than the rest. For as they flattered themselves that the King, who had been brought up amongst them, and constantly defended and supported by them, would not only establish their religion, now he had attained to the Crown, but prefer his old friends to the most considerable offices and employments, and put more confidence in those forces that had carried him victoriously through so many dangers, than in the uncertain and conditional promises of the Catholicks. But now they found the contrary, they accused him of ingratitude: and had it not been that they entertained some hopes, that he did but temporize till he was settled in the throne, and that he would then act in a very different manner (as he himself artfully insinuated in his

1589. his secret conferences with them) without doubt they would have utterly forsaken him. And yet; notwithstanding that expectation, very few followed him, and those not cheerfully: for many, not thinking themselves sufficiently secure, and others out of anger and discontent, disbanded, and returned in great numbers to the cities that were held by their party.

But the King having proceeded so far, and accommodated himself to the present necessity, immediately assumed the name and arms of King of *France*; and not being able at that time to support any new expence, made use of the late King's household furniture and liveries, the same purple serving as mourning for his predecessor, which he had, till then, used for the death of his mother. And as he knew people were not yet thoroughly reconciled to his authority, and that his weakness was yet held in contempt by many, he endeavoured, by easiness of access by the complaisance of his answers, the familiarity of his conversation, and the sprightliness of his wit, to make himself agreeable, and to gain the affections of every man; supplying his present inability by large promises, and behaving himself more like a companion than a Prince, whilst he seemed to acknowledge that he owed the Crown and the success of his undertakings, sometimes to the good offices and assistance of one man, and sometimes of another, but always separately, and professed the most earnest desire of shewing his gratitude to them all upon any opportunity. To the *Hugonots* he seemed to trust his most secret resolutions, and acknowledge their party as the foundation of all his hopes. To the Catholics he paid very great respect, speaking with much reverence of the Pope and the Apostolick See: honouring the ecclesiastical order upon all occasions, and shewing himself so well disposed to the *Roman* religion, that he gave them the highest reason to expect a speedy and sincere conversion. To the common people he expressed great compassion for their burdens and the calamities of war: and to the meanest of them excused the necessity of taking free quarter upon them, by laying the fault upon his enemies. To the Noblesse he behaved with the utmost deference, giving them the glory of having acted like true *Frenchmen*, in preserving their country from ruin, and restoring the royal family: eating with them in publick, and admitting any of them into his own apartment; and was so far from concealing his private necessities, that he often took an opportunity of introducing those things in a joke, which he could not so well lay before them in a serious manner; and by such arts endeavoured to allure every one to follow his party.

But the army was now reduced to so small a number, that he was not only obliged to raise the siege of *Paris*, but to make speedy provision against the imminent danger that he was threatned with; as the League had increased in strength and reputation every moment since the King's death:

death: so that he entered into a private and long consultation with the Marshals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, the Sieur *De la Noüe* and the Duke of *Montpensier* (for that Nobleman, being satisfied with the King's promises, had now firmly resolved to adhere to him, out of regard to the common interest of their family) what measures would be safest to take in their present circumstances. And finding they could not possibly keep the whole army together, which yet, in a few days, would have been much inferior to the forces of the League, they determined that the King, with the Duke of *Montpensier* and the Marshal *De Biron*, should retire into the province of *Normandy*: that the Marshal *D'Aumont* should go into *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with Monsieur *De la Noüe*, into *Picardy*, to keep those provinces in their duty, and to reunite when time and occasion should require.

But the King, being well acquainted with the strength of the League, and the heavy burden of civil war, was desirous to see if there was any hope left of an agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as he was determined not to be in any wise wanting to himself, nor to neglect any probable means of securing the Crown in peace. And as he was informed that one *Bigot*, a dependant upon Monsieur *Villeroy*, was then in the camp, with many others, who had come thither from the city for different purposes, he caused him to be introduced into his presence by the Sieur *De Chastillon*, and gave him orders to let his master know, that he very much desired to speak with him, and that if he would fix upon any place to meet him, he should have a safe conduct sent him, and all other necessary security.

The Sieur *De Villeroy* had gone over to the League, not only out of resentment for his sudden dismissal from court, but because the government of *Lions*, after the death of Monsieur *De Mandelot*, was, contrary to the promise which the King had made him, first given to the Duke of *Nemours*, and afterwards to Monsieur *De la Guiche*, in preference to his son *D'Alincourt*, who upon that dependence had married the daughter of *Mandelot*. To these causes of discontent he added another excuse, which seemed to be still more plausible. For as his estate lay within the territories of *Paris*, and he was turned out of his employment at court, he said he could not tell how to support himself, except he joined that party that would secure him in the possession of his own property. Whatever his motives might be, it is certain, that when *Bigot* had delivered the message to him from the King, he desired to be excused from having any thing at all to do in the matter, without the Duke of *Mayenne's* privity and consent, to whom he immediately communicated it. But the Duke would not suffer *Villeroy* to go; alledging, that it could not be done so secretly but it would be generally known, and conse-

1589. quently give umbrage and cause of suspicion to his party: that affairs were at present in a very hopeful train, and that it would be imprudent to alter or interrupt their course, as any little accident might do; and therefore only consented, that he should receive a Gentleman at his house in *Paris*, and treat with him there, if the King pleased to send one for that purpose. With this answer *Bigot* returned to the camp: and the King, not thinking it below him to take these means to advance his own affairs, and shew the Catholics that he was desirous of peace, immediately sent the *Sieur De Marfilliere* his Cabinet Secretary.

Marfilliere not having been able to obtain leave to speak personally with the Duke of *Mayenne*, told the *Sieur De Villeroy*, that the King had sent him expressly to assure the Duke, that he was heartily inclined to peace, and to represent to him how necessary it was for the publick good: that he had a very great esteem for the Duke, and was desirous to make him his friend, and to have him near his person, that he might have an opportunity of shewing his regard for him, by promoting him to a degree of honour suitable to his condition. That the Duke ought now to lay aside his vain hopes of seeing him totally abandoned and forsaken: for all the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen and others, both in the army and out of it, had sworn allegiance to him, and promised him their assistance, on one hand: and on the other, he had given them sufficient satisfaction in what concerned religion, by a reciprocal engagement in writing, a copy of which he had sent him to shew to the Duke. That not only the *Hugonots*, but even the Catholics of the army, were highly enraged at the Duke on account of the King's death, and had solemnly sworn to prosecute their revenge till they were thoroughly satisfied: that he himself had promised the same, and was nearly interested in it: that if so universal a benefit as the peace of the kingdom did not allay the resentment of those that had thought themselves injured, and induce him to come in at that time, he would never be able to do it afterwards, upon any pretence whatsoever. That therefore it behoved the Duke to consider of it, and to embrace so fair an opportunity of regaining the affections of so many Catholics, and so large a body of the Nobility, who, after all hopes of peace were at an end, would for ever after be his bitter and irreconcilable enemies. Finally, that the King desired he would propose some terms, as his Majesty was disposed to gratify him in every thing that was possible.

These things being reported to the Duke by Monsieur *Villeroy*, he had commission to answer, That the Duke had no private enmity to the King, and for his own part, honoured and held him in the highest veneration; but that religion and conscience would not suffer him to enter into a treaty with him. That if his late brother had taken arms in the King's lifetime

time to prevent the Crown from descending to a Prince of a different religion, as by the Duke of *Alençon's* death they apprehended it might, he could not lay down those arms, now the necessity was more urgent, and that event had actually happened, without doing injury to the memory of his brothers, and to his own conscience, and acting contrary to the solemn oath that he had taken. That he had engaged his honour, and given up his life to the publick cause, when he accepted the office of Lieutenant-General of the State; and that, as he had declared and acknowledged the Cardinal of *Bourbon* for King, and the Crown had been adjudged to be his right, he could not withdraw his allegiance from him, nor resolve upon any thing till the said Cardinal was set at liberty, and all those of his party assembled together. That if the King's death had created him so many enemies, he hoped God would protect his innocence: but his satisfaction was so great to see the death of his brothers revenged, that he should cheerfully support all the hatred he had incurred on that occasion. That he neither ought, nor could give advice to a Prince against whom he had taken arms: but he might easily conclude, that the releasing the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and his own conversion were necessary, before they could proceed to any treaty. With these general terms *La Marbilliere* returned to the King, just when he was going with his army to leave *St. Cloud*, and the adjacent towns, where he was not able to stay any longer.

The resolutions, after the King's death, had been no less divided and uncertain in *Paris*, than in the King's camp. For the Duke of *Moyenne's* friends and relations, especially *Madam De Montpensier*, advised and exhorted him to cause himself to be elected and declared King of *France*, by the party which he commanded: representing to him, that he ought not by any means to omit so fair an opportunity of transferring a Crown into his family again, which had been formerly worn by his ancestors, as he was acknowledged to be the head of the kingdom, and obeyed not only by most of the principal cities, but by a great number of the Nobility, and by far the greater part of the Clergy. The controversy, they said, was betwixt him, who was already acknowledged and obeyed by those of his party, and a Prince of a different religion, whose right of inheritance might very well be called in question, both on account of the distance of blood, and his being an enemy to the church; upon which considerations, he could never be sincerely liked nor obeyed by those very Catholics that seemed to be of his party, who indeed had now at first been prevailed upon to follow him by their resentment for the King's death; but as the principles of the Catholics and the *Hugonots* were absolutely incompatible and contradictory to each other, it could not be long before their former hatred would revive and their passions flame out

1589. again; that they would soon be separated, and divided by difference of religion and their own natural enmities. That it was necessary to chuse a warlike and Catholick Prince, to whom they might securely have recourse, when they should grow discontented, or find their error and abandon that party. That the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, a decrepid old man, and detained in prison, was, upon both those accounts, a very unfit person. That the Duke would be accused of pusillanimity, if he should be wanting to himself upon so fair an occasion, as none but mean-spirited people accounted excessive moderation a virtue: whereas men of a noble disposition always incline to bold and generous attempts. That it would be attended not only with great advantages, but with the highest honour, and was neither impossible nor difficult: and that the Duke could neither excuse himself to his own conscience nor to his posterity, if he neglected a blessing which God so miraculously held out to him. They shewed, that to declare the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, was the sure way to establish the King of *Navarre* in the possession of the Crown; for by so doing, they would own that the kingdom belonged to the house of *Bourbon*: and when the Cardinal died, who was already in the last stage of his life, the lawful succession could not afterwards be denied to his nephew. And though the objection of his religion should still remain, he would easily get over that, by turning Catholick, and going to hear a mass or two perhaps. But if he persevered in it, yet the other Princes of that house would succeed in their natural order without opposition: for which reason, it was best to oppose the very first step, and assume that to himself which he was inconsiderately going to confer upon another. That the matter was easy at present, though very likely it would be otherwise in a few days. For the King of *Navarre* had promised to turn Catholick within six months, and in the mean time it was possible his nephew the Duke of *Guise* might be set at liberty, who being the head of the family, would, perhaps, oppose his greatness, and be governed more by his own interests, than a proper regard to the many labours and maturer years of his uncle. That it was necessary to begin boldly and suddenly, before the King of *Spain*, the Pope, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had time to lay their schemes to turn the current of affairs their own way. For when once he was elected and declared, they would be necessitated rather to support him than take part with the King of *Navarre*, an heretick, and enemy to *Spain*, on account of some part of his dominions being usurped by that Crown; to the Pope, in consequence of his religion; to the Duke of *Lorraine*, for seizing upon the Duke of *Bouillon's* territories; and to the Duke of *Savoy*, for his designs upon *Geneva* and the affair of *Saluzzo*. Finally, they argued, that since the labour and danger were certain, and that he was to bear all the weight of them, it

was

was more eligible to undergo them, to advance his own interests and greatness, than to promote the exaltation of another, and to support a weak and infirm Prince, who was in prison and hardly known, and from whom he was not certain he should ever receive any recompence. 1589.

This specious advice, which proceeded chiefly from self-interest, was opposed by *Villeroi* and the President *Jeanin*, whom the Duke consulted in every thing: not that they alledged either right or justice against it (considerations of very little account when the debate is about a Crown) but only represented the impossibility of the thing, and said, That the *Parisians*, the common people, and cities of his party, were dismayed with what had lately happened, having seen the Duke but a few days before, reduced to the last extremities, and their common destruction so near, that it was thought inevitable. That their ardour was much damped, and they were now very far from being so zealous in the cause of the union as they had been in the beginning. That they wanted a Prince, who had money and forces sufficient to defend and secure them from the resentment of the King of *Navarre* and his party, and therefore had turned their eyes, some upon the Duke of *Savoy*, others upon the Duke of *Lorraine*, and many even upon the King of *Spain*: nor did any thing restrain them from applying to those powers, but the justice and equity that was due to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was esteemed the lawful successor, as those considerations have, generally speaking, much greater weight amongst the commonalty, than amongst people of higher rank. But when that motive ceased, it was most probable that they would all rather chuse to be governed by so potent a monarch as the King of *Spain*, who had so many ways and means of gratifying and rewarding his subjects, than by a petty Duke of *Mayenne*, whose only strength consisted in the union of those that had elected him to be their chief. For with what power, with what funds, with what armies, would he pretend to dispute the Crown with the King of *Navarre*, and the greatest part of the Nobility united with him? or with the forces of the King of *Spain*, of the Pope, of *Savoy*, or the Duke of *Lorraine*? When the house of *Bourbon* was excluded, there was not one of them that might not claim a better right to the Crown than he. For the Infanta of *Spain* was daughter to the late King's sister: the Duke of *Savoy*, son to one of his aunts: the Duke of *Lorraine* was head of his family, and had sons by another daughter of *France*: and the Pope, if he was moved by zeal for religion, would be so much the better pleased to have a powerful Prince to defend it; and if he acted upon principles of self-interest, might reasonably expect greater advantages from any of those Princes, than from so weak a one as the Duke of *Mayenne*. That it would be madness to undertake an enterprize that was neither generous, magnanimous, nor likely

1589. likely to succeed, but rash, precipitate, and dishonourable, and which would be attended with the loss both of his life and fortune.

This advice prevailed with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well upon the above-mentioned considerations, as for two other reasons. One, that Don *Bernardino de Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, did in a manner openly declare against his election: so that considering the forces and authority of his Catholick Majesty, he thought it would be impossible to effect any thing that he did not approve of. The other, that if it should be discovered that he suffered himself to be governed by his own private interest, and not by regard for religion and the publick good, he was afraid he should be abandoned by the Pope and all the other confederates, and particularly by the *Parisians*. For which reasons he chose to wait for a more favourable and opportune conjuncture, and in the mean time to cause the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be declared King, as he saw it was the general inclination of the people, and leaving the bare title and ensigns of royalty to him that was not only old and infirm, but in prison, to keep the power and authority of the government in his own hands: being certain, that the more unanimously he was elected and declared by the League, the more closely he would be confined and watched by the King of *Navarre*, and consequently it would be so much the longer before he could be capable of taking the supreme command entirely upon himself. In which time, perhaps, either his death, or victory, or some other event, might open him a fairer and more convenient opportunity of accomplishing his designs: whilst the other competitors were spending their strength to support their hopes and pretensions, which would either be entirely extinguished, or at least very much cooled, when they saw another person in immediate possession of that crown, which they had taken so much pains to secure to themselves.

The Duke, therefore, anticipating the solicitations of the people and the Council of the Union, was the first that declared the Cardinal of *Bourbon* King of *France*, with the title of *Charles the tenth*, and caused him to be proclaimed so in the Parliament, in the Council of the Union, and in the middle of the city of *Paris*, retaining to himself the name and authority of his Lieutenant-General through the whole kingdom. This declaration bore a good face, and was very agreeable to the people, and fully determined them to continue the war, for the liberty of their King, as they said, and the extirpation of heresy: the *Spaniards* were not displeased at it, as it gave them time to settle their affairs, and to make such further preparations as were necessary: and the Pope rejoiced exceedingly to see both the Catholick religion and the lawful succession of the Crown in the kingdom of *France* secured at the same time, and by the same means.

After the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had been declared lawful King by the Council of the Union, the Duke of *Mayenne* exhorted the people, by a pompous edict, to acknowledge the Prince whom God had given them, to pay due obedience to him, and to labour, with all their might, to deliver him from the imprisonment in which he was detained by his enemies: commanding that every one should bind himself, by an oath before the magistrates of his province, to live and die in the Catholick religion, and to defend, protect, and confirm it; pardoning all such as should separate themselves from all correspondence with the *Hugonots* within the space of fifteen days, and retire into places that adhered to the Catholick Union. As soon as this edict was registered and published in the Parliament, he dispatched the Commendatory *De Diu* to *Rome* again (who had brought the *Monitory* against the late King) to inform the Pope of the state of affairs, to notify that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was declared King of *France* with the title of *Charles the tenth*, and to intreat his Holiness to assist the cause of religion, not only with his countenance and approbation, but also with supplies of money and forces. Into *Spain* he dispatched two several couriers, with particular accounts of the whole transaction, deferring to send any person of distinction thither till the arrival of Don *Juan de Morrea*, who had been sent by his Catholick Majesty just before the late King's death, and was then, as he heard, in *Lorrain*. For though the King of *Spain* had not been willing openly to declare himself an enemy to King *Henry* the third, for whom he pretended to have a great respect upon many accounts: yet, as he himself had first laid the foundation of the League, and assisted and strengthened the Duke of *Guise* with great sums of money; so after his death he had ordered *Mendoza*, his Ambassador, to stay at *Paris*, and there, under pretence of taking care of the interests of the Catholick religion, to assist them in every thing, as he actually did, and had so gained the affections of the *Parisians*, partly by money, partly by artifice and address, that he had as great an influence and authority amongst them as the Princes of the houses of *Lorrain*. And though his Catholick Majesty never sent any forces openly to the League whilst the King lived, yet he suffered the Count *Jago de Collalto*, who had raised a body of *German* infantry at his expence, and for his service, to go, under a pretence of particular friendship, into the service of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and had, both with his purse and authority, promoted the levies of *Swiss* and *Germans*, which the Duke of *Brunswick*, *Charles* Count of *Mansfelt*, and the *Sieur De Bassompierre* had made in favour of the League. But now the King's death had taken away that restraint, and so honourable a pretext, as the assisting the Catholicks against a heretick and excommunicated Prince, presented itself, the Duke of *Mayenne* was in hopes that he would employ

1589. all his forces to serve the League; and therefore staid to hear his intentions more particularly from the mouth of Don *Juan de Morrea*, after which he designed to send some person of authority, to concert measures with him for their common interest.

But the King having heard of the declaration in favour of his uncle the Cardinal, which had been published at *Paris*, and received in other places that adhered to the League, determined in the first place, as the Duke of *Mayenne* expected, to dispatch his confidant *Du Plessis Mornay* to *Clignon*, where the Cardinal was, with orders that he should be removed to *Ponteney*, and there confined more closely under stricter guards, thinking that place more secure, because it was near *Rochele* and surrounded on all sides with the *Hugonot* forces. He proceeded in the next place to solicit the Catholics, who had acknowledged him, to send the embassy already concluded on, to *Rome*, to enter into a negotiation with the Pope, and to see if it was possible to pacify him and secure his interest. The Catholick Lords, therefore, being desirous to make their embassy respectable, both by the birth and wisdom of the person they employed, sent the Duke of *Luxembourg*, a Nobleman of a very illustrious family, of singular abilities, and great experience in state affairs. After which, the King, to shew that he had not forgot his promise to the Catholics, caused the Assembly of the States to be summoned to meet, the *October* following, at *Tours*; which, as the Parliament and Court of Exchequer then resided there, was become the capital city of his party. There, he told the Catholics, he would be instructed in the *Roman* religion, in the congregation of the States, by learned and pious men, whom he had sent for from all parts, and professed with great appearance of sincerity, that he would submit to whatsoever should be determined upon in that Assembly: though the *Hugonots* affirm, that he gave their party other assurances in private, which, if true, was not much to be wondered at, in the precarious situation of his affairs. These things being dispatched, which were all absolutely and fundamentally necessary for his establishment in the kingdom, he resolved not to stay till he was attacked by the forces of the League, as their commanders intended to follow him with their whole army in a few days, but marched directly away towards *Compiègne*, carrying the King's dead body with him: and having taken *Meulan*, *Gisors*, and *Clermont* by the way, arrived at that place on the 24th of *August*, where he interred the body in the great church with as much funeral pomp (though very little) as the necessity of the times would admit of: after which he pursued his march, with all possible expedition, towards *Normandy*.

At his entrance into that province, it was looked upon as a happy beginning, and an introduction to future success, that he was met there by
Captain

Captain *Rolet*, a man of no less valour than good sense and understanding, who, as Governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, a place of very great importance, three leagues above *Roüen*, and in a manner the key of the *Seine*, took the oath of allegiance, and delivered that fortress into his hands. After three days march farther into the province, the King came to *Darnetal*, a town something less than two leagues distant from *Roüen*, and having encamped his army there, resolved to make a feint of besieging that place, in which the Duke of *Aumale* and the Count *De Brisac* had shut themselves up. Not that he thought he had either strength or other necessary provisions sufficient to take it, but to shew courage and resolution, and to amuse the enemy till he had effected what he intended to do. The army therefore sat down before it, and having burnt the mills which were on the outside of the fortifications, whilst there were frequent skirmishes betwixt his forces and the garrison, the King having left the command of the army to the Duke of *Montpensier* and the Marshal *De Biron*, went immediately to *Dieppe*, which city was governed by the Commendatory *De Chattes*, and had acknowledged his Majesty. When he had carefully considered the situation of *Dieppe*, the harbour, which is a very capacious one, and the country round about it, he resolved to remove thither with all his forces, and there to sustain the first shock of the League's army. What induced him to take this resolution, was, that, the town lying upon the sea-coast right over-against *England*, with a port large enough to receive any fleet, how numerous soever, he might have supplies of men, money, cannon, and ammunition from Queen *Elizabeth*; and in case he should be so distressed by the enemy that he could hold out no longer, he might pass over into *England*, and return afterwards and land at *Rockelle*, or in what other place he should think fit. He was the more confirmed in this determination by the strength of the city and the citadel, by the largeness of the suburbs, that were capable of containing all his men, and by the situation of the passes about it, which was such, that every place might be defended inch by inch, so that he could not be obliged to retire into the castle till after a long time and an obstinate contest. For all these reasons, he immediately dispatched *Philip* *Sieur Du Fresne* to the court of *England* (whither he had been sent some time before by the late King, and was but just returned) to acquaint the Queen with the extremities he was reduced to, and to solicit supplies of men and money there: and having performed this most important journey with wonderful expedition, he joined his horse with the garrison of *Dieppe*, and took the towns of *Eu* and *Neuf Chastel*, weak places, but such as might have incommoded him, as they lay so near. After which, he thoroughly scoured the country on all sides, and then returned

1589. to *Darnetal*, with a design to conduct his army to *Dieppe*, now there was nothing left in the way to obstruct his march.

He marched from *Darnetal* on the 2d of *September*, with fourteen hundred horse, two regiments of *Swiss*, each of which consisted of fifteen hundred men, and three thousand *French* musketeers; to so small a number was his army reduced since the King's death. There were with him the Duke of *Montpensier*, who led the van: the Count *D'Auvergne*, whose resentment for the King's death and desire of revenge, had made him forget all former disgusts: *Armand* Marshal *De Biron*, who had the chief direction of affairs: his son *Charles*, Baron *De Biron*; *Charles* of *Montmorancy*, *Sieur De Meru*, or Lord *D'Anville*, as he was more commonly called, who commanded the *Swiss*: *Monsieur De Chastillon*, General of the *French* infantry: *Monsieur De Rieux*, Marshal of the field: *Monsieur De Baqueville*, who commanded the light horse: the *Sieurs De l'Arembures*, *De l'Archant*, *De Mignonville*, *De Guitry*, *Du Hallot*, and *De la Force*, the other Lords and Gentlemen being gone, according to the first resolution, into different parts of the kingdom. With this army and these commanders, the King being come near *Dieppe*, gave orders that the Commendatory *De Diu* should continue in the city and in his former command of the citadel, with the ordinary garrison of two hundred men, and two companies of *French* foot extraordinary, which amounted in all to the number of five hundred; whilst he himself resolved to keep the field with the rest of the army.

The city of *Dieppe*, as we have said before, lies upon the sea-side, just over-against *England*, and has a port on the right hand, which extends itself in the form of a half-moon, and where a vast number of vessels may ride in security. On the left stands the citadel, which, being of a quadrangular form, and built upon a rising ground, scours the country on one side from four large towers, and on the other commands the town. The situation of this city is very strong and advantageous: for towards the sea it is fortified with several bastions, ravelines, and platforms, besides the powerful defence of the water: and on the side toward the land, the country is so rough, that no forces can approach it without great difficulty, nor any artillery without much more. The nature of the roads that lead to it likewise affords infinite opportunities of defence. for it lies betwixt two steep, craggy, and woody hills, which extend themselves from the beach many miles into the country. Within these there is a narrow valley, through which the river *Betbune* takes its course, and dividing the *Bourg du Pollet*, falls into the harbour, and from thence directly into the sea. Up this river the salt-water runs, and when there are high tides, it overflows the valley for several miles; which makes it so deep and miry, that there is no way of coming at the city but over the

the hills, and by another road that is made by art, and leads along the skirts of the hill, through many turnings and windings, to one of the gates. So that there are only two avenues to the town, one over the top, the other at the bottom of the hill on the left hand: for the road that goes over the top of the hill on the right hand leads strait to *Pollet*, which Bourg is divided from the city by the harbour, and the shallow stream of the river *Bethune*. The ground betwixt one hill and the other is all marshy and rotten by the stagnation of the water, and there is no passing it, except by a very narrow way, in which there are several bridges, as the river there divides itself into many channels. Upon the hill, on the left side, which is no less steep and craggy than the other, stands the castle of *Arques*, something more than a league from the town, a place excellently fortified both by art and nature, and which commands a large Bourg of the same name that lies under it, directly in the road which leads to *Dieppe*, along the foot of the hill by the river-side. The hill on the right hand, which is much more woody than the other, does not run in one continued ridge, as that on the left does, but about a league above *Pollet*, is divided by a great valley which ends over-against *Arques*: and in this lies *Martinglise*, a considerable and very commodious village, on the right hand; and on the left, an hospital of *St. Lazarus*, which the *French* commonly call a *Maladerie*.

The King and his chief officers, having narrowly surveyed every one of those places, resolved to quarter with his whole army at *Arques*; imagining, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* followed him, he would not pass along the hill on the right side, across the valley and through the wood, as that led only to *Pollet*, but would take the direct road to the walls of *Dieppe*. For which reason, he immediately set the whole army at work, and what few peasants could be got together, to enclose the castle and Bourg as speedily as possible, with a good trench about eight feet wide and as many in depth; raising fortifications on the inside with the earth that was thrown out of it, and strengthening it with ravelines and redoubts about sixty paces distant from each other: and then, having planted his cannon in a very advantageous manner, he went himself into the castle with all the *French* foot; and the Marshal *De Biron* into the Bourg, with the two regiments of *Swiss*: so that by this disposition he blocked up both the roads which lead to the town, that over the top, and the other along the bottom of the hill. The horse lay behind the rest of the army, in that space which reached from the trenches as far as *Dieppe*, ready to move where occasion should require, as there were places left at proper distances along the trenches wide enough for fifty of them in front to fall out at a time; a body sufficient for their present purposes. In the harbour of *Dieppe*, many vessels were stationed to bring

1589. provisions for the army from *England*, and the coasts of *Normandy*, from *Caën*, *St. Lo*, and *Carantan*, towns that adhered to the King; which was of great service; for some winds brought in barks from *England*, others, those that came from *Normandy*, successively relieving the necessities of the soldiers. Besides this convenience, they had many miles of a most fertile country in their power, which at that season of the year furnished both horse and foot with great plenty of every thing.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* being reinforced by the Marquis *Du Pont*, who was come with the army of *Lorraine* to assist the League, and likewise by the Duke of *Nemours*, who had brought up the forces of *Lionnois*, by Monsieur *De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambrai*, and last of all by the *German* horse and foot, which had been raised by his order, with the assistance of *Spain*: in order to keep up his reputation, and to gratify the sanguine hopes that he had conceived of gaining a victory, and driving the King out of the kingdom, had moved from *Paris* on the 1st of *September*, and with six thousand *Swiss*, four thousand *German* foot, twelve thousand musketeers, part *French*, part *Lorrainers*, and four thousand five hundred horse, had taken possession of *Poissy*, *Mante*, and *Vernon*, which surrendered to him: and having reduced *Gournay*, which made some little resistance, in the space of two days, marched forwards with great expedition toward *Rouën*, from whence he took the Duke of *Aumale* along with him, when he found the King had left those parts: and thus augmenting his forces, which increased every hour, he continued his march, with the same speed, towards *Dieppe*. But he took a different road from what the King and all his commanders thought he would have done. For leaving that which runs along the hill side on the left hand towards *Dieppe*, by the way of *Arques*, where he knew the King's army had taken possession of all the advantageous places, and was excellently posted for making a vigorous opposition, he marched on by the hill on the right hand, with a design to make himself master of *Pollet*, that so he might block up and command the mouth of the harbour. By which means he thought he should easily be able to gain a compleat victory, and put an end to the war; as the King, being then deprived of the use of his shipping, and cut off from all communication with the sea, could not possibly receive the supplies that he expected from *England*, and must of consequence be reduced to great extremities and want of provisions.

But the King, to whom the Sieur *De Baqueville* (who was ordered to observe the motions of the enemy) had reported, in good time, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the road towards the hill on the right hand, being aware of his intention, and desirous to prevent it, left the Marshal *De Biron* at *Arques* with the *Swiss*, a thousand musketeers, and six

hundred horse, not only that he might hinder the passage of the enemy on that side, as had been his first intention, but also that he might pass over the valley to the foot of the hill on the right hand, and there draw a line round the *Maladerie*, and another large trench toward the bottom, to obstruct the Duke's passage on that side also, by a double impediment, lest he should be able to get over to the left hand hill, and either attack his army in their works, or distress it by throwing himself betwixt it and the town. When matters were thus disposed on the outside, the King, with the rest of the cavalry and the remainder of the *French* musketeers, passed immediately through the city to *Pollet*; where the Nobility and Commanders, as well as the common soldiers and inhabitants, laboured incessantly day and night, till he had surrounded the whole Bourg with a deep trench, which ending in the form of a spur, made an acute handle, at the extremity of which, a large mill that stood there, was turned into a fort, and not only filled with earth, but surrounded with palisades. After which he planted six pieces of cannon, though but small ones, upon the works, and brought all his men within the enclosure of that fortification.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was so embarrassed with the weight of his artillery and the ruggedness of the roads, that he had been obliged to march very slowly, and did not arrive within sight of *Pollet* till *Wednesday* the 13th of *September*, where he drew up his army in order of battle, and made a stand for three hours, expecting the King would come out of his trenches to fight him: whilst, in the mean time, he caused his light horse to scour the country all round, under the command of the Duke of *Nemours* on one side, and the Count *De Sagone* on the other. The King's army consisted of few more than seven thousand men, including even those that were at *Arques*; and the Duke's amounted to about twenty-nine thousand horse and foot, furnished with great plenty of ammunition and an excellent train of artillery. So that his Majesty, seeing such a prodigious disparity betwixt their forces, thought proper to keep close in his entrenchments, and only consented that the light horse, commanded by the Grand Prior, should sally out, supported by the *Sieur De l'Archant's* and *Monfieur De la Force's* troops of lances, to secure their retreat if there should be occasion. They skirmished with the advanced guards all the time that the main body of the League's army stood still, and sometimes the skirmishes grew so warm, and increased to such a degree, that it was fully expected, by people of little experience, that the commanders would come to a general engagement: though there was not much loss sustained by either side in these encounters, and the King's, for the most part, had the advantage. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, perceiving that the King would not run the hazard of a battle, except he

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1589. was forced to it, and then with the advantage of his trenches and other works, retired over the hill and quartered his army at *Martinglise*; and having caused *Pollet* to be reconnoitred that night, and found that it was excellently fortified, and in a manner inaccessible on every side, as it commanded all the plain, and was flanked by the cannon of the town, he resolved not to attempt it, but to pass over to the hill on the left hand, and endeavour either to take the castle of *Arques* and besiege the King's army, or else to draw them to an engagement in defence of their posts. For he put such confidence in the valour and number of his troops, that if he could not do it otherwise, he boldly determined to attack the King even in his own trenches, though at a manifest disadvantage.

In the mean time, the Marshal *De Biron* had possessed himself of the *Maladerie*, and made a large trench round it with the utmost expedition, where he placed twelve companies of *Swiss* and three hundred *French* musketers: and not trusting entirely to that, had raised another high work within less than five hundred paces below the first, and there posted the *Swiss* of the King's guard, under the command of Colonel *Galati*.

The Duke having given his men three days rest, marched with all his army in order of battle on the 16th, at night, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, and leaving *Pollet* behind him, passed beyond the King's trenches, and appeared about break of day, upon the declivity of the hill that leads down to the plain, with a design to pass the bridges on a sudden, and get over, without opposition, to the left side. But he found himself prevented by the vigilance of the King, who being come silently in the evening to *Arques*, and having received intelligence of his moving, many hours before it was day, had disposed his forces in exceeding good order, some at the entrance of the bridges, where the Grand Prior was with his light horse, and the lances commanded by the *Sieur De l'Archant* and *Monseigneur De la Force*: some in the middle of the plain, where the *French* infantry was, encompassed with bogs and pools made by the river: some in the lower way of the hill on the left side, where the Duke of *Montpensier* was with the Nobility and the companies of *Arembures*, *Du Hallot*, and *Mignonville*: and others upon the ascent of the same road, where the Marshal *De Biron* was, with a squadron of *Swiss*, flanked with musketers. The artillery of *Arques* was all pointed to scour the plain; and *Galati* having drawn up his *Swiss* musketers with their front toward the enemy, and their rear to the *Maladerie*, was posted in such a manner as to fire from the second trench directly upon that pass by which the army of the League was to descend.

The Duke thought that disposition so wisely made, that he did not
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care to engage an army which he saw standing firm in their ranks ready to receive him, at so manifest a disadvantage of ground; and finding, upon examination, that it was impossible to pass the plain and to get up the hill on the left side, except he could first make himself master of those two entrenchments that stood so high as to command all the descent and all the plain, he resolved to retire to his former quarters at *Martinglise*, from whence he sent out parties to skirmish, sometimes toward *Pollet*, sometimes toward the trenches, in order to cover his design, and to make the King uncertain on which side he intended to attack him. But on the 21st, in the morning, which was the feast of St. *Matthew*, being resolved to try his fortune, he ordered the Count *De Belin*, one of his Marshals, to advance directly to attack the *Maladerie*, and begin the battle there, with Count *Jago de Collalto's* regiment of *Germans*, and the regiments of foot under the command of *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneray*; who having led his men through a thick woody defile, and exceeding troublesome, came within shot of the larger trench. At which time, the *Germans*, wearied with their march through so uneven a road, and knowing the assault would be very difficult, from the high situation of the enemy's works, resolved to make use of art to effect their design, if deceit may be so called. For which purpose, they held up their hats on the tops of their pikes, and stretched out their hands, making signs that their intention was to come over to the King's party, and not to storm or assault that fortification: which being easily credited, as a rumour was spread abroad, that they were dissatisfied with the Duke, and wanted an opportunity of revolting, they came forwards till they were got close under the work without being fired at or resisted. When they arrived there, and confirmed that by their professions which they had signified by their actions, they were pulled up by the hand by soldiers of the same nation, and assisted to get upon the parapet, where they had no sooner lodged themselves, but they, unexpectedly, fell upon the *French* and *Swiss* with their pikes and shorter weapons, who having no firelocks in their hands, but seeing themselves thus suddenly attacked, or rather vilely betrayed and going to be murdered, immediately turned their backs without being able to make any resistance, and, with infinite terror and confusion, began to fly towards the descent, in hopes of getting into shelter on the plain. *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneray*, whose men were divided into two light parties, followed the track of the *Germans*, and having seen this beginning, rushed suddenly out of the wood, and immediately advanced, as fast as ever they could, to the same entrenchment, where they joined the flank of the *German* battalion, and were so animated with the success of their first attempt, that they ran furiously together to make an assault upon the second fortification. On the other hand, the

Marshal

1589. Marshal *De Biron* had hasted thither to encourage Colonel *Galati* to make a vigorous defence. But the attack was so hot and unexpected, from the sudden taking of the *Maladerie*, that the *Swiss* guards giving way, and the Marshal *De Biron* being thrown from his horse, that work was also carried with incredible celerity by the enemy.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being informed of this prosperous beginning, and resolved to pursue his advantage, gave orders to the Duke of *Nemours* and the Count *De Sagone*, to advance with the light horse on the right hand of the trenches already taken; and to the Duke of *Aumale*, to proceed with twelve hundred more horse on the left hand, whilst he himself followed with the remainder of the army, divided into several bodies, as the nature of the place would admit. In the mean time, the King, being exceedingly vexed and enraged at the unexpected loss of the trenches, and finding that it was now become necessary to engage with his whole force, rode up to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and ordered him instantly to charge the Duke of *Aumale*; and the Grand Prior, on the other side, to attack the Duke of *Nemours* and the light horse of the League. The Grand Prior, though very young, yet ambitious of glory, and to take some revenge for the late King's death with his own hand, came up to the head of his troop, and putting down the beaver of his helmet, immediately rode full gallop to meet the enemy: and seeing the Count *De Sagone* at the head of his squadron, he called to him by name, and challenged him out to fight hand to hand: which being no less gallantly accepted, they charged each other so resolutely, that the Grand Prior receiving a pistol shot on the fore-part of his helmet, reeled backwards and forwards two or three times, and had like to have fallen; but the Count *De Sagone*, being wounded with a brace of balls in the side and left thigh, dropped dead from his horse upon the ground. The King's light horse rushed upon the enemy with no less fury than their commanders; but found their number so much superior, as they were followed by two squadrons of Reiters, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent to support them, that they were obliged to retreat. So that still giving ground, after an obstinate resistance, they were at last furiously driven back to the foot of the hill, where the fire from the cannon at *Arques* served both to secure them and repel the enemy. In this engagement, which was very hot and bloody on both sides, the *Sieur De Baquerville*, who was the Grand Prior's Lieutenant, died valiantly fighting.

On the other side, the Duke of *Montpensier*, being met by those who were flying from the trenches, and ran in a confused manner towards the plain, was so disordered by them, that he had much ado to disengage himself: and when he advanced to attack the squadron that was led

led by the Duke of *Aumale*, he was so * daunted at their numbers, that he kept wheeling and discharging his pistols at them, but still retired towards the descent, whither he was closely pursued by the cavalry of the League. The King, who was betwixt both these troops, and had advanced rather too far towards the steep of the hill on the right hand, to give necessary orders, found himself so entangled amongst the enemy's squadrons, that being almost left alone, and disdaining to run away, he thought himself irrecoverably lost, and rode about, exhorting, intreating, and threatening those that were flying, stopping and upbraiding sometimes one, sometimes another, and bewailing himself aloud, "That in all France there were not fifty Gentlemen that had courage enough to die with their Prince." Nor was there any doubt, but if the Duke of *Mayenne* had come up time enough with the rest of his army, the King and all his forces must have been inevitably destroyed. But whilst he was bringing up the cavalry very slowly through rough and broken defiles, and often turned back again to make them keep close in their ranks for fear of disorder, he gave the King sufficient time to rally and retrieve his loss. For in this interval the *Sieur De Chastillon*, perceiving the danger that his party was in, immediately quitted the hill on the left hand, where he had been posted at the beginning, and marching up with the utmost speed to the place of battle, called out to the King, "Courage, Sir, we are here, and will spend the last drop of our blood by your side." Upon which he instantly attacked the regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneray* with such fury, that having taken the Count *De Belin* prisoner, and the chief commander of the *Lorrainers*, with the loss of above three hundred of their men, he drove them out of the trenches again. This gave a very different and immediate turn to the fortune of the day. And the Marshal *De Biron* having happily disengaged himself from the enemy, had now, with the assistance of Colonel *Galati*, prevailed upon the *Swiss* to make a stand, who before were running away; but upon this encouragement they faced about with fresh vigour, and marched up again to join Monsieur *De Chastillon*, who had already retaken the smaller entrenchment, and was rallying his men to attack the *Maladerie*. The King himself likewise, having bravely advanced thither, caused the Baron *De Biron*, with an hundred Gentlemen, who were

* The forementioned anonymous author of the critique upon *Davila*, says, that he was imposed upon in this circumstance, by the account which the Duke of *Mayenne* published of the engagement to magnify his advantage, to encourage his party, and at the same time to vilify the Duke of *Montpensier*. For that he behaved very bravely, and retook the entrenchment that had been taken by the *Germans*. Which indeed seems to be justified both by the Duke of *Montpensier*'s former and subsequent behaviour; and *Davila* himself mentions the Duke of *Mayenne*'s account of this action, as if he thought it exaggerated.

1589. gathered together about him from several parts, to dismount from their horses; and placing them in the first files of the infantry, ordered them immediately to make a fierce attack upon the great trench. The action was very hot and bloody for a quarter of an hour; but *Collalto's* lansquenets, who were fatigued with their march and late duty, and now charged on all sides, at last began to give way, and were routed and furiously driven out of the *Maladerie* with great slaughter, by the *Swiss* pikes and *French* musketeers, in revenge for the treacherous manner of proceeding by which they had made themselves masters of it at first.

In the mean time, the King, whose admirable celerity and presence of mind provided remedies for every deficiency in a time of so much distress, rode up to the head of the Duke of *Montpensier's* Squadron, with three score horse, which he had rallied with much difficulty, and brought it back to make a vigorous attack upon that of the Duke of *Aumale*, who, being master of the field, had already over-run all the descent. So that after an obstinate engagement, which lasted about three quarters of an hour, he broke quite through it, and drove it back again, by degrees, to the top of the hill. On the other hand, the Grand Prior, who at first had been obliged to retreat, being relieved in his distress, by the lances under the command of the Sieurs *De l'Archant*, *Montataire*, and *La Ferce*, which at last came up to the battle, soon forced the enemy's light horse to turn their backs, and retire, as fast as they could, along the road that led from the field of battle to *Martinglise*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who did not arrive till his cavalry was already retiring, and the King's forces had recovered their works, thinking it then too late to make any farther attempt, and that his men were tired out with the length of the action; and seeing the badness of the road had prevented his ammunition from coming up, of which the infantry stood in great need, as they had expended all their own in the battle, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and drew off to his first quarters. Such was the dangerous battle of *Arques*, which lasted a whole day, with various fortune, and ended in a manner so different from the beginning, that the King said publickly at night, "That either the Duke of *Mayenne* was not the soldier that every body took him to be, or that he had shewn him favour and reserved him for better times."

The best judges made no scruple of giving the glory of the day to the King, who (though with various success) had defended his posts, and hindered the enemy from passing over to the hill of *Arques*, which was their principal end and intention. But the Duke of *Mayenne* industriously spread it abroad that he had gained a victory, and confirmed it by a pair of colours belonging to the King's light horse, and three more of the foot, which had fallen into the hands of his men at the first taking of the entrenchments,

trenchments, and were sent, with great ostentation, to *Paris*. On the side of the League, there were slain about six hundred, amongst whom were the Count *De Sagone* and the Baron *De St. Andrew*; and on the King's, only two hundred. But his loss was very great by the death of the *Sieur De Baqueville*, a resolute, indefatigable, and valiant soldier, and a very proper man to command a body of light horse, which requires not only courage, but great care and expedition. Nor was it a small misfortune that the *Sieur De Montataire*, Lieutenant to the Prince of Condé, having received a musket-ball in his left leg, was absolutely disabled by it ever after.

At night the Duke, being resolved to try all possible means either to drive the King away, or to draw him out of his trenches, determined to get on the other side of *Dieppe*; not by the common road, but a long way about: for having taken a large circuit round both hills, he came, in three days march, on the 24th of *September*, to the north side of the city near the citadel, and the same night caused eight pieces of cannon to be planted there immediately, with which he began to batter the houses of the town early the next morning. But the King, after the army of the League was seen to march that way, having left Monsieur *D'Anville* with the regiment of the *Sieur De la Garde*, four companies of *Swiss*, and threescore horse, to defend *Arques*, was come, with all the rest of his army, to *Dieppe*; and being quartered in the *Fauxbourgs*, flanked and defended by the cannon of the citadel, he ordered a smart skirmish to be begun on all sides, by that means to prevent the effects of the enemy's battery. The forces of the League advanced with no less resolution to the skirmish. But the encounter was soon ended by a new, and till that time, unheard-of device; for the King having sent the Baron *De Biron* into the middle of the field with a large squadron of horse, and the Duke of *Mayenne* being surpris'd at their boldness in advancing so far, and thinking they had rashly overshot themselves, sent two considerable bodies of horse to charge them: at the arrival of which, the King's forces suddenly opening to the right and left with wonderful dexterity, there appeared two large culverines in the midst of them, which giving fire, and repeating it several times with great quickness and certainty, not only killed many of them and broke their ranks, but obliged the enemy to wheel off and retire, at the strange and unusual sight of two such heavy pieces of artillery playing from amidst a body of cavalry. This new and expeditious method of managing heavy cannon, was the invention of one *Charles Brise*, a *Norman* bombardier, who having been a long time with the pyrates in the *West-Indies*, was grown very expert in the art of gunnery, and during the course of the civil wars, performed so

589. many other signal services, that he was much esteemed for his skill and experience.

Whilst they were skirmishing in this manner, and made a terrible thunder about the walls of the town with their artillery, the Duke of *Mayenne* ordered the Duke of *Aumale* to make a sudden assault upon the works and castle of *Arques* with the rear guard, in which he had placed a regiment of *Walloons*, the regiment of *Lorraine* and *Collalto's* lansquenets for that purpose; hoping to carry it, and confine the King within the circuit of the town. But he found so vigorous an opposition there, that after he had redoubled his assaults for the space of two hours, he was obliged to retire, with the loss of two captains and above an hundred soldiers. *D'Arville* likewise sustained considerable loss: for notwithstanding the strength and advantage of the place, above sixty private men and two *Swiss* captains were slain, and Colonel *La Garde* was dangerously wounded in the thigh.

But though the King and his army had met with so good success, and repulsed the enemy in all places, yet they were not only much exhausted with fatigue, as they were few in number, and obliged to continual duty, but also in want of provisions. For being reduced to scarcity in the end of *September*, and the rains and storms beginning to grow very great and frequent, neither the ships could so conveniently bring in supplies, nor could the country, now laid waste and destroyed, any longer furnish food for the men nor forage for the horses, which were extremely jaded by incessant labour and hardships. But the King's hopes were founded upon the succours which he expected from two different places. For he had written to the Duke of *Longueville* and the Marshal *D'Aumont* to unite their forces and come to join him; imagining that the Duke of *Mayenne* would not suffer himself to be enclosed betwixt two armies, though inferior to him in strength, but that at their approach he would raise his camp. And on the other hand, he knew four thousand *English* foot, with great plenty of ammunition, which Queen *Elizabeth* was sending to his relief, were ready to embark; by whose arrival his army would be considerably reinforced, and their hard duty in some measure lessened: not doubting but the *English* fleet would likewise bring provisions sufficient to support his army many days. The Duke of *Longueville* and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, contrary to expectation, arrived first, as voyages by sea are very uncertain. For being joined by the Count *De Soissons*, who was released from his imprisonment in *Bretagne*, and the Sieur *De la Noüe*, they pressed forward their march with so much expedition, that on the 26th they lodged within six leagues of the Duke of *Mayenne's* army. The Duke, therefore, to avoid being encompassed, and because he despaired of effecting any thing further at *Dieppe*, raised his camp on the

28th in the morning, and marched away towards *Picardy*, to meet the forces which were coming to his assistance out of *Flanders*, by order of his Catholick Majesty, under the command of the *Sieur De la Motte*. 1589.

The next day the Duke of *Longueville* and Marshal *D'Aumont* joined the King, who having left the Marshal *De Biron* at *Dieppe*, went out with six hundred horse and two thousand foot to meet them; and following the army of the League by the same rout, he retook the town of *Eu* and the castle of *Gamaches* before he passed the river *Somme*, availing himself of the opportunity, whilst the Duke, whose army continually diminished by the desertion of his men, was intent upon his march, and kept his men very close together and in good order, still endeavouring to get farther from him. So that without meeting with the least interruption, the King arrived at *Amiens*, the principal city of *Picardy*, where he was received with very great magnificence, being met by all the citizens without the gates, who presented him with a canopy of state to walk under, as they had been used to do to other Kings; but he modestly declined it with his wonted prudence and moderation.

Whilst he staid at *Amiens* to put his army in order again, and to regulate the affairs of that city, four thousand *English* and a thousand *Scots*, sent by Queen *Elizabeth*, arrived at *Dieppe*. Upon which news, the King, whose affairs now began to take a more prosperous turn in all parts, returned thither with his whole army and joined them, to the great joy of every one. For they had not only brought a vast quantity of provisions with them, but some money, which was immediately distributed amongst his soldiers to the last farthing; and though the sum was not large, yet he gave it them with so much cheerfulness and generosity, that every body was satisfied and contented.

When the *English* had rested themselves, and those that had been so harrassed at *Dieppe* were refreshed after their late hardships, in the best manner that was possible: the King, being desirous not to lose any time, now the Duke of *Mayenne* and his army were at a distance, resolved to assault the suburbs of *Paris*. Not out of any reasonable expectation that he should be able to take the city, by the advantage of some favourable opportunity, whilst the people were in terror and confusion (for that was thought impossible, both by himself and all his commanders) but for the sake of plundering those suburbs, that were known to be full of riches, to relieve the extreme necessities of his army, in which the Nobility and Gentlemen, as well as the common soldiers, were reduced to very great scarcity of money: and not only the furniture of their horses, but even their arms and wearing apparel spoiled and broken, with bad weather and continual duty. With this design he left *Dieppe*, on the 19th of *October*, with an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, besides fourteen

1589. fourteen pieces of heavy artillery, and with easy marches took the direct road to *Paris*. The Grand Prior and the Baron *De Givry*, who succeeded the late *Sieur De Baqueville* in his post, scoured the country before them with the light horse: the Count *De Soissons*, and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, led the vanguard: the King, with the Marshal *De Biron*, and Monsieur *De la Noüe* conducted the main body: and the Duke of *Longueville* brought up the rear. In this order the army arrived at *Pont de l'Arche*, from whence the Duke of *Montpensier*, having passed the *Seine* with three hundred horse, went towards *Caen* in *Normandy*, to superintend the affairs of that Province, where the forces of the League were grown very powerful.

On the last of *October* the King quartered with his army but a league from the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*: where the tumult of the people, and the consternation of the Duchesses was very great, now the Duke of *Mayenne* was so far off, and the King unexpectedly come to assault the city, at a time, when they imagined he could hardly defend himself, and that he was so weak, that he must soon either be utterly destroyed, or driven out of the kingdom: as the Duke of *Mayenne*, to magnify the strength of his forces, when he went with a design to besiege *Dieppe*, had written to *Paris*, that within a few days he would either bring the King thither prisoner, or force him to fly with disgrace into *England*. But now things happened so contrary to their expectation, the city being destitute of soldiers, and out of hopes of any relief, was full of terror and distraction; especially as they had no head of any authority to keep the people in order, and to make other necessary provisions. For though Don *Bernardino Mendoza*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, used his utmost endeavour to encourage them with his presence, and most earnest exhortations, yet he was not a person whom the *Parisians* could much confide in, as he was neither their countryman, nor had any great experience in warlike affairs. But at night Monsieur *De Rofsne* opportunely arrived; for being at *Elampes*, which town had been taken a few days before, he marched fourteen leagues without ever stopping, and came into the city, though but with a few horse, at the beginning of the night. Upon his arrival, the Council of the League recovered their spirits, and resolved to defend the suburbs. For which purpose people of all conditions, and even the very Friars, took arms, and were distributed in the best order that might be, in the works that had been thrown up three months before, when it was besieged by *Henry III.*

On the 1st of *November*, before break of day, the King divided his infantry into three bodies: one of which was led by the Marshal *De Biron*, the Baron his son, and the *Sieur De Guitry*, to assault the Fauxbourgs of *St. Victoire* and *St. Marceau*; the second by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, Monsieur

Monfieur *D'Anville*, and Colonel *De Rieux*, againſt the Fauxbourgs of *St. James* and *St. Michael*; and the third, commanded by the Sieurs *De-Chaſtillon* and *De la Noüe*, aſſaulted the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*. The cavalry likewiſe being drawn up in three diviſions, one commanded by the King himſelf, another by the Count *De Soiffons*, and the third by the Duke of *Longueville*, ſtood all ready in the field, each ſquadron as a ſupport to its body of foot, in caſe of any unexpected accident. As ſoon as it was light the aſſault began, and continued very fierce for the ſpace of an hour: but the works being demolished in many places, and the raw undiſciplined multitude not able to ſtand before the valour of the King's ſoldiers, the citizens were at laſt obliged to give way, after a great number of them had been killed, and with much difficulty retired time enough to have the gates of the city ſhut, the aſſailants preſſing on furiously on every ſide, and particularly the Sieur *De la Noüe*, who having entered the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, and coming down the ſtreet, which is called the *Rue de Tornon*, purſued thoſe ſo cloſely that retired into the city through the gate *de Neſle*, where the Sieur *De Rboſne* himſelf was, that it could hardly be ſhut. In this aſſault above nine hundred *Parifians* were ſlain, and above four hundred taken priſoners: amongſt whom was Father *Edmund Burgoigne*, Prior of the convent of *Jacobins*, who being convicted by evidence, of having publickly, and in the pulpit, extolled the murder of *Henry III.* and having adviſed and inſtigated the murderer to it, and compared him alſo in his ſermons, after the fact, to *Judith*; the deceased King, to *Holofernes*; and the deliverance of the city, to that of *Bethulia*; was condemned by ſentence of the Parliament to be drawn aſunder by four horſes, his quarters to be burnt, and his aſhes ſcattered in the wind: which ſevere ſentence was executed ſome few months after. The ſuburbs being entered on every ſide, the officers reſtrained the ſoldiers with the utmoſt care from running up and down in a confuſed manner to plunder, till the cavalry were come in, and poſted ready to receive any that ſhould dare to ſally out of the city. After which, the quarters were divided amongſt them, with ſtrict charge, nevertheleſs, not to violate either churches, monaſteries, or any other ſacred places: which order was obſerved with ſo much ſtrictneſs and punctuality, both by the officers and ſoldiers, that maſſes were ſaid that day, which was the feaſt of *All Saints*, in every church, with as much decency as if no ſuch thing had happened: and the Catholicks of the King's army were preſent at them in vaſt numbers, celebrating that holy day with very great joy. The ſacking of the ſuburbs laſted as long as the army continued in them, and the booty was ſo rich and plentiful, that the King's army was wonderfully relieved and encouraged by it.

In the mean time the Duke of *Mayenne* having been informed, that the

1589. the King was marched towards *Paris*, deferred his meeting with the agents out of *Flanders*, though he had marched so near to the confines for that purpose, and without waiting for further intelligence, moved that way with his whole army: and having passed the bridge of *St. Messant* (contrary to the King's expectation, who had ordered Monsieur *De Thoré*, Governor of *Senlis*, to break it down, which he, being sick in bed, could not so speedily perform) sent the Duke of *Nemours* before with the light horse; who arriving on the 2d of *November*, very much raised the spirits, and allayed the apprehensions of the *Parisians*, as they were in great fear that the King would pursue his victory, and assault the city after he had taken the suburbs. The Duke of *Mayenne* himself, likewise, came up the next day: so that the King, thinking himself not very secure in the suburbs, where he was liable to be attacked on a sudden, without being able to make any use of his cavalry, marched out of *St. James's* gate on the 4th of *November*, and drew up his army in order of battle, waiting many hours to see if the Duke of *Mayenne* would follow him. But finding that no body offered to stir from the city, he marched gently away, and quartered the same night at *Mont l'Hery* and resolved to proceed to *Tours*, because he had so promised the Catholick Lords, and had summoned the States to assemble there at the latter end of *October*. And though he very well knew that the war which was kindled on every side made travelling so unsafe, that the Deputies could not meet together at the appointed time, and had not taken any pains himself to assemble them, that he might not be so soon reduced to a necessity of changing his religion, and alienating the *Hugonot* party entirely from him: yet he was determined to be there himself, to avoid giving the Catholicks any room to accuse him of breaking his word, and that he might take an opportunity at the same time of settling the affairs of that province: after which he should be at liberty to return with fresh vigour, perhaps better attended by the Nobility, and with greater strength to carry on the war. The next day his army sat down before *Estampes*, which town surrendered without resistance: and the King, thinking it could not be maintained, as it had been taken three times in the course of a few months, caused it to be dismantled in his presence, leaving the citizens at liberty to receive either party. After a stay there of one day only, he dispatched the Baron *De Givry* into *Brie*, the Marshal *D'Aumont* in *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, with sufficient forces to support themselves in those provinces: whilst he himself, with the rest of his army, making short marches through *Beauvais*, and over the common passes of the *Loire*, took the direct road into *Touraine*.

Whilst the main armies and the heads of the factions were carrying on the war in this vigorous manner, the other provinces of the kingdom were in

in no less commotion : and there was nothing to be seen in any part but daily encounters, and bloodshed, and devastation of the country. For in the county of *Beauvais*, the Marquis *De Piennes*, one of the principal Lords of the Union, defeated and killed the *Sieur De Bonivet*. In *Picardy*, the *Sieur D'Arcy* having sent for the same Marquis to his assistance, and taking the opportunity of the water being let off, that the fofs of *La Fere* might be cleansed, had suddenly surprised that town in the night. In *Berry*, the *Sieur De Montigny*, who was of the King's party, defeated and took Monsieur *De la Chastre's* Lieutenant in the open field : and on the other side, Monsieur *De Neuvy*, who adhered to the League, routed the *Sieur De Gamache*, and took him prisoner. In *Champagne*, the Count *De Grandpré*, attended with a great many Gentlemen that were of the King's party, surprised *Vitry*, and cut all the garrison to pieces : but being assailed a few days after by Colonel *St. Paul*, who was chief commander for the League in that province, they made so obstinate a resistance, that the forces of the League did not get the victory without the loss of a great many men and much bloodshed : and on the King's side all the Gentlemen and Officers were either killed or dangerously wounded ; and the Count *De Grandpré* himself was carried half dead to *Châlons*, being wounded in eighteen different places. In *Normandy*, the Baron *D'Eschaufour* and Captain *Valage* routed Colonel *St. Dennis* and put him to flight, as he was going with his regiment to join the Duke of *Montpensier*. At *Tholouse*, *Limoges*, and *Tours*, there were exceeding great commotions. In the territories of *Geneva* the war was very warmly carried on betwixt that city and the Duke of *Savoy*, who having possessed himself of the country, was now besieging the city, about which he had raised many forts, and was in great hopes of carrying it. In *Provence*, Monsieur *De la Valette*, Governor for the King, had many skirmishes with the Count *De Cars* and the *Sieur De Vins*, who commanded for the League : and on both sides many towns were taken, and several bloody encounters happened betwixt them. In *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alphonso Corso* having joined *Les Diguieres*, blocked up *Grenoble* and *Valence*, the only towns in that province that adhered to the League. And in this manner, with various success, but still with the loss of much blood, the war was prosecuted by both parties.

In the mean time, the King was come with his army to *Chaſſeau-dun*, where the *Swiss* commanders were also arrived upon their return from their Cantons, to which they had been sent by the forces of their nation that were in the camp, to acquaint them with the death of King *Henry* the third, and to receive their instructions how to proceed for the future. The answer that they brought was, that the Cantons would persevere in

1589. amity and alliance with King *Henry* the fourth, as they had done with his predecessor, and that therefore they must continue to serve and follow him. Which resolution of the Cantons was chiefly owing to the address of the *Sieur De Silvery*, the King's Ambassador there, and to the presence of *James Augustus de Thou*, who on his return out of *Italy*, whither he had been sent by the late King to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, had solicited and advised that determination. The King and his whole army were much rejoiced at it, not only because they found the main strength of their infantry consisted in the *Swiss* regiments that were with them, and had always behaved themselves with great bravery, but because he was in hopes of increasing their number, by obtaining the favour of a new levy under the colours of their Cantons.

After a short stay at *Chateau-dun*, the King went to lay siege to *Vendosme*, a city of his own patrimony, and which was thought very convenient for him, because it was near the *Loire*. The suburbs were taken at the first assault: and the King having personally viewed the walls, and the nature of the situation, resolved to batter that side of the castle which looks toward the country, and commands a large plain, though it does not stand very high. There were accordingly two pieces of cannon planted the next day against that fortress, with a design to raise a royal battery against the curtain, as soon as two towers were demolished, which served to flank it on each hand. But a great part of the tower on the left hand being beat down in a short time, some of the infantry advanced to the assault, and were surprised to find the place abandoned by the garrison, without any resistance: upon which, after they had made themselves masters of the tower, they began to fire with their small arms from that place of advantage upon the walls below, whither the besieged had retired to defend them: and the number of forces continually increasing in the tower, the Baron *De Biron*, newly made a Marshal of the field by the King, immediately hastened thither, in great hopes of carrying the whole, and had scarce brought down his men to make the attack, but those at the walls were so terrified that they quitted them, and the whole circuit of the castle at the same time, endeavouring to save themselves by retiring into the city: but being prevented by the King's soldiers, who pursued them very close, the city was also stormed with the same fury in less than three hours: in which, except the churches, convents, and other religious places, every thing was given up to the soldiers, who found there great plenty of rich plunder. The Governor, who upon various occasions had treated with the King, and always deceived him by his double dealing, was condemned to die, together with Father *Robert*, a *Cordelier*, who had there publicly commended the murder of the late King,

King, and excited the common people to rebellion by his sermons. After the taking of *Beaune*, *La Rochelle* and *Montaut*, castles of that jurisdiction, also surrendered, and the King meeting with no further opposition in any place, came at last to *Tours* upon the 21st of *November*.

He entered the city the very same night by torch-light, being met at the gates by the Cardinals of *Vendôme* and *Lenoncour*, and all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, and surrounded with a vast concourse of people, as all the neighbouring towns had resorted thither to see his entry. But the necessity of affairs obliged him not to spend his time idly there, and his own disposition was such, that he readily conformed to it. So that the next morning he came without further delay to the Parliament, and being seated on the royal throne, was acknowledged King of *France*, with the usual ceremonies, and very great acclamations. After which, upon the murmurs and complaints of the Catholics of his army, and the earnest intreaties of the Lords and Barons who followed him, that he would fulfil the promise he had made them to change his religion, he caused the Nobility to be publickly called together; and when they were assembled, in full expectation of some such profession, he told them, in a few words, "That to his great concern, he saw the dangers and fury of
 " the war had hindered the meeting of the Assembly, which was appointed
 " at that time. That they themselves were witnesses that he had laid aside
 " all other undertakings upon that account, and had come to *Tours* in
 " hopes of finding some way of giving them the satisfaction they desired.
 " That the nature of things, and not any backwardness in him, had retarded it. That therefore, when they considered how much advantage
 " their common enemies would reap by his being at so great a distance,
 " and deferring to carry on a vigorous and uninterrupted war, he intreated them to impute that to necessity, which did not depend upon
 " his own will, and to consent that the convocation of the Deputies might
 " be postponed till the 15th of the next *March*: by which time he hoped
 " the fury of the rebels would be quelled, that he might attend to the
 " settling of his future course of life and government with more success,
 " with greater peace of mind, and less detriment to the publick affairs.
 " That they would accept his person, which was always in their hands,
 " as a pledge and security for his good faith: and that he would sincerely
 " perform in deeds more than he now promised them in words." To which the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen assenting, more out of necessity than inclination, a proclamation was issued, that the meeting of the Assembly was thereby prorogued till the 15th of *March* next ensuing. The King was in hopes, as the war continued, and the factions daily grew more inveterate against each other, that the Catholics would be still

1589. more confirmed in their resolution to follow him, and that he might be able, by plausible excuses, by divers promises, and other artifices, to gain more time before he embraced the Catholick religion; and that perhaps they would at last be content that he should continue in his own. For which reasons he constantly evaded their importunities, and excused himself from complying with their desires, not only, that he might not seem to suit his conscience merely to the times, but for fear of alienating the *Hugonot* party, to the great diminution of his forces: Wherefore, as necessity so required, and that he might not give people time by indolence and inaction to contrive new disturbances, but keep them continually engaged in military operations, he resolved to go from *Tours*, and move with his army, to make himself master of those towns which the enemy possessed in the territories of *Maine* and *Normandy*.

Before his departure, *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, having received instructions from the Senate to continue in his embassy with the present King, was introduced to an audience with the usual formality, where he presented letters to him from the Senate, in which they gave him the title of King of *France*: and having congratulated him upon his accession to the Crown, he made an apology, that an Ambassador extraordinary was not sent for that purpose, according to custom, on account of the badness of the roads, which were every where spoiled and broken up by the course of the war. The Senate had been in some doubt whether they should confirm their Ambassador, and whether they should give his Majesty the title of King of *France* or not. But wisely foreseeing, not only, that it was necessary for the good of *Christendom* that the lawful heir should be supported in the possession of the kingdom, which the League endeavoured to dismember and subject to foreign Princes; but also, that the King, being acknowledged by the greater part of the Nobility, which is the main strength of the kingdom, in all probability would at last get the better of the League by his courage and magnanimity; they resolved to confirm their Ambassador, and to give his Majesty the title of King of *France*, and at the same time to assist him in every thing that lay in their power, as they had done all other Kings of *France* in their exigencies. And though the Pope's Nuncio and the *Spanish* Ambassador vehemently opposed it, and made heavy complaints, that a heretic, and one that lived in open disobedience to the Holy See, should be acknowledged King of *France*, in contempt of the declarations made by the Pope in the Consistory of Cardinals: yet the Senate answered, that the Republic of *Venice* did not trouble itself about deciding differences of faith, as that was his Holiness's province; but that it acknowledged *Henry of Bourbon* to be of the royal blood and lawful successor to the Crown of *France*, as it was well known

known to all men. That they only concerned themselves about his temporal rights, without interfering in spiritual affairs : and that they should treat with the King concerning what related to the government of those states that were under his dominion, without any prejudice to the Pope's declaration. This answer indeed was not very agreeable to the court of Rome : and *Gieronimo Matteucci*, the Pope's Nuncio, resident at *Venice*, having often protested against it, at last suddenly departed from the city. Yet so great was the address of *Alberto Bedoaro*, their resident Ambassador with the Pope, and so powerful the arguments that were urged by *Leonardo Donato*, who was sent Ambassador extraordinary by the Republic for that purpose, that the Nuncio was not so much as admitted into the Pope's presence, but ordered to return immediately to his residence, and to give himself no further concern in the affair. The favourable declaration of that Senate gave the King very great satisfaction, as he thought the determination of the wisest and most politic assembly in *Christendom* would add much to the reputation of his cause, and might induce many other Princes, especially in *Italy*, to follow its example. Upon which consideration, he expressed himself in terms of the highest gratitude and respect, both by letters and verbal messages delivered by Monsieur *De Mets*, his resident Ambassador at that city, for the proofs that the Senators had given him of their good will and affection.

The King having left *Tours* on the 26th of *November*, caused siege to be laid to *Mans*, a place of very great importance, in which the *Sieur De Bois-Dauphin* had shut himself up with above two hundred Gentlemen and seventeen companies of foot. The garrison seemed determined to make a vigorous defence, and for that purpose burnt the suburbs, and fortified the gate that looked towards the road by which the King was to make his approach, with a raveline thrown up in the form of a tenaille. The Count *De Brisac* also was come, at the same time, to *La Fertè Bernard*, on purpose to throw succours into the town in good time ; and having broke up the roads and harassed the King's army not a little upon its march, at last fell upon one of the quarters of the *German* horse, and took and stripped above fifty of them. But after the Baron *De Biron* and Monsieur *De Chastillon*, who lodged themselves in the place where the suburbs stood before, had taken the raveline by a fierce assault on the fourth day after the siege was laid, the garrison not being willing to sustain the fury of the artillery from a battery that was now raised and ready to play upon them, began to capitulate, and surrendered upon very honourable terms. For the King, in whose army there was a great scarcity of powder and ball, was extremely well pleased not only at getting possession of that place in so easy a manner, but that he might also supply

1589. supply his wants out of the enemy's ammunition which was lodged there. The example of *Mans* was followed by *Beaumont*, *La Val*, *Chasteau Gontier*, and all the places thereabout. Upon this, the King marched forwards and laid siege to *Alençon*, which city being given up, after it had been battered three days, Captain *Lago*, with the garrison, retired into the fortrefs, with a design to defend it. But when the cannon were planted, he did not stay to be reduced to extremities, but delivered it into the King's hands on the 14th of *December*; who having left the Baron *D'Hertrè* there with three hundred *French* foot, proceeded towards *Normandy* and invested *Falaise*, in which there was the Count *De Brisac* with many Gentlemen, and the Chevalier *De Piccard's* regiment of foot: so that on account of the reputation of the commander, the strength of the place, and the rigour of the season, it was thought it would prove a very long and difficult undertaking: yet when the *Fauxbourg de Guibrey* was taken and the army lodged under cover, the King having personally reconnoitred the situation of the fortrefs, ordered a battery to be raised against it, imagining, that if he could take that, he should also soon be able to make himself master of the town. Besides the main battery, he also caused two culverines to be planted upon an eminence, that commanded the passage that led into the city from the tower of the *Dongeon*, which was the principal security of the castle: and in this manner distressed the besieged, and deprived them of their chief resource. The artillery play'd two days with very great violence, and having utterly demolished the tower which defended the angle of the city and castle that was opposite to the *Dongeon*, the King ordered it to be assaulted the same night by two different regiments, one conducted by the *Sieur De Chastillon*, that was to endeavour to get into the castle from the broken tower: the other by the Baron *De Biron*, to try if they could force themselves by the same way into the town, which joined in that place to the fortrefs. Both the regiments succeeded in their attempts, for one, passing through the ruined tower, obliged the garrison to retire into the *Dongeon*; and the other got at the same time into the main street of the town, which was furiously taken and sacked without any further resistance. The Count, who was shut up in the *Dongeon* with a few soldiers, and those already terrified by the resolution which the enemy's forces had shewn, and by the ill success of their endeavours to defend the place, surrendered at discretion the next morning to the King, who detained him and fifteen more of the chief of them prisoners, and with a princely liberality, gave the Count's household furniture, which was very rich and of exceeding great value, to the Baron *De Biron*.

Argentan and *Bayeux* surrendered without making any resistance: and the

the King pursuing his march, came to the city of *Lisieux*, which, at the sight of his artillery, submitted on the 30th of *December*. *Ponteau de Mer*, *Pont l'Evêque*, and all the other towns thereabout, followed this example : so that the League had no place left in the lower *Normandy*, except *Honfleur*, a town situated at the mouth of the *Seine*, right over-against *Havre de Grace* ; which the King passed by without taking any notice of it at that time, as he was in haste to go into the higher province, though the Duke of *Montpensier* earnestly persuaded him to stay till he had reduced it. 1589.

The End of the Tenth Book.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C I V I L W A R S
O F
F R A N C E.

B O O K X I.

A R G U M E N T.

The Pope's resolution concerning the affairs of France. He sends Cardinal Caietano his Legate thither. The variety of opinions concerning his commission. He arrives in the kingdom. His perplexity and journey to Paris. The different ends of the League. The Marquis De Belin proposes a treaty of agreement. The Duke of Mayenne deliberates upon it, and resolves to carry on the war. He besieges Pontoise, which surrenders to him. He encamps before Meulan, and batters it with great fury. The King comes to relieve that place. The Duke raises the siege, and marches to meet the supplies in Picardy. The King assaults Dreux, but to no purpose. The Duke returns with an addition of strength. The King raises his camp and chooses a field of battle upon the plain of Yvry. The Duke follows him and

and arrives at the same place. The armies engage, and the King gets the victory. The preachers acquaint the Parisians with this defeat: who resolutely prepare to sustain a siege. Divers overtures of peace are made, but nothing is concluded upon. The Duke of Mayenne goes to the frontiers of Flanders to procure succours. The King takes all the neighbouring towns about Paris. Siege is laid to that city, with a design to reduce it by famine. The miseries of the siege, and the obstinacy of the citizens. The King of Spain orders the Duke of Parma to march with his whole army to raise the siege of Paris. He enters the kingdom with a vast army, and great preparations; joins the Duke of Mayenne, and advances toward Paris. The King consults what is best to be done: resolves to raise the siege, and go to meet the enemy. The armies face each other many days. The Duke of Parma takes Lagny, and opens a passage for provisions to Paris. The King retires; but before his retreat, gives a scalpado to the city, which proves effectual. The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil, and by that means entirely delivers the city of Paris from a scarcity of victuals. He resolves to return to Flanders, and marches back in excellent order. The King follows him. There happen many encounters. The Duke, at his departure, leaves some of his forces behind him, and promises supplies of money to the League. The King returns through Picardy.

IT was now the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and 1590.
ninety: a year full of all those miseries and calamities that are the usual consequences of civil wars; but remarkable also for the importance of those events that happened in the course of it, as the natural revolution of things so brought it to pass, that the flame of the war now burst out with the utmost rage and violence. The Monitory, published the year before against Henry the third, obliged his Ambassadors and Ministers to leave Rome, upon the news of his death, which arriving at a time when the Pope was not only very much exasperated at his joining the *Hugonot* party, but exceedingly mortified and chagined at the success of his arms, was received by him with the utmost demonstration of joy, as it seemed to him, that the hand of God had miraculously averted that ruin, which human remedies were in no wise able to prevent. And his joy was not a little increased by the reports of the agents of the League, who not only confirmed the advice of the King's death, but assured him, that the Duke of Mayenne, and the Council of the Union, were determined to acknowledge the Cardinal of *Bourbon* as the lawful King of *France*, by a publick declaration and strict oath of allegiance, and to use their utmost efforts to get him released from his imprisonment; and that this resolution was adhered to, and unanimously embraced by, almost all the principal cities, with the greater part of the Nobility, and the approbation of all the

1590. Clergy of the kingdom, all which things being agreeable to the Pope's wishes, who was exceedingly desirous to have the King of *Navarre* excluded from the Crown (whom he looked upon as an irreconcilable enemy to the church) but yet was not willing, that the kingdom of *France* should be divided into so many parts as some would have it, and that it should fall at last into the hands of a foreign Prince, not only induced him to write very gracious letters, and full of approbation, to the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Chiefs of the League, but also determined him to supply them both with men and money, to facilitate the release and firm establishment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. So that without any demur, in a work which he esteemed highly meritorious, and would greatly contribute to the glory and exaltation of the Apostolick See, he resolved to send a Legate into *France*, who might personally assist in affairs of so great importance, and try to reduce all the Catholics by such means as he should think most proper, to unite in one body, in obedience to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, already elected and declared King of *France*, and to exert their utmost endeavours to set him at liberty. For a purpose of so great consequence, he fixed upon Cardinal *Henrico Caietano*, a man in high esteem, not only for the nobility of his extraction, but for his own worth and experience, and thought sufficiently qualified for so important a negotiation: yet, according to what the King's friends then gave out, and his own actions afterwards plainly proved, too much inclined to favour the attempts and interests of *Spain*. He likewise appointed a select number of Prelates to attend the Cardinal Legate, all of them either eminent for their extraordinary learning, or approved experience in state affairs: amongst whom were *Lorenzo Bianchetti* and *Philipppo Lega*, afterwards created Cardinals: *Marco Antonio Mocenigo*, Bishop of *Ceneda*, a man well versed in affairs, and highly esteemed by the Pope: *Francisco Panigarola*, a most eloquent preacher, and *Roberto Bellarmino*, a Jesuit of very great learning. With this Legation, so well chosen, his Holiness sent bills of exchange upon the bankers of *Lions*, to the amount of three hundred thousand crowns, with a commission to the Legate to dispose of them as occasion required; but particularly, for the release of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, upon which he seemed to be more intent than upon any other object whatsoever.

But this resolution, though ardent, was soon damped, and the Pope began to grow very doubtful, upon the receipt of letters from the Duke of *Luxembourg*, in which he acquainted him, that he was appointed Ambassador to his Holiness and the Apostolick See by the *French* Nobility, (who followed the King of *Navarre* in great numbers, and acknowledged him as lawful King of *France*) to inform his Holiness of the reasons that had moved all good *Frenchmen* to that recognition, and to desire him, as a common father, to point out proper remedies for their divisions, and

means

means for the peace and union of the whole kingdom. By which the Pope not only perceived, that the Agents of the League had imposed upon him, when they said, that the major part of the kingdom had joined the party of the Union, and that only a few desperate people followed the fortune of the King of *Navarre*; but he also entertained some hopes, that an end might be put to the miseries and discords of the kingdom by pacifick measures: that so, those that had gone astray might be reduced into the pale of the church, and his desire of having a lawful Catholick *French* King might be gratified, without exposing the poor, afflicted people of *France* any longer to the dangers and calamities of an obstinate war. Wherefore, being excited also by the constant informations that he received from the *Venetian* Ambassadors, who were very zealous for the preservation of the Crown of *France*, he returned a favourable answer to the Duke of *Luxembourg* and the *French* Nobility that were in the King's camp; assuring him that he should be graciously and honourably received, and exhorting them to continue firm in the Catholick religion, as they protested they would do in their letters, which came with the Duke's, and that they would persevere in it to the last drop of their blood. And yet, at the importunities of the Agents of the League (and particularly of *Frison*, Dean of *Rheims*, lately sent thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*) who pressed him to hasten the Legate's departure, for that these were only artifices of the King of *Navarre* to pacify him, and gain more time, he sent the Legate away for *France*, but with instructions very different from his first designs. For though all his endeavours before tended to the release and establishment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he now took no further notice of his affairs, and only ordered the Legate to try, by all possible means, to reunite the Catholics in obedience to the church, and to get a Catholick King established by general consent, without specifying any person. Besides these instructions in writing, dated the 15th of *October*, he gave him more particular and express orders to stand neuter, and shew himself disinterested in the secular pretensions of the Princes, but to exert himself with the utmost zeal and ardour for the support of the Catholick religion; and not to object to any particular person, provided he was a *Frenchman*, obedient to the church, and generally liked by the people. He further ordered him, and repeated it earnestly when he gave him his last instructions, not to shew himself an open enemy to the King of *Navarre*, as long as there were any hopes of his returning into the bosom of the church. But this was very contrary to the principal end of the Embassy, which was to assist the party of the League, as the main support of the Catholick religion in *France*, an article* often repeated in his first instructions, and always designed by the Pope from the beginning, but which he thought fit to alter in his last orders. So that the substance of

1590. the affair was changed, as it often happens, by variety of circumstances, which interrupted the execution; in such a manner, that it was afterwards governed more by the nature of the different events that happened, than by any firm or determinate resolution.

The intelligence that the Legate received from Cardinal *Morefimi*, whom he met at *Bologna*, corresponded with the Pope's instructions. For as that Cardinal was very well acquainted with the affairs and interests of the kingdom, he gave the Legate a particular account of the designs of *Spain*, of the pretensions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, of the weakness of the League (now composed of different and disagreeing parties) and the strength of the King, which had a more secure foundation in the concurrence of the greater part of the Nobility, than the party of Union could possibly have in the combination of the common people. The same was signified to him at *Florence*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, who, being thoroughly informed of the designs that were carrying on in the kingdom of *France*, advised him to keep himself neuter, and not refuse to listen to any overtures of agreement; that were consistent with the interests of the Catholick religion, and the reputation of the Pope. But the Legate paid little regard either to Cardinal *Morefimi* or the Grand Duke, as he suspected, that one endeavoured to lead him into the same errors and misconduct for which he himself had been censured at the court of *Rome*; and that the other was inclined to favour the King's party for his own interest, and had given him his advice with partiality. Wherefore, as he was an austere man, and determined to support the grandeur and power of the church by rigorous measures, and being accustomed to the manners of *Italy*, where the Pope's authority is held in the highest veneration amongst the neighbouring Princes, and a people given up to devotion, he firmly persuaded himself, that he should be able to influence all the Catholics, merely by the terror of spiritual arms, and not only to exclude the King of *Navarre*, but to procure a King to be declared and acknowledged, that should be wholly dependent upon the Apostolick See, as well as nearly attached and obliged to the Crown of *Spain*, which he was too partially disposed to favour, both by ancient inclination, and the repeated instances of the Count *D'Olivares*, his Catholick Majesty's Ambassador at *Rome*. And he was the more confirmed in his imagination, that every thing absolutely depended upon his authority, when he afterwards arrived at *Turin*; where the Duke of *Savoy* intreating him, in the most submissive terms, as one that had the disposal of all things, to consider his title to the Crown of *France*: for that he was the son of *Margaret*, sister to King *Henry* the second, in whose right, he alledged, that the Crown belonged to him, as the tenour of the *Salic* law had formerly been dispensed with, in favour of other Princes that were descended from females of the Royal Blood.

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He likewise set forth his merits and services to the Holy See, since he was still using his utmost efforts, at a prodigious expence, to reduce the city of *Geneva*, the basis and original source of *Calvinism*: endeavouring, by these means, to secure the protection of the Legate, who not being sufficiently acquainted with the course of affairs, was not aware that the Duke took this method, and pretended a right to the Crown, because he had no other means so effectual of supporting his interests, and was endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the Pope and the Legate, in order to draw sums of money from them, with which he might bring the *Genevese* under his subjection, and fortify and establish himself in the possession of the marquissate of *Saluzzo*, against whosoever should at last be chosen and acknowledged King of *France*: in which he saw he could not have a more powerful protector than his Holiness.

But after the Cardinal Legate was come into *France*, it was not long before he found things very contrary to his expectation. For having sent to command Colonel *Alphonse Corjo*, not only to desist from molesting *Grenoble* and *Valence*, which were the only cities that adhered to the League in *Dauphiné*, but also as a Catholick and a stranger, to forsake the King's party and join the Union, that admonition proved of no effect. For the answer he received, was, "That he was a Catholick indeed, " and an obedient son of the Apostolick See in spiritual concerns: but, " as a soldier, that had engaged in the service of the Kings of *France*, " he could not dispense with himself from following his present Majesty: " and that of consequence, he was obliged to behave, in regard to *Grenoble* " and *Valence*, as he thought most convenient for the affairs of the Prince " whom he served." By which answer the Legate was not a little mortified, and was still more vexed, when, upon his arrival at *Lions*, he found the affairs of the League in such disorder by the King's late successes, that he was so far from being obeyed in any thing else, that he could not so much as obtain a safe conduct to prosecute his journey in security. For the Count *De Brisac*, who was at first appointed by the Duke of *Mayenne* to meet him and secure his passage, was obliged to return and attend to the affairs of *Normandy*: and Monsieur *De la Bourdaisiere*, to whom that commission was afterwards given, had been defeated by the King's forces, under the command of the *Sieur De Pralin*, near *Bar*, upon the *Seine*. So that being reduced to very great perplexity, he knew not what course to take: so many were the obstacles that presented themselves to his consideration. The Duke of *Nevers*, who had retired to his own estate, and was not concerned on either side, invited him to come thither, where he might stand neuter, as became one that represented the Apostolick See, and freely take such measures as should appear most convenient to him: and this advice seemed to agree best with the Pope's design

1590. design and instructions. On the other hand, the Duke of *Mayenne* never ceased importuning him to come to *Paris*; representing to him, that without the authority of his name, and that assistance which was expected from him, the League would be in danger of being dissolved and utterly subdued by the King's forces, and consequently not only the city of *Paris*, but all the rest of the kingdom would be left to the mercy of the *Hugonots*.

The King himself was not altogether without hopes, that, if the Legate could not be prevailed upon to take up his residence in any place that declared for his party, he might at least be persuaded to stay in some neutral town out of the way, and perhaps to go to the city of *Avignon*, till he saw the event of the Duke of *Luxembourg's* Embassy at *Rome*. For which purpose, he caused it to be industriously published, that if the Legate, who was reported to be on his journey, would bend his course toward him, every one should receive him with honour and reverence, and take care of offending either him or any of his attendants: besides which, he should have a safe conduct, and enjoy all manner of security. But if he proceeded towards the quarters of the League, he strictly forbade all people to acknowledge him as Legate, or to receive him into any place that adhered to him, on pain of being treated as rebels. But the Legate not only thought it disgraceful to turn back again, and unsafe to go to the Duke of *Nevers*, a weak and inconsiderable Prince, who had neither fortress nor strong city, where he might shelter himself from the snares of the *Hugonots*, but also esteemed it still more indecent and prejudicial to abandon the Catholick party; as such a behaviour would utterly dismay the friends of the League, and at the same time add strength and reputation to the King's cause; which would occasion greater mischief and confusion in spiritual than in temporal affairs; for then, with great dishonour to the Pope, the Catholick party would be left destitute and abandoned through his fault, and the King, who at that time, for fear of his enemies, seemed inclinable, both by his actions and professions, to embrace the Catholick religion, would no longer be under any restraint, but left at full liberty to act as he pleased, without regard to any body. He imagined, in the last place, that he was come into *France*, not only to compose discords, but chiefly to endeavour the suppression of the King of *Navarre*, and to get a new King elected, who should wholly depend upon the Pope, and live in strict amity and confidence with the King of *Spain*. This reflection had so much weight with him, that out of regard to decency, and not finding any restriction to the contrary in his commission, he resolved at last to comply with the solicitations of the League, and to go forwards directly to *Paris*. And as he saw the Duke of *Mayenne* so fully engaged in military undertakings, he

sent Monsignore *Bianchetti*, to demand an escort of soldiers from the Duke of *Lorraine* to secure his passage: which being obtained without any difficulty, he passed through *Dijon* and *Troyes*, and came on the 20th of *January* to *Paris*, where he was received with great pomp and solemnity, and lodged in the Archbishop's palace, which was sumptuously decorated with the royal furniture, that had been taken out of the King's apartments at the *Louvre*. At his arrival, he caused the Pope's Brief of the 15th of *October* to be published: in which, after an honourable commemoration of the merits and services of the kingdom of *France* to the Apostolick See, and of the reciprocal good offices that had passed betwixt his predecessors and the Most Christian Kings in all times; and after he had compassionately deplored the present distractions and calamities, he set forth, "That by the advice of his Consistory, he had appointed Cardinal *Caetano* Legate to the kingdom of *France*, with power to use all means (by the Divine assistance) which he should think most conducive to support the Catholick religion, to recall heretics into the bosom of the church, to restore the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom; and, finally, to endeavour that the people of it might live in security and repose, to the glory of God, after the miseries of so long and calamitous a war, under one, only, good, pious and sincerely Catholick Prince. For which purposes, he earnestly intreated and exhorted all orders and degrees of men in *France* to persevere in the Catholick religion, to use their utmost endeavours, after the glorious example of their ancestors, to pluck up the poisonous weeds of heresy by the very roots, and to suppress the first causes and seeds of discord; beseeching them at last to lay aside all particular enmities and animosities, that so, when the fatal and destructive effects of civil war were at an end, they might pay a ready and dutiful obedience to a lawful and truly Catholick Sovereign, under whose shelter and protection the public service of God might be re-established, and every man enabled to live in charitable union and concord with his neighbour: commanding them, in the mean time, to receive the Cardinal Legate with all due reverence, and to observe his fatherly admonitions, if they expected any temporal comfort and blessing, or to entitle themselves to the rewards of a future state."

Two different proclamations ensued upon the publication of this Brief; one from the Parliament of *Tours*, by which all persons were forbidden to obey or acknowledge the Legate; the other from the Parliament of *Paris*, exhorting them to shew a due regard to the fatherly affection of the Apostolick See, and to reverence the Legate's admonitions. After these so contrary proclamations, many learned men entered the lists in behalf of their respective factions, and engaged, in their manner, with no less ardour

1590. ardour than the military people. For besides repeated decrees of the Parliament, innumerable other writings were published; as, decisions of the *Sorbonne*, letters from the Legate, answers from those Prelates that adhered to the King, and such a prodigious quantity of pamphlets dispersed abroad by busy people, that all men's brains seemed to be at work, and every pen employed in the defence and confirmation of the rights of one or other of the parties. But the chief topic was the power and coming of the Legate, which was canvassed with so much acrimony, that it was easy to see that spiritual applications, thus wrested, and diversely interpreted, in the heat and fury of war, were more likely to add fresh fuel, than to extinguish the present flame. So that the Legate was convinced, in a few days, of the vanity of his first expectation; and that it would have been more prudent to have stood neuter, since by coming to *Paris* he made himself Legate only to one of the factions: a thing very different from the intentions of the court of *Rome*, and at which he was not a little mortified and alarmed, especially when he likewise plainly saw the weakness and disorderly state of the League.

The affairs of the Union were at this time in a very unsettled and precarious condition. For the diversity of pretensions, and the contrariety of the ends of the confederates, as it generally happens, interrupted the course of their undertakings, and not only kept the minds of particular people in suspense, but retarded the effects and operations of common interests, which required the utmost dispatch, considering the King's celerity and resolution. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was chief of the faction, and entirely supported the weight of affairs, by the authority of his person, the prudence of his administration, and his experience in war, thought the Crown justly belonged to him, as a recompence for the loss of his brothers and his own indefatigable labours, and designed either to transfer it to himself and his own posterity, as had been done in the times of *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*: or, if that could not possibly be accomplished, at least to confer it upon some Prince who should acknowledge it entirely from him; with a firm resolution, however, never to suffer the kingdom to be in any wise dismembered, much less to fall into the hands of a foreign Prince. The King of *Spain*, on the other hand, from the beginning, had secretly, and now openly protected and fomented the League, and had not only already spent two millions of gold for the service of the confederates, but was still obliged, besides the supporting a large number both of horse and foot for them, to contribute vast sums of money, both in publick and private: and seeing that the undertaking would be so far from succeeding, that the League could not subsist, and must be speedily dissolved without great and powerful assistance from him, he thought it highly just and reasonable, that, as he bore the loss and expence,

perce, the advantage should also redound to him : and therefore, besides a secret design of uniting the two Crowns, or causing that of *France* to devolve upon his daughter the Infanta *Isabella*, daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*, eldest sister to *Henry* the third, he also endeavoured to get himself publickly declared Protéctor of the Crown of *France*, with royal prerogatives and authority to appoint Officers of the Crown, as well as Governors of provinces and military commanders, to dispose of Bishopricks and other ecclesiastical dignities, and to have the sovereign power vested in him. And this was demanded and openly contended for by his agents, who were Don *Bernardino Mendoza*, and the Commendatory *Morrea*, *Juan Baptista Tassis*, Commissary-general of his armies, who was lately come from *Flanders* for that purpose. The *Parisians*, who were sensible that the main strength of the faction consisted in them, not only on account of the number of the citizens and the power of the city, but also of their continual contributions, which were the sinews of the war, thought they had the best right to dispose of the Crown : and being out of humour with the Duke of *Mayenne*, for the ill success of his arms, as the *Fauxbourgs* seemed to have been lost by his delay, and the city in a manner besieged and reduced to great scarcity of provisions by his neglect, they seemed inclinable to favour the pretensions of the *Spaniards*, hoping, by the assistance of their forces, utterly to destroy the King, whose very name they could not endure to hear of : to extirpate the religion of the *Hugonots*, which they naturally abominated : and to be eased of the intolerable burden of contributions by the money of *Spain*, as the ministers of his Catholick Majesty artfully promised and gave out, both in private and in publick. The Nobility, on the contrary, that adhered to the League, and commanded their troops, and governed their strong towns, could not bear the thoughts of submitting to the *Spanish* dominion, but were desirous of having a *French* King ; and, either out of interest or affection to the house of *Guise*, were resolved to follow and obey the Duke of *Mayenne*, which obliged all the rest of their party to adhere to him, and conform to his will and authority. In the Parliament, many were inclined to favour the King, and desirous that he would embrace the Catholick faith, that they might acknowledge and obey him : and the Counsellors in general were very averse to the thoughts either of having the kingdom divided or conferred upon a foreigner. The Duke of *Lorraine*, from whom the League received no small addition of strength and reputation, thought the kingdom belonged to his son, the Marquis *Du Pont*, as he likewise was born of *Claude*, sister to *Henry* the third ; and was highly offended, that any others of the house of *Lorraine* should presume to stand in competition with him, who was the head and chief of the family. The Duke of *Savoy*, in the last place, pretended a right

1590. to the Crown, as son to *Margaret*, sister to *Henry* the second, with some expectations that he should be favoured by the *Spaniard*, but fully assured of the Pope's assistance and protection. These two last Princes, besides their designs upon the Crown, had also other private views: for the Duke of *Lorraine* wanted to make himself master of *Metz*, *Tboul*, *Verdun*, and the duchy of *Sedan*, to which places he had divers pretensions: and the Duke of *Savoy*, to maintain himself in the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, by which means, as it was afterwards discovered, he hoped to join *Provence* also to his state, a territory very convenient for him, as he already had some footing there, and was in possession of the city and country of *Nice* or *Nizza*. The Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Merceur*, were desirous to see such a division of the kingdom take place: one, that he might have an opportunity of reducing his government of *Lions* into an absolute dominion; the other, that he might recover *Bretagne*, which, he said, belonged, by ancient right, to his wife: and many other particular persons were willing to concur with them in that scheme, in hopes of converting their governments into perpetual inheritances. Of so great a diversity of interests and inclinations, and of such a variety of designs, was the League composed, which jarring and contradicting each other, interrupted the course of their undertakings, and greatly abated the fervour with which they at first entered into an association, that seemed to have no other end but the support of religion.

This difference of views and uncertainty of resolutions in the League, were not unknown to the King, who was well acquainted with the temper of the individual, and had daily intelligence of their proceedings. And therefore, in order to avail himself of them, when he left *Dieppe*, he set the Marquis *De Eclair* at liberty upon his parole (who had been taken prisoner in the action at *Arques*) with a commission to offer terms of peace, in his name, to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and to exhort him, as a Prince of good and upright intentions, not to concur in the pernicious designs of foreigners, but to extricate himself from the yoke of the rabble and the intrigues of the *Spaniards*, and to listen to advantageous and necessary terms of accommodation; as, by so doing, he might, with the more merit and honour, expect to obtain whatever he himself could reasonably desire. At the same time, he had privately wrought upon the Catholics of his party to entreat the Marquis, that he would, in their name, desire the Duke of *Mayenne* to exhort and persuade the King to turn Catholic, as the only means of reducing his Majesty into the pale of the church, and, to his own great honour and reputation, of restoring peace, so necessary and so much desired by the whole kingdom of *France*. But when the Marquis had delivered his message and reiterated it, after the King's departure from the Fauxbourgs of *Paris*, it occasioned very different opinions

nions and resolutions, not only amongst the Duke of *Mayenne's* Counsellors 1590. but even in his own breast. Those that favoured the proposals of the Catholicks in the King's party, said, " There could be no resolution taken either more effectual, or more advantageous and honourable to the Duke, upon all considerations. For if the King should comply with their desire and turn Catholick, all intestine discords would immediately subside, the Catholick religion be secured, the Crown descend to the lawful successor, and an end put to the direful revolutions of civil war. That the Duke would make his name glorious through all the world, as the author of so great a benefit, his intentions would be justified, and the end of his taking arms plainly appear, with the eternal benedictions of all the people of *France*. That in consequence of so salutary a manner of proceeding, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* would be released, who, it was reasonable to believe, at his advanced age, would rather desire his liberty, and a quiet passage out of the world, than an empty title of royalty in close imprisonment. That the Dukes of *Guise* and *Elbeuf* likewise, who otherwise might probably continue a long time in confinement, would thereupon be immediately set at large. And finally, the Duke himself and his family would be so caressed, and so bountifully rewarded, that they themselves would have nothing left to ask for or desire. But if the King should refuse to comply with his request, and still persevere in the *Hugonot* religion, then, not only the proceedings of the League would be justified to all mankind, to the confusion of those that maliciously slandered their actions; but the Catholicks who followed the King, being convinced of the insincerity of his promises, and in despair of his conversion, would all forsake him: so that when he was destitute of all other assistance but that of a few hereticks, it would be an easy matter to suppress him, and to put an honourable and victorious end to the war."

On the other side, those that opposed this resolution, said, " That as the war was undertaken merely upon the account of religion, such an overture could not be made, without first obtaining leave from the Pope, to whom it belonged to approve of and confirm his conversion; and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, not being absolute Prince of the League, but only head of his own party, ought not to proceed to so important and so peremptory an act, without the consent of all those that followed him, and of all the Princes that adhered to and favoured the League. For if the Pope should not approve of his conversion, whatsoever should have been treated or resolved upon, would be void and of no effect. And if the confederates should not like his measures, they would chuse another head, and he would be deprived of the support of the Catholick party, and left unhappily exposed to the mercy of his enemies. That this was a contrivance of the King himself, to create distrust betwixt him and his party, and to sow

1590. discords and suspicions amongst the confederates. That very likely he would pretend to turn Catholick, that he might the more securely deal with religion as he thought best; in which case the too precipitate and too simple credulity of the Duke would be for ever condemned. That the King, no doubt, would promise mountains of gold, in order to dissolve the union of the League, but without giving any security, that he would afterwards perform the least part of what he had promised, when he was peaceably established in the throne; from whence, to his eternal blame, his own ruin, and the destruction of all his adherents, would inevitably ensue. That the present situation of affairs required, that he should continue united with the rest of the confederates; that he should not disgust the Pope, nor alienate the King of *Spain* nor the Duke of *Lorraine*; that he should not be dismayed at a little bad success at the beginning, but hope, as God had avenged the blood of his brothers, that he would also give him his assistance to establish religion, and to exalt himself to the honour he aspired to." The Duke was moved, on one hand, by the equity of the proposal made by those of the King's party, as well as by resentment at the fickleness and impertinence of the *Parisians*. The scarcity of money distressed him; for want of which, he was not able to pay his foreign troops, nor to satisfy the demands of all the garrisons and Governors, who applied to him for whatsoever they stood in need of. But the subtlety and obduracy of the *Spaniards* perplexed him more than all the rest of his difficulties: for though they had caused the *Sieur De la Mothe*, Governor of *Graveling*, to march out of *Flanders* with supplies, to the very frontiers of the kingdom, they flatly refused to let him advance any further, or to furnish the League with any more sums of money to carry on the war, except his Catholick Majesty was first declared Protector of the Crown of *France*, with authority to dispose of the principal dignities, as well ecclesiastical as civil (which they called *las marcas de justicia*) by which he would have full power and command over the League. But the demand seemed so exorbitant, so prejudicial to the Crown, and so unbecoming, that neither the Duke himself could endure to hear of it, nor did he think that any of the confederates, except the *Parisians*, would submit to it: as that would be putting the reins entirely into the King of *Spain's* hand, and giving him leave to turn the course of affairs which way so ever he pleased at last to direct it. But, on the other hand, the apprehension of being left destitute and alone, the uncertainty of the King's conversion and promises, the ancient enmity that had subsisted betwixt them, and above all, the hope of obtaining the Crown for himself at last, would not suffer him to consent to the Marquis *De Belin's* proposals: so that he sent him back again to the King with a general and ambiguous answer, and declined the treaty of agreement that had been proposed. And to provide

vide the best remedies that he could for the present disorder that his affairs were in, partly by importunity, partly by artifice, partly by terror and threats, he caused the Council of the Union to be new modeled, which from the beginning was composed of refractory and turbulent people, and such as were not wholly at his devotion; and was resolved, that the Archbishop of *Lions* (who was just set at liberty by Captain *Du Gast* for a large sum of money, and arrived at *Paris*) should execute the office of High Chancellor, and in that quality preside at the Council. He likewise introduced the *Sieur De Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, men that were his confidants, and extremely averse to making any condescension to the arbitrary temper of the *Spaniards*: and thus by degrees increasing the number, he put in so many of the principal Gentlemen, that he no longer dreaded the insolence and instability of the lower sort of people, in the occurrences and deliberations that daily happened. And yet, that he might seem to give satisfaction to every one, he caused a decree to be made in the Council, by which the Princes, Peers, Marshals of *France*, Governors of provinces, Officers of the Crown, and the three orders of the kingdom, were summoned to meet at *Melun*, in the month of *February* next ensuing, to hold the States General there, where the present posture of affairs should be considered, and proper measures taken to remedy them with the common consent. And though men of understanding plainly foresaw, that the tumults and confusion occasioned by the war would frustrate this appointment, as it was not possible either to assemble or continue together, in a place that was in the midst of those distractions, yet it served for a lure to the common people, who are more apt to listen to specious pretences, than to enquire into the truth and bottom of affairs.

With the *Spaniards*, who were very importunate for a declaration, the Duke took other measures; excusing himself by the expectation of the Cardinal Legate's arrival, who was then not far off, and without whose presence and approbation, he said, it was by no means proper to come to any determination, in a matter of so great importance: buoying them up with hopes and other artifices, and with so much dissimulation, that as they made no doubt of the favour and ready concurrence of the Legate, it was not very difficult to prevail upon them to wait for an answer till his coming: tho' they would not send orders for their forces to advance to his assistance, nor disburse any money, but pleaded the same excuse, and said, that they must stay for the approbation of the Cardinal Legate. But as the people of *Paris* were in great want of provisions, and began to murmur exceedingly (as indeed they had some reason) the Duke drew all the forces that he had together, and laid siege to *Pontoise*, in order to open a passage,

1590. passage, on that side, for the conveyance of provisions from the province of Normandy.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legate arrived at *Paris*, where the Duke of *Mayenne* had a conference with him, in the presence of all the principal Lords that were there at that time: amongst whom was the Cardinal *Gondi*, who, after the late King's death, had retired to *Noisy*, a seat belonging to his brother, the Marshal *De Retz*, and there lived in peace, without concerning himself in the affairs of either party. At this conference, they immediately began to consider upon ways and means to promote the cause of the League: the *Spaniards* strenuously insisting, that his Catholick Majesty should be declared Protector of the kingdom of *France*, with the power and prerogatives before mentioned; in which they were supported by *The Council of sixteen*, who assured them, that their demands would have been readily complied with, if they had not been opposed by the Duke of *Mayenne*; and that the whole party would cheerfully concur in giving all manner of satisfaction to his Catholick Majesty, as a Prince, to whom they were indebted for the preservation of their religion and the security of their persons. On the other hand, the Duke, together with the majority of the Nobility and Counsellors of the Parliament, positively declared, that they would never come into such measures: and a warm debate might probably have ensued, to the prejudice of their common interests, if the Legate had not hinted to the *Spaniards*, "That it was by no means a proper time to insist upon such demands, nor to lay the *French* nation under so unseasonable a restriction. That it would force them into an agreement and reconciliation with the King of *Navarre*, who was not tardy in promoting his interests, and had offered them very ample and advantageous terms. That things were not yet come to a proper crisis, and it would be highly imprudent to excite such untimely jealousies and suspicions amongst the people, as must naturally tend to the dissolution of the League, the suppression of the Catholick religion, and the utter disappointment of their undertakings. That it was necessary, in the first place, to endeavour to hinder the farther progress of the King's arms, that he might not take the advantage of their discords, and have time to establish himself in the throne: and when that danger was removed, neither means nor opportunities would be wanting to promote the interests of his Catholick Majesty, which at a proper conjuncture he would use his utmost endeavours and authority to advance." And it was very lucky for them, that about the same time, either by chance or contrivance, some articles of accommodation were made publick, betwixt the King and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which were reported to have been concluded on by Monsieur *De Villeroi*, for the Duke, and the Marshal *De Biron*, on the King's behalf; and many proceeded so far as to affirm that it was certainly true, that they had

had been already signed by the Duchesses of *Mayenne* and *Nemours*, one of them mother, and the other wife, to the Duke, both of whom were indeed very much averse to the *Spaniards* demands. So that fear, as it commonly happens, prevailing over all other passions, and removing every impediment, the *Spanish* ministers at last agreed, that *Juan Baptista Tassis*, one of their number, and the *Sieur De Rosieux*, on the part of the Duke of *Mayenne*, should go together into *Spain*, to know his Catholick Majesty's intentions from his own mouth, as the Duke affirmed they were very different from what his ministers reported, and to bring back a plan of administration in other affairs.

In the mean time, they consented, that the succours from *Flanders* should advance to join the Duke of *Mayenne*, who designed to march forwards and face the enemy, as soon as he had taken *Pontoise*. And the Cardinal Legate paid down the three hundred thousand crowns that he had brought with him from *Rome*, in bills of exchange, which, as they could not at present be laid out for the enlargement of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he had granted to the Duke upon so urgent a necessity, since he alledged that his army absolutely refused to move, except they were paid some part of their arrears.

On the other hand, the Duke of *Mayenne* consented, that the college of *Sorbonne* should make a decree, to be confirmed by the Legate, that no agreement should be treated of with hereticks, particularly with *Henry of Bourbon*, who was declared relapsed and excommunicated: and that no communication or correspondence should be held with him by any one, on pain of being excommunicated and treated as a heretick: to which the Duke assented without much difficulty, as he was at that time utterly averse to an accommodation, and in great hopes of conquering his enemies, and accomplishing the end that he secretly aspired to.

All disputes being thus composed, the Duke, who was impatient to retrieve the reputation which he had lost in his late attempt upon *Dieppe*, and by suffering the Fauxbourgs of *Paris* to be taken, and being spurred up with great promises by the Cardinal Legate, moved directly with his army to besiege *Meulan*, a small place, but situated upon a pass of the river *Seine*, at the entrance into *Normandy*, and therefore, like *Pontoise*, prevented the conveyance of provisions to the city of *Paris*. It is enclosed with a very old wall, and extends itself along the bank of the *Seine*: from whence there is a convenient passage over a spacious bridge into an island in the midst of the river, which is reduced into a sort of a fortress, defended and flanked with four ravelines in the modern manner: and from the island there is a passage over another bridge to the further side of the river, where there is a large old tower, which serves as a defence and fortification to the bridge. Colonel *Berangueville*, was in the town with four com-

1590. companies of *French* foot, fifty *Swiss*, and eighty light horse; and imagining, that after the taking of *Pontife*, which place had capitulated, the Duke of *Mayenne* would proceed to besiege *Meulan*, to gratify the *Parisians*, he had with great diligence caused the Bourg to be surrounded with a good trench, flanked with half moons, and had done the same by the tower, which stands on the other side of the river, at the entrance of the bridge, the island being tolerably well fortified before. At the same time he likewise dispatched several messengers to the King, to desire relief; and having made all possible preparations, and furnished the townsmen with arms, was determined to make a resolute defence. The siege being laid on that side where the Bourg stands, the Duke of *Mayenne* ordered a battery to be raised, which began to play upon the besieged with eleven pieces of cannon. But so great was their diligence in repairing their works, and so grievously was the army annoyed in the flank by two pieces of cannon, planted upon the angle of a raveline in the island, that the siege was attended with great difficulty and went on very slowly. The Duke, therefore, being vexed that so small a place should make so obstinate a resistance (for he had already been ten days before it) caused the *Sieur De Rhosne*, one of his Marshals du camp, to pass over to the other side of the *Seine*, and erect a battery against the tower of the bridge, to distress the besieged on all sides.

In the mean time the King, who was quartered betwixt *Lisieux* and *Pontau de Mer*, with a design to besiege *Honfleur*, which was the only town in lower *Normandy* that adhered to the League, having received advice of the distress of *Meulan*, resolved to march immediately to its relief. For as his chief hopes of success consisted in the blocking up and cutting off provisions from the city of *Paris*, in order to humble the citizens, and in full expectation that necessity would incline them to peace, he knew that the taking of *Meulan* would open a passage sufficient to bring in abundant supplies of provisions. Upon which account, he left *Lisieux* on the 14th of *February*, and having taken *Verneuil* by the way, proceeded with so much expedition, though in very good order, that after he had marched forty leagues in seven days, he appeared on the 21st, with his army drawn up in order of battle, within sight of *Meulan*, on that side where the tower was besieged and battered by the *Sieur De Rhosne*; who having but a small part of the army with him, and therefore not sufficient force to continue the siege on the side towards the fields, drew off his cannon, and passed the river in boats that waited to convey him to the Duke's camp: whilst the King personally entered the town on that side, and having praised the resolution of the besieged, and encouraged them to persist, left three hundred *Swiss* and two hundred *French*

French firelocks there, and then retired to his army, which was quartered in neighbouring places. 1590.

The Duke of *Mayenne* knowing that the King would not attempt to pass the river with inferior forces, in the face of his army, boldly continued to batter the place: and the cannon having fired above five hundred shot, to the great damage of the fortifications, so fierce an assault was made, upon the 22d, that the besieged could not have sustained it long, if the King had not given them new courage and vigour at the same time, by sending in a supply of fresh men from the other side of the river. Yet notwithstanding this relief, as they had lost the first trench, they were forced to retire into their inner works with but little hopes of defending them; when the Marshal *De Biron* opportunely arrived with a large body of foot, and bringing more cannon into the isle, so galled the besiegers on their flank, and killed such numbers of their men, that they were obliged to retire towards the evening. The Duke of *Mayenne* still persisted in his resolution to force the place, as he thought the glory would be so much the greater if he could take it before the King's face, and succeed in an undertaking that was now rendered much more difficult by the hourly relief which the besieged received from the other side of the river. But the King having changed his quarters, after he had furnished *Meulan* with all things necessary, lodged his army upon the main road that leads to *Paris*, which obliged the Duke of *Mayenne* to send the Duke of *Nemours* thither with some light horse, to prevent the people from growing desperate, and running into tumults and cabals. It happened, presently after he had made this detachment from his army, that he received advice that the old castle at *Rouën* was surprized by some seditious persons, and that the whole city was in very great danger and consternation. Upon which account he determined, upon the 25th, to raise the siege, and to march that way without any further delay: which might be looked upon as one of those many lucky accidents that contributed to advance the King's fortune. For the danger at *Rouën* vanished without much trouble, and the *Sieur De la Londe*, who commanded the garrison, having driven those out that raised the tumult, the same night, together with the *Sieur D'Allegre*, their head, restored the city to its former tranquillity. And the Duke of *Mayenne* at last thinking it impossible to take *Meulan*, considering the hourly relief it had from the King, and not being willing to consume his army in a vain undertaking, resolved to draw off, and to proceed, by easy marches, to meet the supplies from *Flanders* and *Lorrain*, which, he had intelligence, were advancing with great expedition to join him.

On the other hand, the King, being intent upon cutting off provisions from *Paris* on all sides, resolved to make a sudden attempt upon the city

1590. of *Dreux*, in hopes of reducing it before the Duke of *Mayenne* returned, that so he might not only totally shut up the passage from *Normandy*, but prevent a free communication betwixt *Chartres* and *Paris*, by keeping a strong garrison there to scour the roads of *Beauvais*. The *Sieur De Falandre* and Captain *La Viette* were in *Dreux*, both good officers: and having a sufficient garrison, they sustained the siege, which was begun upon the last day of *February*, with great resolution, shewing much courage and experience in the first skirmishes: of which they gave still further proofs, upon the Marshal *De Biron's* coming to reconnoitre the place. For they privately laid a considerable body of musketeers in ambush for him in the moat, by whom *Charles Brise*, his chief cannonier, who was close by his side, Captain *La Boulaye*, and two of his own servants, were killed: and he himself, being hit upon his breast-plate with three balls and beat to the ground, had the good fortune to escape being wounded, by the goodness of his armour, but had much difficulty to clear himself, and would certainly have been taken prisoner by the enemy, if the Baron his son, who followed him at a little distance, had not opportunely come up to succour and disengage him. The valour of the besieged was not less upon other occasions: for the artillery having made a considerable breach by the 3d of *March*, the King ordered the foot to assault the curtain, from which, after a close action that lasted from noon till sun-set, the besieged at last repulsed the King's forces with very great slaughter, and pursuing them victoriously to their trenches, killed three captains there, and two hundred private men. About this time the King received some very seasonable supplies from several parts. For having sent for all the forces that could be spared from the provinces, he was first joined by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, who arrived with the Noblesse of *Champagne* and and twelve hundred Reiters, lately sent out of *Germany* by the *Sieur De Sancy*, and soon after, the Grand Prior and the Baron *De Grivy* came up with two hundred Gentlemen and three hundred light horse; and at last Captain *Rolet*, Governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, the Commendatory *De Chattes*, the *Sieur De l'Archant*, and other Gentlemen, brought in the forces of *Normandy*: after whose arrival, the King, being resolved to make a vigorous push to take the place, caused four more pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition, to be fetched from *Meulan*, where they had been left, and began to batter it afresh with the utmost fury.

When the news of *Dreux* being besieged was brought to *Paris*, it is hardly possible to conceive how the people were affected by it, and what clamours and mutinies it excited amongst them, being exposed, as they said, more than all others, to future dangers and present famine and distress. The Cardinal Legate, therefore, and the *Spanish* ministers, being in great perplexity, not only endeavoured to pacify and encourage the citizens,

citizens, by the assistance of the preachers, but importuned the Duke of *Mayenne*, by pressing letters and messages full of resentment, to come to their relief; spurring him up with heavy and reiterated complaints, and seeming to wonder, that now he had a much stronger army than the King's, he should suffer the principal city, on which the chief hopes of the League were altogether founded, to be reduced to such extremities: adding, that it was necessary to prevent those insurrections which the King's agents were secretly labouring to excite. That infinite sums of money had been spent, great pains taken, and nothing done, except such things as were of little or no consequence to their main design. That it plainly appeared nothing else was endeavoured, nothing else intended, but to consume time to no purpose, and weary out the patience of the confederates. And when the three hundred thousand crowns sent by the Pope were once gone, with what funds would he support his army for the future? With contributions from the *Parisians*, who having been already long blocked up and reduced to extreme want of necessaries, were obliged to pay ten crowns for a bushel of wheat, and live upon bread alone without any other subsistence? That it was unanimously desired he would at last make a trial, whether the swords of the confederates were as sharp, and would cut as well as those of the *Bearnois* (as they called the followers of the King) and that his Catholick Majesty had not left his towns in *Flanders* without garrisons, only that his forces might waste their time in idleness and inactivity. That it was manifestly seen what great thing, the resolution of one man could effect: for the King, without money, without being supported by confederates, without friends, and in a manner without any towns, had in a few months traversed all *France*, taken more strong places than there were days in the year, and now absolutely threatened the city of *Paris* itself, even in the face of the League's army.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was so stung with these reproaches, often and earnestly repeated, that, though he inwardly had little dependence upon the rawness and inexperience of his men, and was well acquainted with the valour of the Nobility that followed the King's colours, he resolved, however, to venture a battle. For the great superiority that he had in numbers made him conceal his own apprehensions; and his being head of a confederate army obliged him to carry on the war, according to the directions of others, as he was afraid many inconveniencies might ensue if he should take the management of it entirely into his own hands. Wherefore, being joined by the Count of *Egmont*, who brought fifteen hundred lances, and four hundred carbineers from *Flanders*; and about two days after, by Colonel *St. Paul*, with twelve hundred horse and two thousand *German* foot, from *Lorraine*, he instantly began his march to

1590. raise the siege of *Dreux*, and to try the fortune of a battle. *The Flemish* — cavalry were excellently mounted, and gayly clothed in silk and lace, but not esteemed by any means equal to the *French* Nobility: on the other hand the carbineers, armed for the most part with breast-plates and steel caps, and mounted upon nimble horses, of a middle size, being very ready and expert in all sorts of encounters, were not only in great reputation with their own side, but, which was of more consequence, not a little dreaded by their enemies. The *Germans*, conducted by *St. Paul*, had been raised in the name of the *Sieur De Sancy*, who was sent by the King to the Princes of *Germany*, and having obtained a sum of money from the Landgrave of *Hesse*, the Count of *Montbéliart*, and from the cities of *Ulme* and *Noremburg*, had levied both horse and foot to join the Marshal *D'Aumont* in *Champagne*, as the cavalry happily did, having come from *Langres* by different roads to the place of rendezvous. But when the infantry came near the city of *Strasbourg*, they were surrounded by the Duke of *Lorraine*, and broke their faith, to deliver themselves out of the danger they were in; and having received fresh lifting money, in the name of the confederates, were come into the camp of the League, under the command of Colonel *St. Paul*. With these forces, and his former army, which amounted in all to the number of four thousand five hundred horse, and almost twenty thousand foot, the Duke, being furnished with provisions and all things necessary, made a general and strict review of his army, on the 9th of *March*, and having given his soldiers leave to rest all the next day, he moved on the 11th in the morning toward *Dreux*, which town was still furiously battered and assaulted by the King.

But when his Majesty received intelligence, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had been reinforced, and was advancing with a resolution to attack him: and being disappointed by the obstinacy of the besieged, from whom he met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, and by the celerity of the Duke, who, he did not imagine could so soon have joined the supplies of the confederates, he determined to raise the siege, as he was not thoroughly resolved whether he should hazard a battle or not, when he considered the inferiority of his forces; yet, with an intention, if he should engage, to chuse the most convenient and advantageous ground that he could for his army. The artillery was drawn off on *Monday* the 12th of *March*, in the morning. But as the King would have the baggage to go first, and the army to march in order of battle, the day was already spent when the camp moved, and they did not arrive at *Nonancourt*, their appointed quarters, till late in the night. At which time a heavy storm of rain falling from the heavens, with dreadful thunder and lightning, threw the whole army into a terrible panick: not only because retreats have an ill aspect to those that are not acquainted with the secret motives of their commanders,

commanders, but on account of the fame that was spread abroad of the prodigious strength of the enemy's forces, and because both fortune and the weather seemed to conspire against their own army, which was almost half drowned, and marched as if it was flying under the favour of the night, though close drawn up, and in good order. The terror of the rarer men was increased by a frightful phenomenon, which, as the rain ceased, appeared in the middle of the sky: for there were seen two large armies of a blood red colour, which visibly rushed together in the air, amidst horrible claps of thunder; and soon after disappeared, leaving the event uncertain, and were covered again with exceeding thick and dark clouds. This spectacle, though diversly interpreted by many, seemed most probably, as they thought, to portend the ruin and destruction of their army, which being inferior in strength, and entirely destitute of any other assistance than that of their own forces, retired, as if it was already conquered, whilst the enemy kept advancing: and the rather, because these were the very places where the King's predecessors, and his faction of the *Hugonots*, lost the first battle against the Duke of *Guise* in the late civil wars, and in which the Prince of *Conde* was both wounded and taken prisoner in the midst of a terrible slaughter of his men.

But when the army arrived at *Nenancourt* (a town which had been taken two days before) and was refreshed both with good fires lighted in every place, and with plenty of provisions, which the Marshal *De Biron* caused to be distributed in regular order through all the quarters, the men began to recover their strength and spirits; and the King, being come to his lodgings with the Marshals *De Biron* and *D'Aumont*, immediately entered into a consultation with them, whether he should risque a battle or not. One thing alone dissuaded him from it, which was the inequality of numbers in the two armies. For in the King's there were not above eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, which were not half so many as those of the League, and if he had a mind to avoid an engagement, there was yet an opportunity of retiring beyond the river *Eure* into the places of *Lower Normandy*, all abounding with provisions, and all reduced to the King's devotion, where he might oppose the attempts of the enemy many different ways, and hinder their further progress. But not only his courage and the generosity of his nature, always inclined to magnanimous enterprises, but the present situation of affairs, prevented that resolution. For as his strength consisted in the union of the Noblesse, who served at their own charge, without pay or reward, it was necessary to avail himself of their present alacrity, and not suffer their first ardour to be damped by expences and hardships. To this was added, the want of money to pay the *Swiss* and other foreign troops, which indeed was very great, and not to be remedied; so that they could not be long supported and kept together.

1590. together. Whereas on the other side, the enemy would never want certain means, not only to maintain but augment their forces, whenever the Pope and the King of *Spain* pleased. And lastly, as the King's own valour and resolution was the only foundation he had to depend upon, and prompted him to hazard a small stake in order to gain a much larger, all other hopes being vain, it was necessary to put the whole to the decision of the sword: since it would seem downright cowardice and pusillanimity, not to pursue the prosperous beginning, with which fortune had favoured his undertakings. To these motives was added the opinion of the Marshal *De Biron*, whose advice, on account of his wisdom and experience, was observed by the King upon all occasions as an oracle. He thought it not only difficult but in a manner impossible to avoid a battle, and to retire, without sustaining considerable loss, or perhaps a total defeat, in passing the rivers, if the Duke of *Moyenne* should follow them in the rear: and was of opinion, that it would be more advisable to proceed resolutely to an engagement, whilst the army was in vigour and spirits, than to be destroyed peace-meal, without the least hopes of doing any good. The King therefore being determined to fight the enemy, planned out the form and order of the battle with his own hand, and having asked the opinions of the oldest officers about it, they all approved his draught, without any contradiction or alteration.

The King knew very well there was a great number of lances in the enemy's army, which being extended to a great length along the field, would endeavour to break into and disorder his cavalry, which was wholly composed of Gentlemen volunteers that served at their own expence, without any pay or reward, and had in the course of the civil wars laid aside the use of lances for their own conveniency, and taken up pistols in their room, as more handy, in imitation of the Reiters. So that in order to remedy that loss, which both he and the most experienced commanders were wont to lament, he divided his cavalry into many squadrons, to render the encounter of the lances less effectual, as two or three smaller bodies might charge them on all sides in their career, and not receive the shock of their front, in one firm and continued array. To every squadron of horse he joined some bodies of foot, that their volleys of small shot might not only protect his own men in the encounter, but by wounding and killing many in the first ranks of the enemy, might thin them, and make their onset less furious; an expedient, which having been often recommended and approved of in conversation, in cases of necessity and inequality of forces, manifestly shewed that day of what service it was. The King having sketched out the order in which the army was to be drawn up, gave it to the Baron *De Biron*, his first Marshal *du Camp*; and appointed Monsieur *De Vic*, an old Colonel of the
French

French infantry, and a man of great valour and experience, to be Serjeant-major-general of the army, which is an office, that for the great importance of it, is never conferred upon any, but such persons as have acquired the highest credit and reputation by their long experience and approved behaviour upon remarkable occasions, and consequently both know and are known by every one. The remainder of the night was spent in repose, till the drums and trumpets, at the first dawn of light, gave notice of the approach of day: at the beginning of which, mass was celebrated in all the quarters of the Catholics, and the *Hugonots* offered up their devotions apart. After this, the whole army being drawn out into the field, the carriages with provision passed without tumult or confusion through all the files, by the care of the Marshal *De Biron*, who fully shewed his great experience in the art of war, by the excellent order that he established, with the general approbation of the camp.

The army having been refreshed with rest and provisions, began its march, tho' with less expedition than the evening before, toward the plain of *Pévy*, which the King had pitched upon for the field of battle, not only because it was large and roomy, but on account of many places of advantage, which he designed to take possession of before the arrival of the enemy. This plain including a space of many miles, in a circular form, is bounded on the left side (by which the King's army approached it) by two great and commodious villages, one called *Fourcanville*, the other *St. Andrew*: and on the opposite side, whither the army of the League was marching, by a wood of very large trees, commonly called by the country people, *Le clos de la prairie*, *The hedge*, or *enclosure of the meadow*. On the west side, to which both armies bent their march, it ends in a deep valley, down which runs the *Euve*, a river of a moderate breadth; upon the banks of which are two large bourgs, *Anet* toward the south, and *Pévy*, situated on the other side towards the north. The river below *Anet* is commonly very easy to be forded without danger: But a large bridge, made of planks, laid over strong piles of wood, leads from the further side into *Pévy*. The field is flat and open on all sides, not embarrassed with hedges or banks and ditches, and has only a sort of a small natural concavity, almost in the middle of it, which extends itself but little way, right over against *Fourcanville*. Monsieur *De Vic* and the Baron *De Biron*, together with the Sieur *De Surene* and Captain *Favas*, who acted as Adjutants that day, having rode forwards to this place, formed the army as it came up, in such a disposition, that the village of *St. Andrew* flanked it on the right and *Fourcanville* on the left; in which, if the bad weather should continue, they might quarter upon all occasions with convenience and under cover. The hollow of the plain was in the front of the army, where the forlorn hope (or the *Les enfans perdus*, as they

1590. they call them) was to be placed: the Duke of *Montpensier* led the van: the King commanded the main battle: and the Marshal *De Biron* the rear. The cavalry was drawn up in five squadrons, of which the first, led by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, with two regiments of musketers by it, stood on the left hand, at the extremity of the field. Next to it was the second, commanded by the Duke of *Montpensier*, flanked on the right by a body of *Swiss* infantry, and on the left by another of the *Germans*. The third, larger than all the rest, in which the King himself was, with the Prince of *Coni*, the Count *De St. Paul*, and the flower of the Nobility and Gentlemen, was flanked by the *Swiss* guards on the right, and by those of Colonel *Balbazzar* on the left. The fourth, conducted by Marshal *De Biron*, was placed on the right of this, and had with it two regiments of *French* firelocks. The fifth and last, composed of *German* horse, under Count *Theodore* of *Schomberg*, extended itself to the houses of the village of *St. Andre*. Two other squadrons of horse, besides these, were stationed in the front of the main battle, about fifty paces before all the rest: one commanded by the Baron *De Givry*, in which were four hundred light horse: and the other by the Baron *De Biron*, consisting of three hundred Cuirassiers. And in the midst, betwixt these two squadrons, the artillery was placed, under the direction of the *Sieur Philibert de la Guiche*, with * fifty *harquebusiers* on horseback, two hundred pioneers, and a company of canoniers as usual. The forlorn hope, led by three Colonels, *St. Dennis*, *Brignolet*, and *Parabiere*, lay close in that hollow that was in the middle of the plain, about fifty paces before the artillery: so that it could not be hurt by the enemy's cannon, and kneeling with one knee upon the ground, could hardly be discovered by those that did not know of its being there. In this disposition the army, not having its wings contracted into the shape of a half moon, but extending itself in a strait line, had an even front, except that the Grand Prior and the Baron *De Biron*, with their squadrons and the artillery, had advanced forwarder than the rest, to cover the main body. They had not yet made an end of drawing up the army, when two supplies, from different parts, arrived: for the *Sieurs Du Plessis*, *De Maity*, and *De la Tremoille*, came out of *Poitou*, with about two hundred horse. And the *Sieur De Humieres*, with about † fourscore Gentlemen out of *Picardy*, drawn thither by a report which was spread abroad, that there was likely to be a battle about that time. Which supplies, though small, yet coming so opportunely, and being magnified by common fame, gave wonderful spirits and courage to every one; all being of opinion, that the hand of heaven visibly distinguished itself in favour of the King, by sending those succours so unexpectedly in a time of such exigency. So

* The *French* translation says *five hundred*.

† The *French* translation says *four hundred*.

that,

that, as more account was made of the happiness of the omen, than the number of their forces, they were welcomed with loud and joyful acclamations: and that they might not disturb the order of the army, they joined the King's squadron that had taken post in the center of the main battle. 1590.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, on the other hand, having intelligence that the King was risen from the siege of *Dreux*, and that, without any regard either to the heaviness of the rain or the darkness of the night, he had marched with very great haste towards *Normandy*, imagined, that his Majesty was desirous of avoiding the hazard of a battle, on account of the inferiority of his forces. For which reason, he pressed forward his march, in hopes, that the usual disorder of all retreats, especially as there were so many rivers to pass, would afford him an opportunity of routing, or at least of gaining some considerable advantage, over the enemy. And this being not only the General's opinion, but that of the whole army, every man cheerfully quickened his pace, in full assurance of a very easy and secure victory, without loss of blood. From which precipitation it came to pass, that though the army marched in several divisions, yet they were greatly confused and disordered by the roughness of the roads. Proceeding, however, in this manner towards *Yvry*, with an intention to come upon the King as he was passing the river, the Sieurs *De Rhosne* and *Gessan*, who led the first divisions, had no sooner entered the plain, but they discovered the King's army ready drawn up, with the advantage of the ground, and waiting to fight them. This news, which soon passed from van to rear, in a great measure abated the ardour of many, who had already inconsiderately made themselves sure of a victory without any resistance, and caused the army to make a halt, to draw up again and recover their order.

The army of the League was divided into two wings, the right led by the Duke of *Nemours*, and the left by the Chevalier *D'Aumale*. At the extremity of the right wing was the Count of *Egmont*, with the lances that he had brought out of *Flanders*: next to which was a body of *Swiss*, commanded by their Colonels *Fifer* and *Berling*, and flanked with the regiments of *Ponsenac*, *Disemieux*, and *Chastilliere*. Betwixt the *Swiss* and the regiment commanded by the Duke of *Nemours*, which consisted of four hundred horse, the artillery was placed. At the point of the left wing, four hundred light horse, composed of *Bourguignons* and *Spaniards*, extended themselves to the very edge of the field; by the side of whom was posted the body of *German* foot, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*, and flanked by the *French* and *Lorrain* regiments of *Tremblecourt*, *Tenissay*, and *Chastaigneraye*: and next to these stood the Chevalier *D'Aumale's* squadron, in which were the troops of the Sieurs *De Longchamp*, *De Perdriel*, and

1590. *De Fountain Martel.* The Duke of *Mayenne*, with his troop, and four hundred Gentlemen, which in all made seven hundred horse, was in the midst, betwixt the two wings, flanked by the *Flemish* carbineers. And before all, were two squadrons of Reiters, under the command of the Duke of *Brunswick* and the Sieur *De Bassempierre*, which were to charge and wheel off in their wonted manner, and then pass betwixt the two wings, to rally in the rear, that they might return with more vigour into the battle.

In this order, the army proceeding gently toward the plain, and by degrees turning their backs to *Vury* and the banks of the river, came up to face the King's army, when the day was now almost spent. For having marched in a disorderly manner, they had been forced to waste a great deal of time in forming again. So that the near approach of night, together with a continuance of heavy rain, determined both Generals not to come to an engagement. But after they had stood in this posture about two hours, without any action, except some faint skirmishes, as each took care not to engage with their main body, the day-light being already at an end, the King withdrew with his army into *Fourcenville* and *St. Andrew*, to their great convenience; whilst the Duke of *Mayenne*, with as much inconvenience, was obliged to quarter his men as well as he could, having but very few houses at his command: which want he endeavoured to remedy, by setting up tents and pavilions within the descent of the valley, towards the bank of the river. The night was full of disturbance and alarm on both sides, each of them lighting up great fires very thick in their camp, and placing sentinels all over the field, which were changed every half hour, by the officers that went the rounds: though the King's army, on account of the abundance of provisions, the conveniency of houses, and because the infantry was secured on all sides by barricadoes, rested more quietly, and received greater refreshment. The Duke of *Mayenne* would willingly have declined the battle, in order to spin out the war, that so he might damp the ardour of the Nobility that followed the King, by reducing them to want of money, and making them consume their warlike provisions, of which he knew they had no very great plenty; hoping by these arts at least to accomplish his designs. But on one side, the Count of *Egmont* vehemently protested against that manner of proceeding, and declared, that he was not come thither to throw away the King of *Spain's* forces in doing nothing: as his Majesty had deprived his own dominions in the Low Countries of their proper defence, for the support of religion in *France*, and was desirous that an end might be put to the war by one bold effort. And on the other, it was opposed, though with more modesty, by Monsignor *Girolamo di Portia*; who attending the camp in the Legate's name, endeavoured to spur the Duke

Duke up to some generous resolution, by representing, that the confederate Princes were tired out, and that his army was now greatly superior to that of the enemy. The Duke himself likewise considered the circumstances of the *Parisians*, who he knew were not only exhausted by contributions, and distressed by famine, but displeased at his proceedings, and ready (if things should be any longer protracted) to embrace the first opportunity of revolting : upon which considerations, he at last resolved to defer an engagement no longer. The next morning therefore (which was *Wednesday*) the drums beating, and the trumpets sounding, at the first appearance of day, the armies were drawn up in the same place and order that they had been the night before. But the Viscount *De Tavannes*, who formed the horse, as the *Sieur De Rhosne* did the foot, being extremely short sighted, had placed the several divisions so close to one another, that there was not only no space left through which the Reiters might retire to rally in the rear of the army, after they had wheeled according to their orders : but even the very divisions themselves had no intervals, by means of which they might extend themselves when they moved. So that if they stirred never so little, they jostled and crowded each other. An error, which, not being observed by any body, and therefore left without remedy, very much distressed the army of the League, and put it into great confusion.

The King's forces, on the other hand, on account of the smallness of their number, were sooner drawn up, and put in order of battle without confusion. After which, the Marshal *De Biron* first, and then the King himself, visited every division with the greatest diligence, and most carefully reviewed every thing. His Majesty being mounted upon a large bay charger, and armed at all points, except his head and face, rode through all the several squadrons, and recommended his own fortune and the common safety to his army, more by looks and gestures than by his words, which could scarcely be distinguished by the multitude; telling them, that his whole strength and hopes consisted in them : reminding the commanders, and all those that could hear him, with an undaunted countenance, yet sometimes with tears in his eyes, that not only the preservation of the Crown of *France*, but every particular man's safety, solely depended upon the point of the sword, and the valour of their own arms. That there were no fresh armies to be got together, no more Nobility left to take up arms, nor any other way to secure themselves, than to fight manfully for their lives. After these exhortations, he stopped at the head of the main battle, and joining his hands together, lift up his eyes to heaven, and said, so loud that he was heard by many : " O Lord, thou knowest the intentions of my heart, and piercest into the most secret of my thoughts " with the eye of thy providence. If it be for the good of this people

1590. " that I should attain the Crown which lawfully belongs to me, I beseech
 " thee to favour and protect the justice of my arms. But if thy will hath
 " ordained the contrary, if thou takest away my kingdom, take away my
 " life also at the same time, that I may shed my blood fighting at the
 " head of these men, who expose themselves to such dangers for my sake."

He had no sooner finished his prayer, than there arose a loud acclamation in the front of the main body, from those that heard him, with chearful shouts of, *Long live the King*; which being caught and re-echoed from squadron to squadron, gave a most happy beginning to the battle.

The King therefore having put on his helmet, on the top of which there was a large crest of white feathers, that he might be the better distinguished by his followers, and perceiving that the wind was in his face, which would have covered and blinded all his army with the smoke of the small arms and artillery, began with great dexterity to make his squadrons wheel to the left, though but a few paces, to remedy this inconvenience, by getting the wind in flank: which the Duke of *Mayenne* seeing, who likewise stood in the front of his main body, and being desirous to defeat the King's intention, immediately ordered the signal to be given for battle by his Trumpet-major; at the sound of which, the artillery on both sides made a terrible fire, but with very different skill and execution. For the Duke's were all pointed too low, and killed no-body at all, but one Gentleman belonging to the Duke of *Montpensier*: whereas the King's, by the readiness and expertness of the *Sieur De la Guiche*, and being loaded and discharged a second time, made a very great slaughter in the two squadrons of Reiters that were in the front of the army, and put them in disorder, and at the same time did no small damage to Count *Egmont*, who stood with his squadron of lances at the extremity of the right wing; and being unwilling to stay till they made a third fire, which would utterly rout his men, was the first that gave the onset, falling upon the Grand Prior's light horse with so much impetuosity, that they, not being able to sustain the violence of the lances, and the furious shock of horses, so much heavier than their own, were broken into, and charged quite through the very middle of their squadron. So that the *Flemings* rushed in upon the King's artillery, and turning their horses tails upon it, by way of contempt, killed many of the cannoneers and pioneers that attended it. But having in some measure disordered themselves by this piece of vanity, they were at the same time attacked, with very great fury, on the right hand by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, on the left by the Baron *De Biron*; and the Grand Prior, with the Baron *De Givry*, having rallied their horse again, returned full of anger and revenge, and gave them so desperate a charge in the front, that being surrounded on every side, they were all soon cut to pieces, together with the Count that commanded them. At the same

time the squadrons of the Duke of *Montpensier*, and that of the Duke of *Nemours* in the vanguard; and the Count of *Schomberg's* and the Chevalier *D'Aumale's* in the rear guard, charged one another with so much courage and resolution on both sides, that it was hard to know which would have the advantage at last. For the Duke of *Montpensier*, whose horse was killed under him in the first encounter, and who by a resolute effort of his men was mounted upon another, being supported by the Noblesse of *Normandy*, fought with exceeding great valour. And the Duke of *Nemours*, a very young man indeed, but of a generous spirit, and elated by the superiority of his party, had fiercely rushed with short weapons, after the encounter of the lances, into the middle of the battle. On the other side, the Count *De Schomberg* with the *German* horse, not wheeling off, but charging home into the very body of the enemy, did great execution, with famous discharges of pistol-shot, upon the Chevalier *D'Aumale's* squadron: who, being no less valiant than fame had reported him, and supported by a strong body of men, made the conflict very hot and bloody. The *Reiters*, who were posted in the Duke of *Mayenne's* front, having sustained considerable damage from the artillery, advanced, nevertheless, wheeling, to make their attack. But when they came to the hollow of the field, they met with the forlorn hope, who rising courageously from their knees, received them with a terrible fire from their small arms; by which the Duke of *Brunswick*, one of their principal commanders, being slain, and many others wounded and beat to the ground, as soon as ever they had discharged their pistols, they wheeled off according to their manner of fighting, and endeavoured to retire into the rear of the army, as they had received orders from their General: but not finding any passage sufficient to receive them (as there ought to have been, on account of the narrowness of the intervals betwixt the squadrons) they recoiled upon, and somewhat disordered that great body of lance, with which the Duke of *Mayenne* was following them to charge the enemy's main battle: so that he was obliged to stop short, and make his men couch their lances to keep off the *Reiters*: and disengage himself from them, for fear of being totally broke by their precipitate retreat. The King observing this, and laying hold of the opportunity which this disorder of the enemy afforded him, set spurs to his horse, and being bravely seconded by the flower of the Nobility that followed his standard, fell furiously upon the Duke's main body, before he could clear himself from the embarrassment of the *Reiters*, and make his lances take their career: by which their weapons becoming entirely useless, as they owe all their weight and force to the impetuosity of their career, it was necessary to throw them away, and engage with their swords only against the King's squadron, which consisted altogether of Lords and

Gentlemen

1590. Gentlemen, who besides their tucks, were provided with excellent armour, and had each man a case of pistols beside him. Yet all this did not dismay the Duke, nor abate the courage of those that followed him: but after a furious volley of carbines, they boldly rushed on with their cavalry, which were excellent, and made the victory first doubtful, and then bloody to the enemy. For at the very first onset, the *Sieur De Rhodes*, a young Gentleman of exceeding great hopes, who carried the Royal white standard, being slain by a thrust through the vizor of his helmet; and a Page falling in the same place, who wore a great plume like the King's, every body thought the King himself had been killed. Upon which mistake, the squadron began to break, some giving way to the right, and others to the left. But the King's horse and plume being distinguished afterward, as he himself was fighting desperately, sword in hand, in the first rank, and loudly calling upon his friends to follow him, they rallied, and having knit themselves close together in one compact body, discharged their second pistols, and fought with the usual valour of the *French Nobility*. So that all obstacles being removed, and all difficulties surmounted, they at last overthrew the enemy, and put them to flight, with exceeding great slaughter. For pursuing them very close, they killed and miserably wounded vast numbers, till they came to the very entrance of the wood; into which the Reiters also had retired in confusion, having been disordered by recoiling first upon their own artillery, and then sometimes upon one squadron, sometimes upon another, without ever returning into the battle, to their own infinite disgrace, and the no less prejudice of their army. Almost at the same instant, the Duke of *Montpensier*, being relieved by the Marshal *D'Aumont*, who fell in upon the flank, had routed the vanguard commanded by the Duke of *Nemours*: And the Count *De Schomberg*, relieved by the Baron *De Biron*, had also defeated the rear-guard, conducted by the Chevalier *D'Aumale*. And the Grand Prior, having rallied his light horse, had broken and done great execution amongst the *Spaniards* and *Bourguignons*, who closed the rear-guard at the extremity of the left wing. So that all the cavalry of the League being disordered and put to flight, had left the field open to the enemy, and retreating with the utmost precipitation towards *Tury*, endeavoured to save themselves by passing the river.

But the victory was neither compleat nor satisfactory on the King's side, as they did not yet see his Majesty's person: and the rumour of his death, that had been dispersed at the beginning, was still thought true by many: so that there was a general damp in the army, till he returned at the head of his squadron, with which he had routed and pursued the enemy. But at his appearance, after he had pulled off his helmet, that he might be the better known, the joyful shouts of *Long live the King* were reiterated, which

which in the beginning had given so happy an omen of the success of the battle. The infantry of the League remained entire, but surrounded on all sides by the King's forces. The *Swiss* seemed as if they were resolved to defend themselves, but perceiving that the cannon were coming up to rake them, they thought proper to surrender: which the King seeing, as he was not willing to exasperate the Cantons, whose friendship was highly to be valued, as soon as they had struck their colours and laid down their arms upon the ground, they were received to mercy, and had quarter given them by the Marshal *De Biron*. The *Germans* expected to have met with the like treatment: but as they were the same that revolted to the Duke of *Lorraine*, though they had been raised with the King's money, and then were so mercenary as to bear arms in favour of the League, after they had reared their pikes and lowered their colours, were all cut to pieces by the King's command, as a punishment for their perfidy. The *French* that submitted had their lives granted them. For the King, from the very beginning of the victory, to gain the affections of his people had often called out aloud to spare the *French*, and put the foreigners to the sword; which orders being dispersed through the whole army, in all parts of the field, every one, even in the heat of the battle, enjoyed the benefit of this remarkable clemency, and all the *French* that surrendered were immediately received to mercy. These things being dispatched with the utmost expedition, and the army remaining in possession of the whole field, the King put his men in order again and proceeded towards *Yvry*, whither the enemy had retreated. At which place the tumult and confusion were dreadful indeed; for the Duke of *Mayenne* having passed the bridge, ordered it to be broke down, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him. So that great numbers of those that ran away, being crowded and stopped by the narrowness of the pass, and the depth of the mire which they found there, were so entangled and in such disorder, that they could not get any further. And whilst they were embarrassed in this manner, the King's infantry being come up, flushed with the slaughter of the *Germans*, and eager to destroy the rest of their enemies, many out of fear resolved to attempt to ford the river, which being always deep and now swelled by the abundance of rain, the greater part of them were miserably drowned. But the *Reiters*, being afraid to venture into the water, cut off their horses legs to make a breast-work of them, and resolved now to give that proof of their valour, which they might have done, much more to the purpose, in the battle. This execution, rather than fight, lasted above an hour; for the small arms playing upon them on all sides from the higher ground and places of advantage, destroyed those reliques in such a manner, that very few of them were left alive, though not without much loss; as many of the conquerors, out of

too

1590. too much eagerness to get at them, were either stifled in the mud and heaps of dead bodies, or slain by the Reiters with their pistols. The Duke of *Nemours*, the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, *Bassompierre*, *Rbofnè*, the Viscount *De Tavannes*, and others, took a different way, and passing by the wood-side, by a more round-about but safer road, retired to *Chartres* without being pursued. The Duke of *Mayenne*, Colonel *St. Paul*, Monsignor *Di Portia*, and a great many Gentlemen that escaped from the battle, having fled seven leagues with the utmost haste, came to *Mante*, into which town they were received the same evening, though the people at first made a scruple of admitting them. The King, however, pursued them immediately; but not being able to pass at the bridge of *Vry*, which was already broke down and demolished, to avoid the danger of deep holes and quicksands that were in the river at that place, was forced to go about and ford it at *Anet*: by which delay he lost above two hours, and could not possibly overtake the enemy, but took up his quarters in a village called *Rbofny*, a league distant from *Mante*, where the Marshal *D'Aumont*, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of *Montpensier* arrived also; the Marshal *De Biron* staying behind with the infantry and the remainder of the army.

There died that day by the sword, and in passing the river, above six thousand of the army of the League; amongst whom were, the Count of *Egmont*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the Sieur *De la Ckafaignerex*. The Sieur *De Cigoigne*, who carried the Duke's white standard, the Count of *Anfrist*, a German, the Marquis *De Menelay*, the Sieurs *De Bois-dauphin*, *De Medauid*, *De Long-champ*, *De Falandre*, *De Fountain Martel*, and the Colonels *Tennissay*, *Disemicux*, and *Chasteliere*, were taken prisoners. Twenty Cornets of horse, the standard of the *Flemish* lances, the banner of the commanding officer of the Reiters, twenty-four ensigns of the *Swiss*, sixty pair of *French* colours, eight pieces of cannon, with all the baggage and ammunition that followed the camp, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The number of the dead on the King's side did not amount to above five hundred; amongst whom were the Sieur *De Chermont*, Captain of his guards, one of the German Colonels, the Sieur *De Grenay*, who carried the Duke of *Montpensier*'s Cornet, the Sieur *De Loncaunay*, a Norman Gentleman, who was killed valiantly fighting in the heat of the battle at the age of seventy-two, and the Marquis *De Nefle*, who being left wounded on the ground, died soon after. Amongst the wounded, who in all were not quite two hundred, were the Baron *De Biron*, the Counts *De Choisy* and *De Lude*, *Maximilian de Bethune*, Lord of *Rbofny*, the Sieurs *De Montloutet*, *D'O*, and *De Lavergne*, who were happily cured of their wounds in a few days.

Such was the battle fought on the plain of *Vry* upon the 14th of
March.

Marib. In which, if the singular valour and conduct of the King claimed 1590. the highest degree of applause, there is no doubt but the next belonged to the Marshal *D'Aumont*, the Baron *De Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*: as the two first, at the very beginning of the action, fought most gallantly, and repelled the fury of the *Flemish* lances, that had victoriously advanced up to the very cannon; and at the latter end of the battle utterly defeated the carbineers, who having greatly disordered the King's squadron, afterwards wheeled upon and down the plain, and harrassed the other squadrons to such a degree, that it made the fortune of the day for a long time dubious. And the Duke of *Montpensier* having charged the enemy's right wing, which consisted of the flower of their troops, after his horse was killed under him, and he had bravely forced his way through the utmost danger to mount another, and saw the *Sieur De Creney* laid dead upon the ground, who carried his colours (which he bravely recovered with extreme peril of his life) still fought with so great resolution that he defeated and routed the enemy, and was one of the first that followed the King in the pursuit of those that fled.

But in all the various turns and changes of the battle, which was chiefly betwixt the cavalry on both sides, the bravery of the *French* Noblesse was very great; who fighting for no other reward but honour, and being excellently mounted and armed, had constantly the advantage in every encounter, though they often engaged with swords and pistols only against the fury of the lances, and sometimes found the disadvantage of those weapons, which their own convenience, and not any order or approbation of their commanders, had induced them to make use of. On the other side, the error of the Count *De Tavannes* was very remarkable, in placing the divisions so near and close together, that they could hardly move without falling foul upon one another. So that not only the *Reiters*, who were much dreaded, became entirely useless, but even the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had disengaged himself with admirable conduct from the terrible disorder they had thrown him into, was deprived of the effect and advantage of his lances: by which memorable example, we may learn how necessary it is, that courage and conduct in a commander, should also be accompanied with a strong and perfect constitution of body, and free from all defects. Nor was the vanity of the *Flemings* less prejudicial, who, by insolently turning their horses tails upon the cannon, disordered themselves in such a manner, that they were soon broken and repulsed. Whereas, if they had fallen directly upon the Duke of *Montpensier*, with the same fury that they had charged quite through the Grand Prior's squadron, which stood in his front, and had been seconded by the Duke of *Nemours*, who might have attacked him at the same time, the victory would have been very easily secured in favour of the League. The King's

1590. justice and clemency were likewise conspicuous upon this occasion, and worthy of eternal glory. For with a necessary example of severity, he ordered, that the *Germans*, who had violated their engagements, should be put to the sword to the last man: and on the other side, he spared not only such as voluntarily surrendered, but even those that fought desperately till they were taken prisoners. His policy and prudent conduct were also much to be admired: for as he knew there was a natural respect and affection in the *French* Nobility and Gentlemen towards their equals, and how nearly those very men are often allied either by blood or friendship, who engage against each other in the course of civil wars, he seemed exceedingly anxious and concerned for their safety, continually calling out aloud through the field, till he was quite hoarse, *to spare the French Noblesse*: which behaviour was so popular and endearing, that it gained him infinite love amongst his own soldiers, and no small praise from his very enemies: every one revering him not only as a great Prince, but an affectionate father, who had so tenderly spared the blood of his subjects and children, though they were rebellious and disobedient. His affability likewise gave the highest satisfaction; for as he supped in publick at *Rhosny*, the night after the battle, he made his commanders sit down with him at the same table, telling them, in a gracious manner, "That as they had partaken in the same dangers with him, it was but just that they should likewise partake in the same conveniencies and honours." And whilst supper lasted, he spoke to every one that was present, and called them by their names, praising, caressing, and thanking even the meanest soldier, telling them, that he should ever remember their services with gratitude, and reward them as soon as he was able, though he was not at that time. By which arts he filled them all with wonderful hopes and eagerness to follow him, as indeed it was highly necessary, considering his circumstances, and the urgent occasion he had for the assistance of every particular man.

An account of this defeat was brought the next day to *Paris*, by the the *Sieur De Tremblay*, who being a prisoner upon his parole, had not been engaged in the battle, and had an opportunity of retiring with the first. Which news being carried by him directly to the Archbishop of *Lions*, deputed Chancellor and President of the Council of the League, was afterwards communicated to the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassadors; who being all exceedingly dismayed, justly apprehended that this intelligence would make the people rise, and very much endanger the city: for as they expected every hour to be relieved from their distresses by a victory, now they were deprived of all hopes of delivering themselves out of their present extremities by dint of arms, he thought they would not fail to attempt it by composition and agreement: hunger being

ing the sharpest and most effectual incitement to insurrections amongst the common people, who not being restrained by any motives of decency or generosity, are always determined by the present advantage. In order therefore to remedy this evil, in the best manner that lay in their power, after long consultation, they resolved that the preachers, in whom the people had always very great confidence, should be the first to break this matter to them in their sermons, and endeavour to encourage them, by the usual effects of eloquence, manfully to bear up against the adversity of their present fortune. The first of them that undertook this office was Don *Cristino de Nizza*, who preaching to the people on the 16th of *March*, which was one of the *Fridays* in *Lent*, took an occasion, in the first part of his discourse, to introduce these words out of the third chapter of the *Revelations*, *Whom I love I rebuke and chasten*. Upon which he expatiated very largely, foretelling that God would not fail to prove the faith and constancy of the *Parisians*, as by numberless examples in the Scripture he clearly shewed he was wont to try the patience of his children: after which, in the evening service, being come into the pulpit, with letters in his hand, which he seemed to have received but just before, he lamented that he had that day performed the office, not only of a preacher but of a prophet; and that God had been pleased, by his mouth, to warn the people of *Paris* of the trial that was to befall them, which it concerned him to let them know, was now actually come to pass; for that the Catholick army having engaged the enemy but two days before, had come off with some disadvantage. To this news he added so many earnest prayers and pathetick exhortations, that the people, who had listened to him with great attention, not only did not offer to raise any commotion at all, but seemed resolved to persevere in the defence of themselves and their religion, without any regard to the severity of famine and the afflictions of a future siege. The same was done by *Guillaume Rose*, *Boucher*, *Prevôt*, and all the other preachers; and, lastly, by Montignor *Francisco Panigarola*, who, though he preached in the *Italian* tongue, was followed by a vast concourse of people, on account of his singular eloquence.

The Duke of *Mayenne* arrived three days after; but as he did not know how to face the *Parisians*, and feared those tragical events which had been so frequent amongst the people of late years, he staid at *St. Denis*, whither the Cardinal Legate, the Ambassador *Mendoza*, the Commendatory *Morreca*, the Archbishop of *Lions*, and the Sieur *De Villeroy* came to him, and at last the principal Deputies of the *Parisians*, by whom (but more particularly by his sister *Madam De Montpensier*, who greatly supported the affairs of the League by her courage and presence of mind) being informed of the good disposition of the people, to persevere

1590. with constancy in their defence, he first commended them for so generous a resolution, and afterwards conferred with them concerning the present state of affairs, representing to them, "That as the loss of the battle proceeded rather from the disorder of the Reiters, and several other concurring accidents, than from the strength of the enemy; and his army, especially the cavalry, was rather broke than defeated, he hoped, in a short time, to assemble a body of forces more powerful than the former: That he was well assured, both the Pope and the King of *Spain* would be ready to support the Catholick religion, and exert themselves for the preservation of the kingdom; and so much the more, as the occasion was more urgent and manifest. So that they would in a few weeks see a greater army on foot, with which, whilst it was fresh and in full vigour, he made no doubt of destroying the *Navarrese* troops, now worn out and wasted with their late losses and hardships. That all consisted in resisting the first attacks, and in bravely sustaining the first fury of the siege, which he was confident was preparing against *Paris*: for the defence whereof he would willingly have shut himself up in the city, to teach them how to endure hunger by his example, as nothing else was to be feared from the enemy; but that it was more for the general good, and absolutely necessary for the relief of the *Parisians* in particular, that he should march directly to the confines of *Picardy*, to assemble an army with the utmost expedition and receive supplies from *Flanders* and *Lorrain*, that he might return from thence with sufficient forces to raise the siege, which, he was certain, if they had but patience to suffer a little inconvenience, would at last prove vain and fruitless. That in his stead, he would leave his brother the Duke of *Nemours*, a young man of great courage and resolution, and his cousin, the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, to command the garrison, and provide for the military part of their defence: and for the rest, the Cardinal Legate, and the ministers of his Catholick Majesty being present, and firmly supported by the zeal of *The council of sixteen*, he made no doubt but every thing would be conducted with that prudence which the occasion required. That to shew how little he apprehended the city would fall into the enemy's hands, and for a pledge of the speedy relief he designed to bring them, he would leave his mother, wife, sister, and children in the city, to share in the fortune of the citizens. That, finally, as there was nothing else requisite, but to keep the people in good temper, and to resist the importunities of hunger, he had the greatest reason to hope for a happy issue, to the exaltation of the League, and the total subversion of his enemies." This advice was commended and approved of by them all, and the heads of the people promised to keep united and constant in defending

1590.
 sending the place to the last man; beseeching him only to make all the haste he possibly could; to deliver the people from their extremities, who, for the sake of religion, and confiding in his promises, had boldly resolved to encounter all those difficulties and dangers which they saw approaching. The next day the Duke departed towards *Picardy* to meet the Duke of *Parma*, his Catholick Majesty's General in the Low Countries, as he knew every thing now depended upon his assistance: and that if the *Spaniards* did not furnish him with supplies, and considerable ones too, it would be a very difficult matter to raise an army sufficient to raise the siege and relieve *Paris*. And within the city they began, with infinite diligence, to repair the walls, to scour the moats, to cast up works, to plant their artillery, to arm the people, but above all, to make the best provision they could against the dreadful prospect of famine.

In the mean time, *Mante* and *Vernon* had surrendered to the King since the victory, in which places he was obliged to stay longer than he intended: for the badness of the weather and continual heavy rains had not only overflowed the country, and made the roads exceeding deep, but had rendered it impossible to lie in the field, or to march with cannon and baggage, and the men and horses could hardly find sufficient shelter elsewhere. In this interval the King received advice of another encounter that had happened in the province of *Auvergne*, near the walls of *Iffoire*, where the Sieurs *De Florat* and *Chaseron*, who were of his party, had routed and slain the Count *De Randan*, commander for the League, and had made themselves masters of the place, with the slaughter of above two hundred of the enemy. Nor was it long before other intelligence arrived from the county of *Maine*, where *Guy de Lansac*, who commanded the party of the League, and the Sieur *D'Hertrè*, Governor of *Alençon* and chief of the King's forces, had an engagement, which likewise ended in favour of his Majesty: for *Lansac* was obliged to save himself by flight, after three hundred of his men were slain and the rest dispersed, leaving the King's forces masters of the field in those parts.

The advices of these several disasters coming to *Paris*, close upon the back of one another, very much perplexed those that had the government of affairs, but especially the Legate, upon whose shoulders the blame of all the present miscarriages was laid; every one thinking that, as he represented the Pope's person, he ought to have furnished supplies both of men and money, in a cause where religion was the principal object, for the relief of those distresses which the League was involved in at that time: and the Duke of *Mayenne* complained publicly of it, and wrote to the Pope in plain terms, that his backwardness in supporting so necessary an undertaking, was the chief occasion of all those evils. The *Spanish* ministers made the same remonstrances, being of opinion, that the

1590. the Legate had prevented the King their master from being satisfied in his demands; and that whilst his Catholick Majesty neglected his own affairs, to deliver religion from the danger it was in, with his men and money, the Pope kept his purse shut, and acting in an ambiguous manner, would neither send the supplies which he had often promised, nor consent that his Catholick Majesty should have satisfaction given him; who, if his just demands had been complied with, would have employed his whole forces for the common benefit. Nor were the *Parisians* less modest in their complaints than the rest; for, groaning under the burden of their present distresses, and the extreme scarcity of provisions, they importunately required assistance from the Legate and relief from the Pope; since all that they had done and suffered, was for the preservation of the Catholick faith, and the service of the holy church. So that the Legate, being surrounded with all these troubles, was in very great anxiety of mind; which was increased to the utmost, when he found that the Pope was almost utterly alienated from the interests of the League, by the Duke of *Luxembourg's* arrival and negociation at *Rome*; and further, that his Holiness seemed highly dissatisfied at his going to *Paris*, and that he had not rather stayed at some neutral place, as a disinterested mediator betwixt both parties, that he might endeavour to bring about such a peace as could be concluded without danger or prejudice to the Catholick religion.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* was gone to *Rome*, under the name of Ambassador from the Catholicks that followed the King's party, but in reality to try if he could reconcile his Majesty himself to the Pope and the holy church, and to refute those calumnies which had been industriously spread abroad by the friends of the League, that he was an obdurate heretick, a persecutor of the Catholicks, contumacious and disobedient to the Apostolick See, and a perverse enemy to the church. Wherefore, having first made some stay at *Venice*, to consult with that Senate what measures were best to be taken; after all things had been settled with the most mature deliberation, he pursued his journey to *Rome*: where, at his first audience, he, with his usual address, introduced the conduct of the Catholicks in *France*, excusing them for following the King, by shewing the advantages that would accrue to the Catholick religion, by not leaving him in the hands of the *Hugonots*, but by engaging him with professions of duty and service, and by endeavouring to prevail upon him, by modest and well-timed solicitations, to return into the bosom of the church: which was absolutely to be despaired of, if he had been deserted by them, and necessitated to throw himself into the arms of hereticks. He then proceeded to acquaint the Pope with those private interests, which, under the mask of piety and religion, entirely governed and influenced the Lords
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of the League: how, under that pretence, they endeavoured to deprive the lawful successor of the kingdom, and either to bring it into subjection to a foreign Prince, or to dismember and divide it into many parts. which, as it was utterly repugnant to all laws both human and divine, so it would be attended with exceeding great prejudice to religion itself, and the Sec of *Rome*, which would thereby lose the support of a Crown, that had at all times gloried in the protection of the church, and would deliver it into the hands of petty and impotent Princes and Tyrants, or else unite it with the overgrown power of the *Spaniards*, to the general oppression of Christendom. That it was much more equitable, much more easy, and infinitely more conducive to the benefit of all *Europe*, to invite and persuade the King to his conversion, which he not only shewed himself inclined to, provided it could be brought about in such a manner as was consistent with his honour, and becoming a King of *France*, but to which he was also reduced by the necessity of his affairs, being daily more and more convinced, how little he had to expect from the *Hugonots* towards the attainment of the Crown, since he had been, for the most part, followed and supported, in all his most pressing occasions, by the forces of the Catholick Lords, who would all desert him at last, if he should not resolve to return into the church. These considerations, set forth with all their circumstances, and amplified by the Duke's eloquence, made a deep impression upon the Pope: which was not a little strengthened by the Ambassador's adding, that his Holiness had been imposed upon, if he was made to believe that the Catholicks who adhered to the King were either few or weak; since the best, the soundest, and by far the most considerable part of *France*, was on his side: whilst a very small number of the better sort, and only a rabble of mean, disorderly plebeians, took the part of the League: and that not only persons of the highest distinction amongst the laity, but also all the chief Prelates of the kingdom had gone over to his Majesty, upon the strength and security of a promise he had made them to turn Catholick, and forsake the doctrines of *Calvin*. So that his Holiness was not a little moved by the force of these arguments, especially when he reflected upon the danger of losing the support of the kingdom of *France*, and of increasing the too formidable power of the *Spaniard*; besides the weighty consideration of so much exasperating the generality of the Catholick Nobility, whom it would be exceeding difficult to overcome by force of arms. He therefore resolved to try mild and gentle methods to gain the King, and to endeavour the union of the kingdom by pacifick measures. And the Ambassador having assured him, that the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Lenoncourt*, and *Gondi*, together with the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and other Prelates, had proposed the same things to the consideration of the Legate, earnestly intreating and exhorting him to stand

1590. stand neuter, till his Holiness had been so perfectly informed of the present situation of affairs, that he might give him such further instructions as he thought proper: The Pope began to suspect, as well as others, that his Legate *Caictano*, was too much inclined to favour the *Spaniards*, and for that reason, no longer gave any great degree of credit to his letters, but stopped his hand, and would not furnish him with any more money.

The Legate therefore, being embarrassed with all these difficulties, and either desirous to wipe off the suspicion of being too nearly dependent on the King of *Spain*, or to recover the character of a neutral and disinterested person, which perhaps he might more wisely have maintained from the beginning: or with a view to prevent the siege of *Paris* (as he himself affirmed and told the *Spanish* Ministers) thought it the most prudent step to invite the Marshal *De Biron* to a conference with him at *Noisy*, a castle belonging to Cardinal *Gondi*, but a little day's journey from *Paris*, in order to concert some means of putting an end to the present distractions. Which not being disagreeable to the King, whose interest it was, by all means, to shew his deference to the Holy See, and that he was inclined, to the utmost of his power, to bring the war to a conclusion, a meeting was appointed, and actually ensued in a few days.

The Marshal *De Biron*, the Baron *De Givry*, Secretary *Revol*, the Sieurs *De Liancourt* and *De la Verriere*, met there on the King's side: and the Cardinal Legate, the Sieur *De Villeroy*, the Marquis *De Belin*, and other Lords of the League, in behalf of their party. There was much respect shewn on both sides at this conference, but the event proved fruitless. For as the Legate made it his chief endeavour to prevail upon the Catholics, either to abandon the King, or to defer the siege that was preparing against *Paris*, without any certainty of an accommodation: and on the other side, as the Marshal laboured hard to persuade the Cardinal Legate to come to the King, and exhort him to embrace the Catholick religion, with a promise to reduce all his subjects to their obedience, who had alienated themselves from him on account of religion: intentions so different could not be reconciled, and they parted again without doing any good, or coming to any conclusion, the Legate having behaved in such a manner, that he neither gained the character of a neutral and disinterested person, nor was able to disunite the Catholics from the King, nor to divert the siege, which most likely was his chief end in procuring that meeting. Yet the treaty was not absolutely dropped upon the breaking up of this conference: for the Sieur *De Villeroy*, either in hopes of bringing about an advantageous accommodation, or for the same purpose of delaying the King's coming, set a negotiation on foot for these ends, by the Duke of *Mayenne's* consent, with the Sieur *Du Plessis Mornay*, a great
confidant

confidant and ancient servant of the King's, but a very improper person, as he was a *Hugonot*, to be concerned in such an undertaking.

But the King without losing time, notwithstanding this treaty, and knowing very well that the more the enemy was distressed, the more advantageous the terms of agreement would be on his side, was wholly intent upon taking those places near the city, upon making himself master of all those avenues by which provisions were brought thither, upon shutting up the passages of the rivers, and cutting off the ways into the country, in order to carry that by dint of hunger, which he could not possibly expect to do by force of arms. For which purpose, he marched with his army from *Mante* on the twenty-ninth of *March*, and took *Chevreuse*, *Mont l'hery*, *Lagny*, and *Corbeil*, without any difficulty; all places necessary to be possessed of in order to block up the city; and on the fifth of *April* sat down before *Melun*. *Melun* is a little town, but well fortified, seven leagues distant from *Paris*. Two currents of the river *Seine* run through it, and divide it into three parts, which have a communication with each other by bridges. Monsieur *De Forone* was in it, with sixty horse, and five hundred foot, but with no great quantity of provisions, or things necessary for their defence, and a little dismayed by the late victory. Yet they seemed as if they intended to make a vigorous resistance, especially as they had the assistance of five hundred townsmen, all well armed and disciplined. But the raveline of the gate being battered with seven pieces of cannon, and two very large culverines; the King's infantry, now accustomed to despise all dangers, assaulted it with so much fury, that, though the breach was very narrow and a great height from the ground, yet they entered both the raveline and the gate with the slaughter of above sixty of the besieged, which obliged the rest to retire to the furthest part of the town, beyond the second bridge, after they had set fire to the place which they quitted, to prevent the besiegers, who pressed hard upon them, from being able to follow them any further: so that many houses were burnt down, and the others furiously sacked by the soldiers. But the other part, whither the besieged had retired, being altogether deprived of the means of making any defence, agreed to surrender (as it did) if they were not relieved in two days.

After the King had taken up his quarters in the town, the *Sieur De Villeroi*, having obtained a safe conduct, came to him there: and perceiving that *Du Plessis* did not proceed heartily in the treaty of agreement, for fear the King should change his religion, he had got leave, by means of the *Sieur De la Verriere*, to be introduced to the King himself, and for that purpose was come thither to him. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was already arrived at *Soissons*, at first refused to consent that *Villeroi* should enter into this treaty, apprehending it might be imputed to want of courage in

1590. their present circumstances. But afterwards, whether he thought to awe the *Spaniards* with the apprehensions of a peace, and so induce them to furnish him with greater and more effectual supplies, or that he proposed to delay the siege of *Paris* by the hopes of an accommodation, or endeavoured by these means to penetrate into the King's intentions, or that all these ends together prevailed upon him, he gave *Villeroy* leave to go to the King to renew the negotiation. With which design being come to *Melun*, and there kindly received by his Majesty, he began, with his usual eloquence, as he had naturally a copious and powerful manner of speaking, though he was not a man of much learning, to represent to him, "That being grieved for the dangers and calamities of his country, and anxious to see it delivered out of those miserable distractions by which it was daily consumed, he had obtained leave from the Duke of *Mayenne*, head of the party of the League, to wait upon his Majesty, to see if any means could be found to compose and extinguish all discords, and to establish a happy peace. That he hoped, nay was certain, that his Majesty was no less desirous to put an end to the civil wars, and restore the quiet and tranquillity of that kingdom, to which both God and nature, and his own valour, had destined him. That the means of attaining so desirable a benefit were very easy, and depended entirely upon his own will. For as the whole consisted only in the point of religion, the Duke of *Mayenne* proffered to acknowledge and obey him as soon as he should resolve to return into the bosom of the church, not out of fear or compulsion, but at the humble petition of the Catholics; so that it was in his own power, not only to re-establish the peace of the kingdom, but also to make himself the most flourishing, the most powerful, and the most revered Prince that *France* had seen of many years. That the present conjuncture was very opportune for such a resolution; for as he had conquered his enemies, it could not be said that his conversion was owing to fear, or that he had embraced the Catholic religion by force, but that happy event would be entirely attributed to his own will, to his own conscience, and to his own election. That so healing and necessary a measure would crown his victory with as much felicity and real advantage, as his valour had done with glory and honour; and that he might thereby enjoy the blessing of peace, which ought to be the sole end of all victories, especially in civil wars: for so great an example of his goodness and generosity, would bring over more cities to his interest in one day, than he could hope to take by the force of his arms, though victorious, in the course of his whole life. That the prosecution of his victory by the sword would be attended with numberless evils and calamities, as the demolition of fortresses, the sacking of cities, the desolation of the kingdom, and the slaughter of the inhabitants; all which would redound to his own loss, as he was their natural sovereign. But
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if the war was ended by his conversion, the victory would tend to the general tranquillity, safety, and happiness, which ought to be more dear to him, that was their lawful Prince, than all the victories in the world. That his Majesty ought to consider, that though the late victory been great and remarkable, yet it had neither daunted the cities, nor intimidated the followers of the League, in such manner that any of them had been induced by it to submit to him : the sole reason of which was, the powerful influence that religion hath in the hearts of men, which encouraged every one to undergo all the sufferings that could be presented to the imagination, rather than expose their souls and consciences to perdition. And if the common people, on their side, were so resolute and inflexible, he might naturally imagine, that the Pope and his Catholick Majesty would be much more constant, as they were both determined to employ all their forces for the security of the Catholick religion. That he very well knew, and had often experienced amongst the *Hugonots*, that the power of religion is so great, that it makes men's minds invincible, and can neither be subdued by art nor force. That it would be prudent to consider, that foreigners might artfully turn the pretext of religion to their advantage : for if, in former times, it had prevailed upon the *Hugonots* to enter into alliances with the *English*, it would be no wonder if the urgency of the present affairs should now oblige the Catholicks to comply with the demands of the *Spaniards*. That this danger ought to be foreseen and prevented, by satisfying men's consciences, and not to be precipitated by reducing them to despair. That his Majesty would do well to reflect, how many cities he must of necessity besiege, how many provinces he must subdue, how many fortresses he must take, and how many other armies he had to conquer, before he could establish himself in peace, by means of war : and that he might overcome all these difficulties in one day, by giving his subjects satisfaction in point of religion. That his success indeed had been very considerable, but that it was necessary to secure it from the inconstancy of fortune : which he might easily do without any further risk, by shewing moderation, and complying with the desires of his subjects. That as the time and opportunity invited him to so laudable and pious a resolution, it would be highly imprudent to stay till the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other heads of the League, should be so strictly engaged with his Catholick Majesty (whose assistance was necessary whilst the war continued) that they would no longer have it in their power to dispose of themselves as they pleased. In short, that both duty to God, and temporal advantage, conspired to promote such a resolution : for as he had received so great a blessing from the Almighty, he could not in gratitude defer his conversion any longer, since by the favour of his Divine Majesty, he might now return into the church with glory and

1590. reputation, and without suspicion of compulsion or meanness of spirit."

To this the King answered in a gracious manner, "That he much commended the Sicur *De Villeroy's* good offices, in endeavouring to re-establish the peace of the kingdom, and was very glad to hear that the Duke of *Mayenne* was so well disposed to it. That he acknowledged the victory which he had obtained, first, from the hand of the Almighty, and in the next place, from the valour of the *French* Nobility. That God, the eternal protector of right and justice, had favoured his cause, and that those invincible Lords and Gentlemen, who followed him, had been the instruments of his divine mercy. That the kingdom justly belonged to him, by a direct and natural succession, and by laws that were well known to all men; so that foreign Princes were evidently guilty of injustice, for endeavouring to deprive him of the possession of it, and much more his own subjects, for denying him their due obedience. That he had never offended any one, nor deserved so unreasonable an opposition. That he had always acted the defensive part, and, as he hoped, with modesty and moderation, and had neither injured nor violated the rights of any foreign Prince, or of the subjects of the Crown: So that there could be no just reason for revenge. But that when he called to mind the wonderful power and mercy of God, by which he had been pleased to preserve him in times of his greatest weakness and distress, and to defend him in the midst of so many and violent persecutions, when the whole world seemed to have conspired against him, he could not believe his Divine Majesty would leave so great a work imperfect, but was assured in his own breast, that he would regard the justice of his cause, and those prayers which he continually offered up to him for that purpose, from the very bottom of his heart; and therefore, he neither feared the arms of *Spain*, nor the forces of the rebels, but trusted, that by the assistance of God, and the fidelity of his Nobles, he should at last defeat them. That he very well knew moderation was more necessary after a victory, than at any other time: but that he never designed to oppress or wrong any man, and only to cause himself to be duly obeyed by those who were his natural subjects and under his legal authority. That his endeavours were to be King in fact, as he was by right: and that the only aim and intention of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and those that followed his party, ought to be, to live in peace, safety, and honour, and in due obedience to that King whom God and Nature had appointed to reign over them, by lawful succession. That he was ready to give them any security for this, as well as satisfaction in other respects, and to receive them into his favour, without ever recalling to mind what was past. That it was his desire to conquer by clemency, benevolence, and generosity, rather than by the sword, not only because it was the shorter way, but because it was agreeable to his

own temper and disposition, which was naturally averse to bloodshed and revenge, inclined to do good to his subjects, and to compose the distractions of the kingdom. That it was his province to give laws to his subjects, and not to receive conditions from them. Yet nevertheless, if they had any apprehensions, that their religion or consciences would be in any wise violated, and desired security in that point, he would give them any reasonable satisfaction. That his candour and integrity were already sufficiently known to every one by many proofs, and as he had never broken his word in times past, so he was firmly determined never to break it for the time to come. That the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, that followed him, and were much more numerous than those that adhered to the Duke, had contented themselves with the promise he had made, and the security he had given them, that they should live peaceably in their consciences, liberties, and religion: that others therefore ought to be content with the same, and being secured in their own particular concerns, to give him leave also to attend to his salvation, and to take such resolutions, at a proper time, and in a convenient manner, as it should please God to inspire him with." He then asked the *Sieur De Villeroy*, "Whether he had ever seen the promise and declaration that he had made immediately after the death of the late King?" Who answered, "That he had, and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Lords of his party, had likewise seen it: but that they were unanimously of opinion, that they could not in conscience, upon any conditions whatsoever, obey a King that was not a Catholick, but of a different religion from that which was derived down to them by succession from their ancestors." To which the King replied, "That he was neither infidel, pagan, nor idolater; that he adored and served the same God with the Catholicks, and thought the religion in which he had been educated, was not incompatible with the *Roman*. That in a case which concerned his conscience and salvation, God was to work and not men: and that his conversion ought to be attempted by kind and gentle instructions, and not with fire and sword. That if he had not contented to embrace the Catholick religion in the late King's life, when ruin and destruction threatened him on every side, much less would he now do it at the request of those that rebelled against him, when he, by the favour of God, had the advantage over them. That he was not obstinate, but would submit to truth, and desired to be informed and instructed; but that after all, he would act according to his conscience, and if he left his subjects at liberty in their faith, it was neither fit nor becoming that he should be compelled by them to do that in a rash and inconsiderate manner, which ought to be done with maturity of deliberation, and at the time prefixed by God's divine will and pleasure. That he valued a good conscience, and regarded the salvation of his soul, infinitely more than any earthly

1590. earthly thing; and therefore should go very circumspectly about that affair, and, as he ought, with due caution and consideration."

The *Sieur De Villeroi* replied to this, "That as his Majesty was generally esteemed a conscientious Prince, and zealous for his religion, every one was so much the more apprehensive, that when he was once established in the kingdom, he would not suffer his subjects to live in a religion different from his own, and which he held to be false and damnable. That he had often heard it said, and even by *Theodore Beza* himself, in the conference at *Poissy*, That the difference betwixt these two religions was wider than the distance betwixt heaven and earth. But that these disputes were not to be decided by arms. That his Majesty had very often promised he would cause himself to be instructed, but had never performed his promise. That there were Prelates and learned Doctors ready at all times to resolve his doubts and instruct him in the truth. That instead of fomenting the war any longer, and suffering disorders to continue without end, it would be much better to fulfil his engagements, to the great comfort, not only of those subjects by whose assistance he had obtained the victory, but of all the rest, whom zeal for their religion had alienated from him. Finally, that it could no longer be said, that either contumacious or seditious persons were the cause of the war, since things were now reduced to such a point, that it was in his Majesty's power to restore peace by his conversion: which if he should not do after so many promises, all future evils and calamities would be imputed to him and no other person."

These last words affected the King in such a manner, that he said, "He would take the opinions of his good and faithful subjects that followed him; for which purpose it was necessary to have a conference with them; and that he would give him his final answer the next day." At which time, just before he left *Melun*, he sent for the *Sieur De Villeroi*, and desired him to return to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and let him know, in his name, "That he took his overtures in good part; that he was desirous to be reconciled to him, to do good to every one, and particularly to the Duke of *Mayenne* and all the rest of his family, provided they would lend him their assistance to establish the peace of his kingdom, which might easily be done, as he was ready, on his part, to do every thing that lay in his power to give them all reasonable satisfaction. That, in point of religion, he had already contented those Catholics that followed him, who were numerous, of high quality, and great strength, as well as consummate wisdom and discretion, and in whose determination he thought all the rest might very well acquiesce. That if they desired to have any further security for

for the preservation of their religion and safety of their consciences, he was willing to give it in the most ample manner, as he had thoroughly considered all that had been represented to him." After which, he told Monsieur *Villeroy*, "That he could not proceed to treat any further with him at that time, as he had no power nor authority at all from the Duke of *Mayenne* to conclude upon any thing: but if Deputies and Commissioners should be sent to him with sufficient powers, he would receive them with respect, and endeavour to give the Duke's party the fullest and most compleat satisfaction that was possible; out of his great desire to deliver his people from the miseries and afflictions of civil war." The Sieur *De Villeroy* made answer to this, "That what his Majesty had said of not treating any further, except with such as had power to conclude, was very just and reasonable: but that he must consider, the Duke of *Mayenne* was not absolute master, but only head of his party, and as such, acted in concert with the other members, without whose consent he could not acknowledge his Majesty to be King of *France*, nor determine upon any thing in matters religion. That it was necessary for him to confer with them, and that they should consult together: and that his Majesty, who had been head of his party so many years, must be sufficiently convinced from experience, that such a thing could not be done immediately, as it would require some time to assemble those that were interested, from so many different and remote provinces. That whilst the war was carried on with such fury, it was in a manner impossible that such an assembly should meet; so that a cessation of arms was absolutely necessary, or at least a sufficient number of passports, for the security of those that should be summoned to deliberate upon affairs of so great importance." At the mention of a cessation of arms, the King sharply replied, "There was no occasion to say any more of that, for he was determined not to lose the fruits of his victory by delay; nor to retard the progress of his arms, as he knew, by experience, how fatal that might be to his affairs; but for the manner of assembling his party, he left the care of that to the Duke of *Mayenne*, being resolved not to stop his own proceedings so much as one moment." With this answer, and after other conferences to the same purpose with the Marshal *De Biron*, *Villeroy* took his leave, without having concluded any agreement of peace, or even a truce; and all the endeavours used to divert the siege of *Paris* proved vain and ineffectual.

The King, therefore, having taken possession of *Crissy* and *Moret*, two weak places, which surrendered to him, and also of *Provins*, a rich town, but not strong, though it is the capital of the province of *Brie*, and but twenty leagues distant from *Paris*, marched directly to *Nangy*, where he reunited

1590. reunited his army, which had been divided in order to take these places, and advanced, on the 15th of *April*, to make himself master of other towns that might serve to straiten and block up *Paris*. *Montereau*, *Bray*, *Comte-Robert*, and *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, all submitted without resistance: but *Mery*, a little place, having the courage to make a defence, was furiously stormed and sacked by the soldiers. *Sens* still remained to be taken, on that side, a large town, situated upon the confines of *Brie* and *Burgundy*, and well affected to the League; in which were the *Sieur De Chanvalon* and the *Marquis Fortunato Malvicino*, betwixt whom there was no very good understanding. For *Chanvalon* wanted an opportunity of going over to the King's side, and to make his peace by delivering up the town into his hands. But the *Marquis*, on the contrary, was resolved to defend it, as his honour obliged him. For being a foreigner and Lieutenant to the troop of gens d'armes commanded by the *Duke of Nemours*, he was desirous to recommend himself to the *Duke*, by behaving like a gallant soldier. *Chanvalon*, therefore, having secretly corresponded with the *Marshal D'Aumont*, and encouraged the King to come before the town, siege was immediately laid to it, the artillery was planted, and began to batter the wall, in hopes that some insurrection might happen amongst the citizens in favour of the King. But after an assault had been made to try the resolution of the besieged, and sustained with great courage by the *Marquis* and those in the town, as the King thought it would be imprudent to throw away his time on a place that was of no very great consequence, and to delay his design upon *Paris*, which was of the last importance to him, he instantly raised the siege, and employed his forces in taking and fortifying other places that might cut off the conveyance of provisions to that city.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legate was exceedingly anxious, both on account of his own danger and the approaching siege of the *Parisians*; and had caused a new treaty of agreement to be set on foot betwixt *Marco Antonio Mocenigo*, Bishop of *Ceneda*, and the *Marshal De Biran*. For which purpose, the Bishop came to *Bray* to confer with the *Marshal*. And as he was a *Venetian*, and consequently supposed to be favourably inclined to the King's affairs, he was received with more respect than any other person could have expected, and began to treat with a great deal of openness concerning the King's conversion. After which, he descended to other particulars, and proposed a cessation of arms, that both sides might have sufficient leisure and security to negotiate a peace, with all necessary deliberation. But this attempt proved no less ineffectual than the others. For the King was resolutely determined not to slacken his proceedings; and the more earnestly the enemy endeavoured to dissuade him, the more unwilling he was to give them an opportunity of taking breath :

and

and the more sollicitous he saw the Lords of the League to gain time to draw other armies and supplies together, the more he was encouraged to hope, that within a little while he should be able to reduce the city of *Paris*, without either bloodshed or danger. But as the issue of this conference proved contrary to the Bishop's expectation, he was desirous to have a personal interview with the King himself, but yet in such a manner as should seem to have happened by chance, and not by any endeavour of his own. This being proposed to the Abbé *Del Benc*, he contrived that the King should go out early in the morning to hunt, and that the Bishop should set out something later, on his return to *Paris*. So that they met, as it were accidentally, upon the road, and after very respectful salutations on both sides, rode together a long way; during which time, the Bishop had an opportunity, as he desired, of introducing the same subject, and exhorted the King to be converted and return into the bosom of the church. To which the King having made his usual answers, "That he was not obstinate, but should always be open to conviction by proper persons, when the circumstances of time and place would admit of it with decency: that, however, he would not be compelled by force or the threats of his enemies, but led by the grace and inspiration of God." The Bishop replied, "That the best means for so desirable a change would be a truce; in which men's passions, that were then enflamed by war, would soon subside, and he might have an opportunity of receiving instruction, and doing whatsoever should seem necessary, with honour and deliberation." But as soon as the word *truce* was mentioned, the King answered, with some emotion, "That if he had been a good *Venetian*, he would not have given him such advice; for that these were the contrivances of Cardinal *Cajetano*, who shewed himself a much better *Spaniard* than Ecclesiastick." Upon which, he began to complain bitterly of the Legate, and said, "That he behaved himself very differently from the Pope's instructions, and had not only declared himself his enemy at his entrance into the kingdom, but had taken up his residence in that city which was the chief seat of the contrary party: whereas it would have much better become him, who represented the Apostolick See, to have stood neuter, and to have endeavoured to bring about a peace, by his good advice, and actions conformable to justice and the sanctity of his profession, which would then have had more weight. But that now he was terrified at the prospect of impending danger, or else with a view to promote the designs of the *Spaniards*, he wanted not to establish a peace, but to frustrate the effects of his labours and the fruits of his victories, and to gain time for the League to recover their strength and spirits: and therefore he was not disposed to listen to any proposals of

1590. that kind." After which they immediately parted, and the Bishop returned with this final answer to *Paris*.

But at his return, all hopes of a truce being at an end, they began, with so much the more diligence, to make necessary provisions to sustain the rigour of the siege they were threatened with. The people had already been prepared, by the earnest exhortations of their preachers and the repeated intreaties of those that conducted their affairs, to undergo any hardships, and hazard their lives rather than their consciences. They had likewise been taught to believe, by frequent decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and by the declarations and protests of the Cardinal Legate, that an agreement with hereticks could not even be treated of without danger of damnation: and that a King of a different religion, obstinate in his errors, a persecutor of the church, and an implacable enemy to the Apostolick See, was not, on any account, to be acknowledged. By these doctrines, which were hourly thundred out of the pulpits, and industriously inculcated at other meetings, the people were become so hardened and determined, that they were not only ready to undergo the danger and fatigue of bearing arms, and the miseries of extreme famine, which were still more terrible and near at hand, but they could not so much as bear that any one should suspect or affirm the contrary. So that many, who hinted that it was better to come to an accommodation, than to perish by hunger, and that peace was more eligible than a siege, were either publicly executed, to satisfy the fury of the people, or thrown headlong into the river, as worthy of damnation, enemies of the Catholick faith, and infected with the poison of heresy. This resolute disposition was encouraged by the presence of the Cardinal Legate, the residence of the duchesses of *Nemours*, *Mentpénfier*, and *Mayenne*, the vigour and alacrity of the Duke of *Nemours* and the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, and much more by the hopes which the Duke of *Mayenne* gave them every day by his letters, that he would not fail to relieve the city effectually in a very few weeks. The heads, therefore, being desirous to increase and confirm this disposition in the people by some outward acts, a great and solemn procession was made, by order of the Cardinal Legate, to implore the divine assistance in their present necessities: in which procession, the Prelates, Priests, and Monks of the several religious orders, all walked in their proper habits, yet openly armed with corselets, guns, swords, palfans, and all kinds of arms offensive and defensive, in order to shew, at the same time, both their devotion and firm resolution to defend themselves. This ceremony, though it seemed indecent and ridiculous to many, was yet of great use in animating the common people, when they saw the same persons, that exhorted them in their discourses to behave like men, now armed themselves, and unanimously determined to
undergo

undergo the same hardships and dangers. Thus sometimes, things that appear trifling and insignificant, serve to promote the most weighty and important designs. 1590.

After this procession, there was another of all the magistrates in the city; and, amongst the rest of the ceremonies, the Duke of *Nemours*, their Governor, and other commanders of the soldiers and chiefs of the people, publickly took a solemn oath in the great church to defend the city to the last drop of their blood, and never be prevailed upon to submit to, or make any agreement with, a heretick Prince, by any danger, calamity, suffering, or distress whatsoever; that should befall them. There were two hundred chosen horse in the city, commanded by the *Sieur De Vitry*, the Duke of *Nemours's* company of gens d'armes, and that of the *Chevalier D'Aumale*, one hundred harquebusiers on horseback, and eight hundred *French* foot, part of which had been in *Melun* with the *Sieur De Forone*, besides five hundred *Swiss*, and twelve hundred of those *German* foot that had been raised by the Count *De Collalto*, commanded by the Baron of *Erbesstein*. But their chief dependence was upon the union, and resolution, and exceeding great number of the people, who being now long accustomed to bear arms; put themselves under the command of their respective magistrates, by whom they were divided into several bodies, according to the wards they lived in, and now voluntarily offered themselves to undertake any service: to which they were not a little encouraged by the example of the Priests and Friars, who went armed to the works, and refused no labour, nor failed in any duty, that was necessary for their defence. Double chains were drawn over the river, both where it enters, and where it runs out of the city. The walls and breast-works were repaired in those parts that seemed weakened; platforms were made in convenient places, and new parapets raised where it was necessary; the artillery was planted in good order, where it could do most execution; and in every respect, the readiness and alacrity of the citizens was very great. But those that bore the chief sway in the government were not in much pain about their defence; for they were all certain the King would never attempt to take a city by force, in which there were such numbers of people; that their walls and fortifications were the least part of their strength; but that he would endeavour to reduce it by famine, which seemed to be very easy, as there were so many people in it, accustomed to live in plenty and upon delicacies, who were now in great want, and being deprived of all other sustenance, were forced to feed upon bread only, and that purchased at an incredible price. So that there was no doubt to be made, but, if the King should lay close siege to the city, and they were not speedily relieved, it must inevitably be reduced to the last degree of scarcity and distress. Which they plainly

1590. foreseeing, were exceedingly importunate with the Duke of *Mayenne* to draw his forces together for their relief as soon as possible. The Cardinal Legate also dispatched his nephew *Pietro Caetano* into *Flanders*, to exhort the Duke of *Parma* to send them immediate succours, according to the instructions which he had received from his Catholick Majesty; and the Commendatory *Morrea*, Pay-master and Commissary of the King of *Spain's* forces in *France*, was gone thither for the same purpose. Nor were they less diligent in making all possible provisions at home, than they had been in soliciting supplies from abroad: for the chief Governors, being very desirous to relieve the necessities of the people as much as lay in their power, caused all the corn that could be found in the city to be equally divided amongst them. And as the price of it was so exorbitant, that the lower sort had no means to support their families, Cardinal *Gondi*, Archbishop of *Paris*, not so much out of any inclination that he had to favour the League, as out of compassion to the poor, whom he saw miserably starving for want of money to relieve themselves, now all manner of commerce and trade was at an end in the city, consented that the plate, which had been given to the several churches, should be taken out and converted into money to supply the necessities of the common people, upon security given to restore it when the present calamities were at an end. The Cardinal Legate likewise took great pains to remedy their distresses, and not only distributed fifty thousand crowns amongst the poor, which he had extorted from the Pope with much difficulty; but caused his own plate to be melted down and coined, and, to his great praise, gave it all away to those that stood in most need. The *Spanish* Ambassador *Mendoza* promised six score crowns a day in bread; and the Duchesses and richest of the Nobility contributed to the utmost of their abilities, selling their household furniture, their jewels, and ornaments, in compassion to the miseries of the populace.

But these resources were soon exhausted, by the infinite number of people that were to be fed, and the continual consumption of corn; and the King still advancing, and making himself master of the neighbouring towns, every day more and more distressed the city. Nor was there any kind of provisions brought thither by the rivers: for *Lagny*, *St. Maur*, and the bridge of *Charenton* (which places were committed to the care of the Baron *De Givry*) shut up the passage of the river *Marne*. That of the river *Yonne* was blocked up by *Montereau*, where there was a strong garrison under the command of Monsieur *De Chanliot*. The garrisons of *Moret*, *Mehun*, *Bray*, and *Corbeil*, prevented any thing from coming down the *Seine* to *Paris*; and the Marshal *D'Aumont*, who quartered at the bridge of *St. Cloud*, about a league below it, together with the garrisons of *Poissy* and *Conflans*, wholly interrupted all passage up the river: as

Beaumont, which town was also full of soldiers, hindered all navigation upon the *Oyse*. So that the rivers, which are generally called *the nurses of Paris*, being thus shut up, there were no provisions to be had, but what few could be secretly conveyed thither by land. And to cut off these, the King having passed the *Seine*, and come into the plains near the city, extended his army from *St. Anthony's* gate, which looks toward the east, to the gate of *Mont-martre*, which stands on the west: and taking the advantage of the ground, caused two pieces of cannon to be planted upon the hill of *Mont-faucon*, and two more at *Mont-martre*, enclosing them with trenches, and setting a strong guard over them. The next day, which was the ninth of *May*, he ordered his horse to advance to the very gates of the Fauxbourgs of *St. Martin* and *St. Dennis*, which stand betwixt the two above-mentioned gates, and to burn and demolish the wind-mills every where: yet they could not get into the Fauxbourgs, because they were fortified with trenches, and breast-works, and barrels full of earth. The same day, whilst they were skirmishing sharply with the *Sieur De Vitry's* horse, which sallied out of *St. Martin's* gate, with some companies of foot soldiers and citizens, the *Sieur De la Noüe*, in whose courage and conduct every one put great confidence, with his usual ill fortune, was wounded by a musket ball.

The King had determined to station his army on that side for two very good reasons. In the first place, as *Bois de Vincennes*, situated on the east-side, and near the river, and the town of *St. Dennis* on the west-side, still adhered to the League, he might send out parties of horse to cut off all communication betwixt those places and the city, and besiege it in such a manner, that he might reasonably hope it would soon fall into his hands. In the next place, as relief was expected out of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, he was posted full upon the high road, which leads from those provinces to *Paris*; so that he was ready to turn with his army to any part, where-soever the enemy should appear. His forces being thus extended, from the banks of the *Marne* to the lower part of the *Seine*, were continually scouring all the country round, and skirmishing with those that belonged to the city, who were so pinched with hunger, that they came out to pick up grain, or herbs, or roots, or any other sort of victuals that they could lay their hands on; and now and then, when they had an opportunity, carried off even the dead horses which they found in the field, but that was seldom. At the same time, *St. Dennis* and *Bois de Vincennes* (a very strong castle) were closely besieged; and the Count *De Mont-levrier*, having passed the *Seine*, had invested *Dammartin*, a town belonging to the Lords of *Montmorancy*, about seven leagues from the city; where a considerable quantity of provisions was lodged. The *Parisians* therefore being shut up on all sides,

already

1590. already began to feel the extremities of famine, and only supported the bitterness of their present circumstances by the firmness of their resolution.

Whilst the siege and defence of the city of *Paris* were thus carrying on with the utmost vigour on each side, the Cardinal of *Beaulieu*, now worn out with years and the irksomeness of confinement, departed this life at *Pontenay*. His death sufficiently convinced the world, that he had only served for a cloak to cover the ambition and private interests of other great men. For it made no alteration at all in the affairs of the League; as the *Parisians* were more confirmed in their obstinacy by a new decree of the *Sorbonne*: "That another King of a different religion ought not to be acknowledged on any account." And the Duke of *Mayenne* published a manifesto, to invite the Deputies of the provinces to assemble at *Meaux*, to elect a King by common consent, still retaining his title of Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of *France*, and continuing the war in the same manner; the chief operations of which now wholly turned to relieve the city of *Paris*. But as this could not be done without powerful assistance from his Catholick Majesty, he was gone directly to *Condé*, a place upon the confines of the kingdom, to confer with *Alphonso Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, commander in chief of all the *Spanish* forces, and not only to concert proper measures for that purpose, but to hasten the execution of them.

It was the King of *Spain's* intention to assist the League, and to deliver the *Parisians* from their present danger; but to do it in such a manner as might make himself amends for the infinite sums of money that he had so liberally advanced, and the expence of so large a body of forces as must be employed in that undertaking. For he foresaw, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* and the League agreed to acknowledge the King of *Navarre*, instead of reaping any benefit from so many labours, he should find that he had only raised himself a very powerful enemy. And if the Crown should fall to the Duke of *Mayenne*, or any other of the house of *Lorraine*, he thought he should still be very little the better for that; as interests of state would soon make that person his enemy, whoever he might be, that was in peaceable and undisturbed possession of the whole kingdom: well knowing, that it is the nature of mankind to be more powerfully moved with the consideration of present advantage, than the remembrance of past obligations. Wherefore, as he must necessarily be at a vast expence in bringing a powerful army into *France*, and in the mean time be obliged to leave the affairs of *Flanders* in a very dangerous situation, since the States of the *United Provinces*, under the command of Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, would probably make no little progress there, when they did not meet with the usual opposition, he was desirous that things should be so ordered, that

that he might at least have the chief share in such advantages as should be obtained principally at his risk, and by dint of his money, his labours, and his arms. But this was extremely difficult to be effected, considering the disposition of the *French* nation, and the present state of affairs. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was the head of the League, and had an absolute command over their forces; not only aspired to the Crown himself, but also was firmly resolved not to consent, that any province, or city, or other member belonging to the kingdom, should be alienated from it. And the people in general, being naturally enemies to the *Spaniards*, and now obliged by necessity alone to solicit their assistance, would never bear to live under their dominion, and think it sufficient for the King of *Spain* to have the glory of being acknowledged as the defender and protector of the Catholick religion; and that the Prince who should be established in the throne of *France*, should assist him to reduce the provinces of the *Lower Countries*, as a recompence for the succours which he had furnished for the support of the common cause. So that it was very hard to find a middle course amongst so many obstacles, and almost impossible to keep a people of so light and desultory a temper from inclining to acknowledge and take part with King *Henry*, who was their own countryman and natural Prince: and therefore it would require vast sums of money, great pains, a long course of time, and infinite patience, to overcome so many difficulties and suspicions, and to go through an undertaking, which was sure to be attended with much loss of every kind, and without any certainty of a proportionable reward. Upon these considerations, the Duke of *Burton*, a Prince of great wisdom and experience, and one that always carefully avoided leaving any thing to the caprice of fortune, thought it would be highly imprudent and dangerous to neglect his own affairs in *Flanders*, and to employ all his forces in an enterprize so hazardous, and which had no better foundation, than the instability of the *French*. He had therefore endeavoured to dissuade his Catholick Majesty from such a resolution. But the Council of *Spain*, either out of an ostentatious zeal to distinguish themselves still further in the defence of religion, or too much biased, perhaps, by the prospect of certain success, having given his Majesty very different advice, and prevailed upon him to send the Duke positive orders to attend principally to the affairs of *France*, he thought that what the King and Court of *Spain* had so much at heart, might be more effectually accomplished, by avoiding the necessity of hazarding his whole army (and consequently of staking all their reputation upon one chance) and by endeavouring to protract the war, and spin it out by slow proceedings: by which means, the party of the League, and that of the King, being equally weakened and tired out, his Catholick Majesty would at last have it in his power to re-establish the religion, and dispose of the Crown

1590. Crown of *France* as he pleased. For which reason, he was not much inclined to grant such effectual succours as the extreme distress of the *Parisians* required, and were then actually soliciting by the Duke of *Mayenne*: who having met with him at *Condé*, endeavoured to prevail upon him, by the most earnest persuasion and intreaties, to march without delay to the relief of *Paris*. But considering, that it would be very impolitic to risk the reputation of his Catholick Majesty, and the whole success of his designs without sufficient strength, against a valiant and experienced commander, at the head of a victorious army, he pretended, that the provisions which were necessary, could not so suddenly be got together, neither could he so soon assemble his army, nor take proper measures to secure his master's interests in *Flanders*; and concluded with saying, that he could not possibly be in *France* himself before the beginning of *August*: a time that seemed at a great distance to the Duke of *Mayenne*; who being apprehensive, or rather taking it for granted, that the *Parisians* could not hold out so long, entreated him to furnish him with a certain number of forces in the mean time, with which, in conjunction with his own, he might endeavour to throw some supplies of provisions into the city. With this request the Duke of *Parma* thought fit to comply, as it pretty well corresponded with his own design, which was, to carry on the war in a very slow manner, in order to waste the King's forces by little and little, on one side; and on the other, to tire out and break the obstinate resolution of the Duke of *Mayenne* and his adherents, not to submit to a foreign Prince, nor to dismember any part of the kingdom. He therefore readily granted him a supply of fifteen hundred *Spanish* foot, who had mutinied, and been out plundering the country, but were now returned to their duty, under the command of Don *Antonio Chirega*; twelve hundred *Italian* foot, conducted by *Camillo Capizucchi*, a *Roman*; and eight hundred *Flemish* and *Bourguignon* horse: with which forces the Duke immediately marched with all expedition towards *Picardy*.

But the machinations of the Ambassador *Mendoza*, and the other *Spanish* Ministers that were in *France*, in a great measure defeated the Duke of *Parma's* designs, and made a deep impression upon the minds of the people. For being more intent upon present advantage, than future designs, and not sufficiently acquainted with the secret intentions of the Duke, they had begun to treat with the Governors of some places in *Picardy*, and offered large sums if they would deliver them up into the hands of the *Spaniards*; which practices would not only have plainly shewn his Catholick Majesty's designs to be very different from what they appeared to be, but would also have so inflamed the passions of the *French*, that without any further consideration, they would have agreed to acknowledge King *Henry*, that they might not be duped by the artifices of the *Spaniards*, whom

whom they very much suspected. Nor was it improbable that it might immediately occasion the *Parisians* to revolt, after so much pains had been taken to keep them in patience, and firm in their resolution. But as soon as the Duke of *Parma* was acquainted with it, he instantly put a stop to all treaties of that kind, and took great pains to make it believed, that the Governors of those places had offered to give them up of their own accord, and that it was not owing to the practices either of his Catholick Majesty or his Ministers, who all abhorred the thoughts of it, and had never harboured any such design, nor had any other object in view but the protection of religion alone. The Duke of *Mayenne*, however, was so jealous of these proceedings, that he was obliged to lengthen his journey, by passing through those places that were suspected; and making some stay in each of them, he caused all the Governors to promise and take a solemn oath, not to desert the party of the League, nor to enter into private treaty with any foreign Prince. But not thinking that altogether sufficient, he endeavoured to secure those fortresses by all possible means: and as it was necessary for that purpose to leave strong garrisons of his own forces in every place, his army was diminished in such a manner, that he could not give any considerable relief to the *Parisians*. Yet, that he might not be thought wanting in any thing that was possible to be done, he advanced towards *Paris*, with a design to try if he could force the King, either to raise the siege, or at least to abate the rigour of it. Which in some measure succeeded: for the King being informed that the Duke was advancing with his army, presently left the siege, with twelve hundred cuirassiers, five hundred Reiters, and twelve hundred harquebusiers on horse-back: and having marched eighteen leagues in one day, met him near *Laon*, on the fifth of *June*; where he arrived so unexpectedly, that the Duke, not being in a condition to fight, was obliged to retire into the suburbs of that town, as fast as he could, and there to quarter his men under the cannon of the walls, that he might not be forced to a battle. The next day there was a furious skirmish betwixt them, to which *Chiroga's Spaniards* advanced, seemingly with great resolution, being elated with the spoil which they had got in their late expedition, and all of them exceedingly well armed and richly dressed. But the Baron *De Biron* having ordered the harquebusiers to dismount, and two troops of Reiters to advance, one upon each flank, they retired without much resistance, after they had distinguished themselves more by their vain ostentation, than by their valour and good discipline, which differ very widely from free-booting and plundering the country people. So that the body of *Italians*, consisting of old, well-disciplined soldiers, was obliged to renew the skirmish, which lasted till evening, without coming to a general engagement, as the forces of the League would not quit to

1590. advantageous a place, nor deprive themselves of the shelter of the town.

Whilst they were skirmishing in this manner before *Laon*, the *Sieur De St. Paul*, who, from the beginning of the march, had detached himself from the Duke of *Mayenne* for that purpose, having advanced by the way of *Champagne*, with eight hundred horse, and a large quantity of provisions, arrived at *Meaux*, and passing from thence along the banks of the *Marne*, eluded the guards of the King's army (which could not scour the roads with their usual diligence, now their number was so much diminished) and at last got safe into *Paris*, where he left the provisions, and retired, without having sustained the least damage. The King was no sooner informed of this, but, that he might not leave the passage open for other succours, and because he saw that his staying only to face the Duke of *Mayenne* could not be of any service (as he was now safely intrenched in the suburbs of *Laon*, and well furnished with provision-) he returned on the ninth of *June* to his former quarters; where he began to carry on the siege of *St. Dennis* with greater vigour, and to be more careful in cutting off all avenues to the city. In this duty he spent many hours himself, both of the day and night, which encouraged the other commanders to do the same, particularly the Baron *De Luon*, a young man, in his full strength, and indefatigable in all manner of toil and labour. So that all attempts proved vain which were made, either by the besieged, or by the neighbouring provinces, to get any quantity of victuals, though never so little, into the city. But how great soever the diligence of the King's officers might be in this point, it was no more than was absolutely necessary upon the present occasion: for a bushel of wheat being sold in the town for an hundred and twenty crowns, and all other things at a proportionable rate, not only the friends and confederates of the League, but even their enemies also, and some of the King's side, tempted by the greatness of the profit, sent both corn and flesh to the citizens, though secretly, and in very small quantities. This however happened but seldom, as the passages were so closely guarded, and was, in a manner, but an insensible help to the *Parisians*, who, in the midst of such extreme misery, supported themselves chiefly by dint of resolution, and the hopes of speedy relief, which both the Duke of *Mayenne* from without, and the Lords that were within the walls, were very industrious to keep alive by all manner of artifices; sometimes causing reports to be spread, that the forces were upon their march from *Flanders* to raise the siege; sometimes that victuals and other provisions were preparing to supply the city; and sometimes that their party had gained some signal advantage. So that letters and messengers continually arriving, reported many things that were false, and some that were true, which being also published from the pulpits, and spread about amongst the garrison, served to amuse the people

for a few days. But their necessities daily increasing, these arts at last began to lose their effect, and were ill relished by men of understanding: and there was nothing to be heard or seen from one end of the city to the other, but mournful complaints, and signs of publick discontent.

The month of *July* was now begun, and all the corn in the city quite consumed: nor was there any thing left for the better sort to live upon but oats, of which some little quantity still remained: and those being ground in the mills that stood upon the stream of the river within the city, sometimes were made into bread, sometimes into a pap or pottage, which the *French* call *bouillie*. A little flesh now and then added to it, either of horses, dogs, asses, or mules, was esteemed a delicacy; and there were no horses left at last, but those that were altogether necessary for the service of the garrison; the rest having been publickly bought to support the families of the principal Nobility. But this manner of living was tolerable, or rather elegant, when compared with that of the common people, who, receiving no benefit at all from their trades, and being reduced to extreme misery, without money, and without bread, were obliged to feed, like brute beasts, upon such herbs as they found in the court-yards, and streets, and along the ramparts: which yet were not sufficient for so great a multitude, and either affording but little nourishment, because they were parched up with the heat, or being of a poisonous quality, and producing fluxes and vomitings, the miserable people were worn away to skeletons, and often dropped down dead on a sudden; a spectacle so dreadful and lamentable, that it would have excited both horror and compassion in the hardest heart. Yet notwithstanding all this, the heads of the faction, and those that governed the people, the Legate, the *Spanish* Ambassador *Mendoza*, and the Princes, were so firm and constant, that they never so much as entertained a thought of surrendering, but with an excess of severity, caused one *Renard*, a Protestant Minister, and some others of his accomplices to be put to death; who, being impatient to see an end of their miseries, had the courage one day, when the Council was assembled, to cry out aloud, *Either bread, or peace*. And even the common people, in the midst of so great miseries, and the expectation of certain death, underwent their misfortunes with cheerfulness, being fully persuaded, that it was a true and glorious kind of martyrdom, to suffer for conscience sake, and the preservation of their religion. Though some that were more tender of themselves, or had not so much resolution, or perhaps were not so zealous for their faith, endeavoured to raise an insurrection, either to facilitate a treaty of agreement, or to pave a way for the admission of the King into the city; and so far succeeded in their design, by terrifying the people, and assuring them, that without such measures, there was no prospect of any thing else but a continuance of the famine, and the certainty of a miserable death at last, that several of them having

1590. privately so agreed amongst themselves, resolved to assemble one morning, and seize upon the heads of the government, when they were met in Council at the palace. But Don *Cbristino de Nizza*, one of the most celebrated preachers, and who had taken the greatest pains to encourage the people to hold out, being secretly informed of the affair, immediately communicated it to the Legate and Princes, who having put all the soldiery under arms, appointed several commanders to take care of the different parts of the city, and ordered the Duke of *Nemours* with his gens d'armes to patroll day and night, through all the wards of it, and the Chevalier *D'Aumale* to keep a constant guard at the palace. The conspirators, however, assembled, in great numbers, at the time appointed, crying out, *Bread or peace*, and threatening to cut the Council in pieces if some means were not instantly taken to obtain one or the other. Upon which one of the City-captains, whose name was *Goix*, inconsiderately going to quell them, was shot dead by one of them with a pistol, which he had concealed in his pocket. But the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, having caused the gates of the palace to be shut, and the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Ambassador *Mendoza* coming suddenly upon them with some parties of soldiers, the person that fired the pistol was thrown down from the galleries of the palace to the ground: and some others of the ringleaders, who could not make their escape, being taken, and executed the same day, the mob dispersed of themselves, and the city was delivered from that danger; though the heads were apprehensive that hunger would cause many other commotions of this sort, as the situation of affairs still grew worse and more desperate, and there was no certainty of any relief.

The immoderate heats, that succeeded the heavy rains which had fallen this year, made their sufferings the more grievous, though they ripened the corn in the fields sooner than usual; which being observed by the besieged, who watched night and day upon the walls, induced them to go out, armed and unarmed, in several companies, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, with sickles and other reaping instruments, in hopes of running away with some of it. But the vigilance of the King's guards was such, that they continually repulsed them, burning up the corn, and firing upon the women and children that came out unarmed, to pluck a little of it by stealth: so that the country being all on fire, and laid desolate on every side, with no little slaughter, the *Parisians* were not able to furnish themselves with any sort of fruits out of the fields, except such as grew within the command of their guns, which were not sufficient to support them above five or six days; after which, the famine became more intolerable, and began to rage with greater fury every day, as they were now obliged, instead of meal and oat-pottage, to eat the most noisome things, and even to grind dead mens bones to make bread;
a food

a food not only loathsome and abominable, but also so unwholsome and pestiferous, that the poor people died in great numbers. They likewise wanted wood for firing so much, that they were forced to eat what little flesh they could procure, almost raw. The very skins and hides also, that were tanned for shoes and other uses, were boiled and greedily devoured by them, after they had pulled down either their own or their neighbours houses, for materials to kindle a fire. In short, there was nothing that it was possible to eat, nor any invention which necessity did not compel them to make use of, to keep themselves alive. And as such numbers were dead, and many others had secretly made their escape, several of the streets, especially in the suburbs, not being frequented, were now grown over with grass, which was the principal sustenance that the remaining inhabitants had left, and was of no small relief to them in that miserable and famishing condition.

But they were soon deprived of this comfort, small as it was: for the Prince of *Conti*, the *Sieur De Chastillon*, the Duke *De la Tremouille*, the Marquis *De Pisani*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and other Lords out of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Gascony*, and *Languedoc*, being come to the army, which by that means was much augmented, the King ordered the siege to be still more straitened, and the suburbs to be assaulted. For which purpose, on the 24th of *July* at night, the army being properly posted in several places under different commanders, as the clock struck twelve, all the suburbs were attacked at the same instant, and a great number of scaling ladders raised against the works. The Baron *De Biron* assaulted the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Martin*; the *Sieur De Ferwaques* that of *St. Dennis*; Monsieur *De St. Luc*, that of *Mont-martre*; the Marshal *De Biron* made his attack at *St. Honoré*; the Marshal *D'Aumont*, at *St. Germain*; Monsieur *De Lavardine*, near the gates *De Bussy* and *De Nesle*; Monsieur *De Chastillon*, at *St. Michael* and *St. James*; the Prince of *Conti* and the Duke *De la Tremouille* at *St. Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, in such a manner, that being stormed all at the same time, the besieged endeavoured, but in vain, to defend them with their cannon and small arms from the walls of the city; for all the suburbs were taken by the army, and the citizens thereby now reduced to the last extremity.

The town of *St. Dennis* had been taken before this time, on the 7th of *July*: in the siege of which, the garrison having undergone the same miseries, at last agreed to capitulate, if they received no relief from *Paris*, or any other place, within the term of three days, which not coming to pass, as it was impossible it should, on account of the weakness of the *Parisians* and the other adjacent towns, and because the King, who had been on horseback himself forty hours together, effectually obstructed all the avenues, they were obliged to deliver up the town, and marched

1590. out of it with their arms and baggage: an example that was followed by those also that defended the castle of *Dammartin*, on the lower part of the river. The city, therefore, being now closely invested by the whole army, which before had been divided to besiege those two places, the Governors had no hope left, as they had not received any certain account that the succours were upon their march to relieve them. So that, though they had formerly refused to answer many of the King's letters, in which he promised them their lives and security for their consciences, and exhorted them to lay aside their stubbornness, and to consent to acknowledge and obey him as their natural King: yet now, some messages having passed between the Legate and the Marquis *De Pisani*, who had been Ambassador at *Rome*, they at last seemed inclinable to listen to a treaty of peace, but more with a view to appease the people, or to abate the severity of the siege, than with a design of concluding any thing. For which purpose, proper security being given and received, the Legate and Cardinal *Gondi* came to the *hôtel of Girolamo Gondi* in the Fauxbourg of *St. Germain*, where they were met by the Marquis *De Pisani* and others from the camp. But after much discourse, nothing was concluded upon: for the Legate insisted, that the whole affair should be left to the Pope's decision, and that there should be a cessation of arms till that could be known: and the Marquis demanded, that the *Parisians* should immediately submit to the King, who would afterwards give his Holiness due satisfaction in point of religion: which demands were so inconsistent with each other, and proposed in such general terms, that it was not possible to come to any agreement.

The return of the Legate into the city, without having effected any thing, very much disappointed the people's expectation, and increased the publick discontent, when they considered their present misery, and the certainty of losing their lives in a few days: so that their groans and lamentations not only filled the streets, but multiplied the number of those that were grown desperate by the sharpness of their sufferings, and were now frequently crying out, *Bread or peace*, especially in the night. This tendency to an insurrection was fomented by the *Sieur D'Andelot*, brother to *Monsieur De Chastillon*, and some other Gentlemen of the King's party, who being taken prisoners by the besieged in the skirmishes which daily happened under the walls, and having liberty to go abroad upon their parole, gave their friends and acquaintance the highest character of the King's clemency, his readiness to forgive, the liberty and security with which the Catholics lived under his protection, the regard he had shewn for their religion, his great strength, which increased every day, and with which he was resolved to meet their succours and fight them, without the least doubt of defeating them with the same ease that he had done at the

the battle of *Jury*, where the forces of the League, though entire and united, were utterly dissipated: by which insinuations, many that despaired of relief, and were not able to bear the extremity of famine any longer, were inclined to make a trial of the so much celebrated clemency and good faith of the conqueror. And indeed there had like to have been a general rising of the people to compel their Governors to surrender, and to make themselves masters of one of the gates and let in the King's army: and if that had happened, the strength of the citizens and garrison was so reduced by hunger, it was thought they would have been able to make but very little opposition against the fury of the enemy. The Parliament and Council therefore, being jointly assembled in the hall of *St. Lewis*, resolved to appoint two Deputies to treat with the King, and, if he permitted, to go afterwards to the Duke of *Mayenne*; not with power, however, to give up the city, but, if it was possible, to obtain particular conditions for it in the articles of a general peace.

For this office, they fixed upon Cardinal *Gondi* and the Archbishop of *Lions*, being well assured that neither of them would make any concessions which should be prejudicial to religion. And yet the Duke of *Ne-mours* departed from the Council in an angry mood, protesting he would faithfully observe what he had sworn at the beginning of the siege, and that he was determined to suffer death rather than give up the city into any other hands than those of his brother, who had entrusted him with it. Nor was the Cardinal Legate altogether pleased, but said that necessity obliged him to give way to those measures, though he did not approve of them: and that now they had done and suffered so much, they ought to have patience a few days longer, and wait for the arrival and issue of those succours, which he expected every hour. The Deputies went away, however, with a safe conduct, to the abbey of *St. Anthoine des Champs*, about half a mile from the gate that goes by that name: where they found the King with a great many of his principal Lords and Nobility, and amongst the rest, the High Chancellor *Cbiverny*, who having lived in retirement from the time that King *Henry* the third had dismissed him from court, had been recalled a few days before by the King, to execute his former office. The Deputies told the King, "That the Council and inhabitants of *Paris*, being moved with compassion for the miseries of their country, which were the consequences of so long and obstinate a civil war, had given them a commission to come and treat with his Majesty, and then to proceed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, the head of the Catholick party, to see if they could find out some means of accommodation: and therefore, as they had willingly undertaken so honourable an employment for the publick good, they exhorted him to listen to such conditions as were necessary for the security of religion and the common peace of

1590. of the kingdom. But that he would not imagine that the *Parisians* would ever come into any agreement which should be in the least prejudicial to their conscience or religion, for fear of any worldly danger or suffering, being resolved rather to die a temporal death than to violate or blemish the spiritual life of the soul, for which they were ready to undergo any kind of martyrdom, if there should be occasion; though they did not much fear that, as they were sure to be powerfully relieved in a few days." Here Cardinal *Gondi*, though he was himself well inclined to the King's party, added many other arguments to make it believed, that they were appointed Deputies by the City and Council of *Paris*, not out of any necessity that compelled them to take such a step, but out of a charitable zeal for the peace of the publick, and to find out some way to re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. These things being spoken openly, and in the presence of several of the Nobility that had commissions in the army, so disgusted every one that heard him, that even the respect due to his Majesty, could not restrain the natural impatience of the *French* from breaking out, sometimes into laughter, and sometimes into terms of disdain, at a message more proper for conquerors, or a disinterested state, than a city reduced to the last and remediless extremities of hunger. And the King, either prompted by his own particular sense of the affront, or the general resentment, which seemed to dictate an answer, replied, with some degree of warmth, "That he very well knew the people of *Paris* had the dagger at their throats, and that how artfully soever the true intent of Deputies coming to him might be disguised, he was sensible their errand was only to procure some respite and cessation of the miseries which they now endured; but that the contents of their message was very different from what it ought to have been. That if the Senate of *Venice*, a State entirely independent upon any other power, which yet, by its ancient reputation and authority, had at all times been a mediator of peace amongst Christian Princes, should have interposed its good offices, to bring about an agreement betwixt him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, it would not have seemed strange to him, and he should have taken it in good part: but that the common people of a city naturally subject to his government, should so far forget their duty, and shew themselves so contumacious and rebellious against him, as to dare to usurp the name of a *Council*, and presume to be *Mediators* of peace and concord, was a thing so ridiculous on one side, and so worthy of contempt and chastisement on the other, that it would be no small example of his clemency, if they should be able to obtain pardon for themselves, without interfering any further in his affairs." And as he was willing to give all possible satisfaction to the Nobility that were present at this conference, he represented to them at large, and with much elocution (of which he had naturally a
great

great share) how ardently he desired to re-establish peace, out of his own goodness and clemency, and for the preservation of the people whom God had committed to his care. But that he neither dreaded war, nor the powerful succours with which the *Parisians* vainly flattered their imaginations: and concluded with saying, "He would be content to lose one of his fingers to have the war ended the next day by the sword, betwixt him and his enemies and rebellious subjects; but that he would willingly give two, provided they would all return to their duty in a peaceable manner."

After this answer, the Deputies were conducted into another apartment prepared for them, and the King retired to advise with his council. The Chancellor *Chiverny* said, "He thought the King's answer had been rather in too high terms, and though so resolute and disdainful a behaviour might not have been amiss in publick, yet now they came to consider the matter in private, and more maturely, it seemed necessary to proceed in a different manner, lest he should be disappointed in the end which he had taken so much pains to accomplish. That his Majesty's principal intention was to reduce the city of *Paris* to obedience, but not with the destruction of the citizens, nor by force of arms. That it had been determined to proceed by way of blockade, not only on account of the numbers of people that were united for their defence, but to prevent the largest and richest city in the whole kingdom from being miserably sacked and destroyed. That therefore, now the citizens were humbled by hunger, it would be but prudent to treat them with gentleness and clemency, and not to insist upon hard conditions, but to grant them large and honourable terms, provided they would submit; and that if a desire of saving the city, inclined the Duke of *Mayenne* and others of his party to propose an agreement, it was an overture not to be despised, but rather to be wished for. Upon which account it was his opinion, that the Deputies should be calmly treated with in private concerning an accommodation; and further, that they should be permitted to go on to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to see if they could prevail upon him to consent to peace." The Marshal *De Biron* approved of the first part of the Chancellor's advice, which was, to grant any terms whatsoever to the *Parisians*, provided they would submit to his Majesty: and so much the rather, because the army was considerably diminished and fatigued by long watchings and continual duty, and as the season advanced, began to be very sickly and full of distempers: but he was of opinion, "That the Deputies should not be suffered to go forwards to the Duke of *Mayenne*, as that would be protracting things till succours could arrive out of *Flanders*. That to negotiate a general peace, would require long time and much deliberation, which was not consistent with the present circumstances of his

1590. his Majesty's affairs. That it was proper to strike whilst the iron was hot, and to distress the *Parisians* till hunger obliged them to provide for their own safety: for when *Paris* was reduced, and the foundation of the League's hopes entirely destroyed, it would afterwards be a very easy matter to bring the Duke of *Mayenne* and the rest of his party to an accommodation." All the rest concurred in this opinion; and the Deputies being called in again, were told, after much discourse, "That it was the King's resolution, if the *Parisians* would submit, to give them full satisfaction in the securities and other matters which they should request of him; but that he would not receive laws from them in what concerned his conscience and conversion, in which he should be guided by his own free choice and the inspiration of God; neither would he consent that they should go to consult with the Duke of *Mayenne*, as he was resolved not to treat about any further agreement at present, but what immediately related to the city of *Paris*." The King then ordered a writing to be delivered to them, drawn up by the Secretary *Revol*, in which he set forth the same things in very mild terms, with offers of all possible security and satisfaction. He also sent private and very gracious letters to the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duchess his mother, and to Madam *De Guise*, exhorting every one of them to peace, and assuring them all, that they should receive more from his favour and generosity than they could tell how to desire. With this answer the Deputies returned: but the Duke of *Nemours*, who was very averse to all thoughts of peace, at the instigation of the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassador, would not suffer that writing to be read to the people, but ordered the Deputies only to tell them in general, "That the King would hear of no other terms, but the immediate surrender of the city into his hands, without consulting or including the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Lords of the League." Which being contrary to the sense of the major part, especially of the Council, as the citizens were determined not to detach themselves from the Duke of *Mayenne* upon any account, but to run the same fortune with him to the end of their lives, all hopes of peace were laid aside, and they returned to the care of their defence.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma* (though he had fully acquainted the court of *Spain* with his sentiments) received a peremptory order from his Catholick Majesty, to march in person, with his whole army, into *France*, to assist the confederates, and to raise the siege of *Paris*: the Council in that kingdom being of opinion, that an enterprise so honourable, so important, and so likely to succeed, ought certainly to be preferred to the concerns of *Flanders*, which they imagined were in such a situation, that they could receive but little or no damage by the absence of the Duke and his army for a few months: and therefore, at the same time

time that they approved of the first part of the Duke of *Parma's* advice, to feed and prolong the war, in order to obtain that, when the *French* should be weakened and tired out, which otherwise seemed impossible to be effected, they also determined that *Paris* should be powerfully relieved, on purpose to prevent the League from being so soon subdued, and the King from being absolute conqueror; since he would easily and speedily overcome all other obstacles, when he had made himself master of that city. Besides, as their monarchy, even from its first and weakest state, had ever been accustomed to unite its own interests with the favourable and plausible pretence of religion, it could not now disunite those interests, so nearly joined, without giving up the glorious reputation, which they so much boasted of, that they never had any other enemies but the enemies of the church: they had therefore procured an absolute order for the Duke to strengthen those garrisons in *Flanders*, as much as he could, which stood on the frontiers of the confederate States, and then to march immediately to the relief of *Paris* with all his forces; and when the siege was raised, not to trouble himself about making any further progress.

But when the Duke had received these last and positive instructions, he was not a little perplexed how to put them in execution. For on one hand, he could not leave the cities of *Flanders* so well garrisoned, but some considerable loss was to be apprehended, which would be imputed to his negligence by the court of *Spain* (where he perceived they looked upon this matter in a false light) and not to the necessity of affairs, and the nature of the orders he had received: and on the other, he could not think of marching into *France* without the strength of his whole army, as he was to carry on a war in which there was little to be depended upon from his friends, and much to be feared from a brave and unwearied enemy, brought up to arms, and surrounded by almost an invincible body of *French* Nobility; and so much the more, because it was necessary to go and seek him in his own dominions and in the midst of all his forces. He was likewise very much distressed in point of time; for he knew *Paris* was already reduced to the last extremities of famine; and yet it was necessary to make some preparations, first to secure the towns in *Flanders* in a proper manner, and then to march into *France* in such order, and with such provisions, as the importance of the expedition required: so that it was greatly to be doubted the *Parisians* would not be able to hold out so long. But as he was a Prince of high courage, mature in resolving, and quick in execution, and thought this (as indeed it was) the most weighty and difficult enterprise that he had ever undertaken, he determined to struggle with all impediments, and to exert his utmost efforts to carry it through, with the same reputation that he had

1590. acquired by his conduct upon all other occasions. For which purpose, after he had made a regular disposition of every thing in his own breast, he began to make preparations for his march, with so much application, that he hoped to be able to relieve *Paris* by the middle of *August*: and being desirous neither to deceive others, nor to be deceived himself, as he had told the Duke of *Mayenne* before, he wrote a letter to the besieged about the end of *July*, in which he gave them an account of his intended expedition; and assured them he would be in *France* by the middle of the next month, exhorting them to bear their hardships, and to arm themselves with patience till that time, at which, he hoped, he should certainly be able to deliver them out of all their troubles.

This letter came to *Paris* on the 1st of *August*; and being communicated by the magistrates to the people, filled every one with extreme despair, the time seeming to them at such distance, that they were persuaded they could not keep themselves so long alive. The soldiers therefore began privately to desert their colours and run away by night: and the poor people of the city being entirely destitute of sustenance, endeavoured to get out of it and escape to some other place, in which they were not restrained by the Governors in chief, who from the beginning had given every one that had a mind free liberty to depart. But as the King willingly permitted the run-away soldiers to pass, so he had given strict orders that the inhabitants should be driven back again and forced to return into the city, knowing that the besieged took those means to unburden themselves: which orders being punctually executed by the guards, very few of them were able to make their escape. But the greatest difficulty that the Governors laboured under, was to restrain the licentiousness of the *Germans*, who having indulged themselves in all manner of enormities, and destroyed the most magnificent houses and gardens without distinction (only to sell the timber for firing) now every thing was consumed, had given themselves up to all kinds of villainy, by which they could get any thing to support themselves: and many have reported, that they secretly killed all the children they could get into their hands, to feed upon their flesh; notwithstanding all which, they began to mutiny and wanted to disband, though the Duke of *Nemours* and the Chevalier *D'Aumale* used all possible means to keep them together. The besieged finding themselves in these straits, wrote to the Duke of *Mayenne*, as their final resolution, that if they were not relieved in ten days, it would be impossible for them to hold out any longer; and as they had both done and suffered all that lay in their power, they should think themselves excusable in the sight both of God and man, if they then provided for their own safety. The Duchess of *Mayenne* likewise wrote to her husband to the same effect, conjuring him, by his affection to their children,

children, not to suffer them to fall into the hands of so bitter an enemy. 1590.
 Upon the receipt of these letters the Duke, who was in no less anxiety and perplexity of mind than the *Parisians*, having collected all his forces together, immediately advanced to *Meaux*, ten leagues distant from *Paris*, and dispatched the Marquis *Alessandro Malaspina*, to let the Duke of *Parma* know, that if he did not hasten his march with the utmost expedition, all their endeavours would be in vain; for that the besieged were not able to support their distress any longer, as he might be convinced by the letters he had received from them, which he now sent him enclosed in his own.

Besides *Chiroga's* mutineers, *Capizucchi's* division, and the *Walloon* horse, which the Duke of *Parma* had sent him, the Duke of *Mayenne* had then with him six hundred lances of the Duke of *Lorraine's*, commanded by the Count *De Chaligny*, brother to the Queen dowager of *France*, the *French* infantry under Colonel *St. Paul*, the Duke of *Aumale* with the troops of *Picardy*, the Marquis *De Menelay*, Monsieur *De Balagny*, Governor of *Cambray*, and the Sieurs *De la Chastre* and *De Rbofne*, with their regiments and attendants, which in all amounted to the number of ten thousand foot and two thousand four hundred horse. And though he had advanced with these forces as far as *Meaux*, to be ready upon any opportunity that should offer, and to animate the besieged by his being so near at hand, yet he did not think them sufficient to enable him, either to raise the siege, or to throw provisions into the city, as he knew the King had received very strong reinforcements, and had at that time six and twenty thousand foot, and above seven thousand horse, under his banners, amongst whom were five thousand Gentlemen, who bore arms for no other reward but honour, and being well attended and gallantly mounted, were, in his opinion, much superior to his whole army in every respect. Upon which account, he dispatched couriers with letters every hour, to the Vice-seneschal *De Montlimar*, his resident with the Duke of *Parma*, charging him to use his utmost endeavours to hasten the Duke's coming, without which, he thought it impossible to relieve the besieged.

The Duke of *Parma* having called a council of war, upon the first of *August*, acquainted them with the order which he had received from the court of *Spain*, to march with the whole army into *France*, and said, that such a resolution had been taken contrary to his judgment; informing them, at the same time, of the reasons that had induced him to look upon it as an enterprise very likely to be attended with great hazard, and but little advantage. But since it had pleased the King their master so to order it, as he was resolved for his own part, to exert all the abilities that God had given him, in that expedition, so he prayed all the rest of them to use their best endeavours, that the several offices committed to their care might be discharged

1590. discharged in such a manner, as should redound to the glory of God, the satisfaction of the King, and their own reputation : and having given every one his particular instructions, he ordered that the whole army, which was now assembled, should be ready to march by the fourth of that month. He also wrote to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to acquaint him with the time and certainty of his coming, and sent the *Parisians* advice of the same, protesting, that his Catholick Majesty had no other end in this war, but to relieve them, and secure their religion : that this consideration alone had determined him, not to spare either money or forces, to the great prejudice of his own affairs ; and that he had undertaken this important enterprize without the security of strong towns for magazines of military stores, or places of retreat upon the confines, though usually demanded and granted upon such occasions ; that every one might be fully convinced of the zeal, candour, and uprightness of his proceedings in their affairs, which, nevertheless, he hoped, by the blessing of God and the righteousness of the cause, to bring to a prosperous issue ; and with this resolution the army moved on the 4th of *August* towards *Valenciennes*.

The Marquis *De Ranti* led the van. The Duke himself conducted the main battle, in which were also the Princes of *Ajcoli*, *Chasteau-Bertrand*, and *Chimay*, the Counts *De Barlemont* and *D'Aremberg*, with many other *Flemish*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* Lords. The Sieur *De la Motte*, Governor of *Graveling*, brought up the rear, in which were twenty pieces of cannon, two bridges to be thrown over boats, and all such other warlike provisions as usually attend upon royal armies. The Duke of *Parma's* armies had always been very well disciplined, ready to undergo and inured to hardships, punctual in their obedience to command, and not at all addicted to pillage and plunder in the territories of their friends. And as he was now going into a kingdom, where he knew the name of a *Spaniard* was very disagreeable to the people in general, and that it behoved him no less to prevent jealousies and suspicions, so easily kindled by every slight occasion in the minds of the *French*, than to be vigilant in his proceedings against a victorious army, under the conduct of a wise and experienced General, he was more circumspect than ever, and took all manner of pains to hinder his soldiers from committing any violence or outrage, or giving the least cause of complaint to the *French*. He always encamped as if the enemy's army had been very near him, kept all his men close together, and in good order in their quarters, not suffering them to straggle from their colours upon any account whatsoever. He reconnoitred the country with great care, and marched without tumult or confusion. He took up his quarters early in the evening, and whilst they were properly laid out and made defensible, he caused the greater part of the army to stand to their arms. He ordered strong convoys to attend the carriages with provisions, of which

he had collected, and was still collecting, large quantities; and shewing great honour and deference to the *French*, upon all occasions, endeavoured to gain the affections of the nation. For which purpose, though he had lived with much ceremony and reserve amongst the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, in compliance with the natural disposition of that people, now he was come into *France*, he laid aside the state of anti-chambers and door-keepers, and eat in publick, welcoming the *French* Gentlemen at his table, and behaving with the greatest affability and familiarity, both in his words and actions. And though he had many officers of great reputation about him, he resolved to trust to no-body but himself, and therefore personally heard the reports of those parties that had been out to reconnoitre the country and scour the roads, talking himself with the scouts, disposing the order of the guards, and attending to every thing that concerned the discipline of his army, for which purpose he sat up all night, and only gave those few hours to sleep, which passed betwixt the beating of the *reveille* and the marching of his troops. With these precautions he marched gently forwards, that he might not fatigue his men, till he arrived at *Meaux*, on the 23d of *August*, and being met by the Duke of *Mayenne* with his army in the field, they joined forces at that place.

The Archbishop of *Lions* and the President *Vetus* also arrived there; who having been with the King to propose some new terms of agreement, had now come with his safe conduct (as he had receded something from his former stiffness, upon the approach of the *Spanish* army) to negotiate with the Duke of *Mayenne*, by whom they were introduced into his council; where they related what extremities the *Parisians* were reduced to, and that they could not hold out above four days longer, earnestly intreating that, if they were not able to relieve them in that time, some agreement might be concluded, to deliver the city from the imminent danger it was in. To this the Duke of *Parma* answered in a grave and modest manner, "That he was come by his Catholick Majesty's command, with orders to relieve the city, and to secure their religion: but that he had no commission to treat of any accommodation; nor would his conscience suffer him to entertain any thoughts of coming to an agreement with a Prince that was an heretick and an enemy to the church. That as the *Parisians* had undergone so much, to their infinite honour, and with an heroick example of Christian fortitude, he hoped they would be able to support themselves a few days longer: for he trusted, by the help of God, and the strength of his army, that he should now speedily relieve them: and therefore desired the Deputies to return to the city, and exhort them to have patience till that time." The Deputies accordingly went back to the King in the first place, with whom they had left Cardinal *Gondi*, and acquainted him, that the Duke of *Parma* had no inclination

1590. tion to listen to an agreement, and had dismissed them with an assurance of speedy and certain relief. Upon which, they were likewise dismissed by the King; and the attention of both sides was now wholly engaged in making preparations to carry on the war.

The King was in great perplexity of mind. For as his army was much diminished by sickness, of which, numbers had died (amongst the rest the Abbé *Pietro del Bene*, a man of great abilities in state affairs) many various and contrary resolutions presented themselves to his thoughts. He was very loath to rise from the siege without having obtained any advantage, after so many hardships and so much fatigue, and when he had reduced the city to the last degree of despair: and therefore was inclined to leave one part of his army to keep the avenues blocked up, and to advance with the other to meet the succours. On the other hand, he thought the Duke of *Parma's* strength was so great, that it would be requisite to employ all his forces to oppose and resist him: and for that reason, durst not venture to go out against him with only a part of his army, which he feared would not be able to stand before him. Thus doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he called a council of all his commanders, in which the principal were the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshals *D'Aumont* and *De Biron*, the Baron his son, *Philibert de la Guiche*, the Sieurs *De Lavardine*, *Guitry*, and *De la Noüe*, the Viscount *De Turenne*, the Duke *De la Tremouille*, and Monsieur *De Chastillon*, who being cool and dispassionate men, all concurred in opinion, that to divide the army would be a very imprudent and dangerous measure; for by that means, the siege would neither be continued, nor the relief prevented. That other eminent commanders had quitted sieges before him, when they found their attempts in vain: and that if he should be able either to defeat the Duke of *Parma*, or oblige him to retire, the quantity of provisions which the *Parisians* could get into the city in the mean time, would be so inconsiderable, that at his return, it would be reduced to the same extremities again in a few days. After this was determined in the Council, the King, having given such orders as were necessary, that he might be ready to oppose the enemy in good time, raised the siege on the 30th of *August*, and marched with his whole army to quarter at *Cbelles*, a town three leagues from *Paris*, and but four from the army of the League. *Cbelles* is a spacious bourg, situated on a marshy plain, that is sometimes overflowed by the water of a little river, which stagnates in pools upon many parts of it. The country on both sides is open, and two hills stand in its front, over which there is a high-road, that leads directly from *Meaux* to *Paris*. Here the army, which consisted of seven thousand horse, and about nineteen thousand foot, was disposed in such a manner, that the light horse, supported by the foot of the vanguard, took possession

sion of the skirts of the hills and the passage of the highway. The main body lay under cover in the houses of the bourg. And the cavalry of the rear-guard were posted behind it, on the entrance of the plain that leads towards *Paris*. On the right hand of the bourg, the *Sieur De Chastillon* with the *Swiss*, and four *French* regiments, were placed: and on the left, the *Sieur De Lavaraine* with the *Germans*, and five regiments of musketeers; and on each side were planted the artillery.

The King's army had hardly taken possession of these post, when the *Italian* and *Bourguignon* light horse of the League appeared on the top of the furthestmost hill, and began a skirmish with his advanced guards. In the mean time, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, with some few others, rode up and down to reconnoitre the strength and disposition of the enemy's forces more narrowly on all sides; which seeming to be formed in excellent order, they retired to their own camp on the other side of the hills, and began to fortify it with a wide trench, and a high breast-work, which being flanked with ravelines and half moons, where the artillery were planted, pretty well secured it from the danger of a sudden assault. The armies lay still in this manner for the space of four days. For the Duke of *Parma*, being informed that the *Parisians* had ventured out of the city, and furnished themselves with provisions sufficient for a few days, out of the near adjacent places, and the things that were left behind by the King's army, was not very forward to come to an engagement, nor to precipitate his designs: And the King, though eager to engage, and in full hopes of a victory, thought it would be extreme rashness to attack an enemy stronger than himself in his own quarters. In this interval there were frequent skirmishes, in which the valour of the several nations was tried, and all sorts of weapons made use of. The horse often charging the foot, and the cuirassiers encountering sometimes the light horse and carbines, and sometimes the lances, of which there was a great number in the army of the League. But the King, being tired out with this delay, and apprehensive that the late sufferings and want of money might make his army disband, or at least that it would be still more weakened and diminished by the sickness which increased and became more mortal, resolved to try the courage of his enemies, by sending a trumpet to let the Duke of *Mayenne* know, "That as there was now an opportunity of settling all differences, and putting an end to the miseries of the war, he could wish he would come out of his den, in which he lay more like a fox than a lion, and bring his forces into the open field, where they might soon decide their disputes with the valour and generosity of men." The Duke of *Mayenne* sent the trumpet to the Duke of *Parma*, as commander in chief, who answered with a smile, "That he knew very well what he had to do, and was not come so far to be directed by an enemy: that he plainly

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saw his manner of proceeding did not please the King, but that if he was so great a soldier as fame reported him, he would do well to shew his skill in forcing him to a battle against his inclination, for he would never willingly give that up to the arbitrement of fortune, which he already had safe in his own hands." But by this time the *Parisians* began to be in desperate circumstances again: for that little which they had been able to pick up, being now consumed, they were reduced to their former extremities, and it became absolutely necessary to open the passes, that provisions might be conveyed into it. The Duke therefore, who had not only made a trial of the courage of the King's forces, during these few days, but examined the situation of the country very exactly, and maturely deliberated what measures he should take, gave out, that he would engage the King in the open field: and having drawn up his army in order of battle, he advanced very early on the 5th of *September* in the morning towards the enemy. In the van, he placed two large squadrons of lances, and all the light horse of the army, the command of which he gave to the Marquis *De Ranty*, with orders, that as soon as he was out of the woody part that was on the ascent of the hills, and got up to the top of that which was next to the enemy, where it was plainer ground, he should cover and take up as much of the hill as he possibly could, by extending the lances, commanded by the Prince of *Chimay* and *Georgio Basta*, and make two great wings of the light horse: after which he was to march towards the enemy, and begin to descend, though but very gently, towards the plain, and to make many halts, that he might receive his further orders. To the Duke of *Mayenne* he gave the charge of the main battle, where he had put the whole strength of the *Italian* and *Spanish* foot, with twenty pieces of cannon: and the rear was conducted by the Sieur *De la Motte*, in which were the *Bourguignon* lances and the *Walloon* infantry. On the flanks of the main battle, but separated by a proper space, on the right and left hand, he posted the Sieur *De la Chastre* and Colonel *St. Paul*, with the *French* horse and foot; whilst he himself was left at liberty to ride up and down the field as he had occasion, attended only by Count *Alessandro Sforza*, *Nicolo Cesis*, and *Appio Conti*, with an hundred horse.

As soon as the army of the League was seen to advance resolutely towards the enemy along the main road, it was the general opinion on both sides, that they should certainly engage that day: and the King, who was so full of spirits that his eyes sparkled with joy, having drawn up his army with admirable celerity and exactness, in the same order that it lay encamped before, waited with impatience till the enemy should come down into the plain, and give him an opportunity of fighting them upon equal terms. But whilst he stood in this disposition to receive them, and
his

his artillery were ready to fire, the Marquis *De Ranti* having extended his body of lances as far as ever he could, began to quit the hill and descend, though very gently, towards the plain. Upon which, the Duke of *Parma*, seeing all the field now covered with his vanguard, and that the King's army stood waiting for him, in full expectation of an engagement, set spurs to his horse, and galloped up to the front of the main battle; where having stopped the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was still marching toward the enemy, he ordered him to wheel suddenly off towards *Lagny*, which stood upon his left hand: and changing his disposition, so that the main battle became the van, and the rear the main battle, marched away with the utmost expedition to make himself master of the suburbs of that town. *Lagny* is situated upon the river *Marne*, in such a manner, that the suburbs, which are very small, stand upon the bank on the right side, where both armies were, and the town on the left; with a communication betwixt them by a large bridge over the river, which being one of the principal streams that convey provisions to *Paris*, it was highly necessary to open that passage. There were fifteen companies of *French* foot in *Lagny*, under the command of Monsieur *De la Fin*, who seeing the whole army of the League unexpectedly turned against him, and finding that he was not able to defend the suburbs, which stood on that side of the river where the enemy was advancing, immediately ordered the bridge to be broken down, to retard their approach, and retired with his men to defend the town, which they could not assault till they had passed the river. But the Duke of *Parma* having taken possession of the suburbs without opposition, instantly posted the *French* infantry there, and encamped with the rest of the army in the field of *Pompone*, about half a mile from them, endeavouring with the utmost diligence to secure his camp with trenches, breast-works, redoubts, and half-moons, and to obstruct all the passes of the country round about him.

After the Marquis *De Ranti*, with the vanguard, had held the King's army many hours in suspense, and in expectation of engaging, as evening came on, he likewise began to file off towards *Lagny*, leaving the King entirely in the dark as to the designs of the enemy. For he knew they must pass the river if they intended to attack that town, which he thought they could not do without great danger of having at least their rear cut off; and it seemed still more improbable, that the Duke of *Parma* would assault any place before his face; but most improbable of all, that he would march toward *Paris* on that side, and leave the pass of *Lagny* behind him, because he would by that means shut himself up, and effectually deprive his own army of all manner of provisions. Wherefore, being in great doubt, and not knowing what to resolve upon, he sent the Baron *De Biron*, the Grand Prior, and Monsieur *De la Noüe*, to pursue

1590. the Marquis *De Ranti*, and to begin as hot a skirmish with him as he could, in order to discover the designs and proceedings of the enemy. But the carbincers, who had posted themselves in the woody places thereabout, received the attack with great bravery, and *Georgio Basta* advancing with four hundred lances to support them, the skirmish continued with various success till night parted them, and obliged both sides to retire to their respective camps, without any further action. The Duke, still busy in taking and fortifying the passes that were betwixt the two armies, to defend himself if he should be attacked in the rear, caused the artillery to be planted against *Lagny* that very night, and the next morning by break of day, began to batter the wall with eleven pieces of cannon. *La Fin* at first despised his battery, as the river was betwixt them, and thought, if a breach should be made in the wall, they could not come to make an assault. But he found himself much deceived, when he saw the Duke had caused a bridge of boats to be thrown over the river two leagues above, and ordered *Capizzucchi's* division of *Italians* to pass it, with *Berlotti's* *Wallcoons*, and *Georgio Basta's* eight hundred horse, that they might be ready, when it was convenient, to storm the wall, which being weak, and not lined with earth, it was to be feared, that a breach would be made in a few hours, wide enough for an assault.

The King at last suspecting the enemy's design (though not till their camp was sufficiently fortified, and all passes secured by guards, which the Duke placed on every side) sent out several parties, and by different ways, to relieve those that were besieged in *Lagny*, all which entered without opposition; for the Duke made no account of that relief, as long as the whole army did not move. But the King could take no course that would not be attended with very great difficulties and dangers: for if he did not move, *Lagny* was sure to be lost, and the passage would be open on that side to victual the city; and if he moved to relieve it, and should pass the river, the Duke would leave *Lagny*, and march the strait way to *Paris*, with the provisions that he had brought with him; so that he was in a manner obliged to stand still, not being able to come to any resolution, though he had consulted with his commanders what was best to be done. The Marshal *De Biron* was of opinion, that he should take the same rout by which the Marquis *De Ranti* had retired, and endeavour to force two corps-de-garde that were on that side, that so he might attack the Duke's camp on the left-hand towards *Meaux*, where it was not so well fortified as in other places. Monsieur *De la Noüe* thought it would be more advisable to pass the river, and post themselves behind *Lagny*, to reinforce and relieve the garrison every moment, hoping, that when it was supported in that manner, it would be able to hold out against the attacks of the enemy. But the King answered, that, in either case, the

Duke would have a free passage left him to *Paris*: for if he turned towards *Meaux*, the way by *Chelles* would be left open, and if he passed the river, the same road would be no better secured. 1590.

In the mean time the Duke of *Parma*, being resolved not to lose a minute, and very confident of success in his attempt, caused a furious assault to be made upon the walls of *Lagny*, though the breach was not very wide: and whilst they were warmly engaged there on both sides, the King, being highly provoked to see all his past labours thrown away, could not forbear advancing that way himself, with his whole army in battalia, but without any settled resolution what to do. The Duke, on the other hand, would not stir out of his works, but drew up his army likewise in good order within the circuit of his camp, with their face toward the enemy, and left the forces appointed for that purpose to continue their assaults without interruption or molestation of any kind from without. And though the besieged had happily repulsed them at first, yet an error in discipline at last decided the victory in favour of their enemies. For when they were going to relieve those that had sustained the assault, they would not change them file by file, according to the established rules of defence, but either out of haste or want of experience, endeavoured to do it all at once, which occasioning tumult and confusion, the assailants took the advantage of that opportunity, and returned to the assault with so much vigour and expedition, whilst the garrison was in disorder, that they presently drove the guards from the walls and entered the castle, where they took *La Fin* prisoner: whilst the King was obliged to stand only a sorrowful spectator of the slaughter of his men: for being surrounded by the *Walloons* and *Italians* (who had vied with each other which should give the greater proofs of their valour in the assault) they were put to the sword without mercy. So that, as he had not been able to defend *Lagny*, nor could recover it now it was taken, he was obliged to return the same evening to his old quarters, full of grief that he had not had it in his power to effect any thing. *Lagny* being thus taken, and the passage of the river now opened, the provisions, which had been already gathered together for that purpose, were conveyed from the other side of the river, in great abundance, to *Paris*, where the citizens threw open their gates with exceeding great joy, to welcome their deliverers: whereas but six days before, there was not a man in the city but thought they must have been forced to open them for the enemy, to their utter ruin and desolation. The King, therefore, having seen *Lagny* taken before his face, and the *Parisians* by that means delivered out of their distress, resolved to withdraw from the enemy, because he was certain the Duke of *Parma* would not come to an engagement of his own accord, now he had accomplished his design: and to force him in his own camp, wher

1590. where he was strongly intrenched and abounded with all manner of provisions, was a thing not to be attempted. On the other hand, his army being much weakened and diminished by the hard duty of a whole summer, and full of grievous distempers which daily increased, began also to suffer for want of provisions, as all the country behind him was laid waste. And the impatience of the Nobility, the scarcity of money, the natural disposition of the *French* (who having no further hopes of taking *Paris*, or coming to an engagement with the enemy, could not any longer endure the hardships and fatigues of arms) all persuaded him to do that voluntarily, which he must have been compelled to in a very few days, nay, possibly, in a few hours. So that the next day, which was the 7th of *September*, after he had drawn up his army in good order, he stood still there for some time, as it were to challenge the enemy to an engagement; but no one appearing, not even so much as to skirmish, and the field being clear, he marched away towards *St. Dennis*.

But, as he was exceedingly chagrined at the ill success of his undertakings, and desirous to do something that might add fresh vigour and reputation to his arms, he resolved to give an unexpected scalado that night to the city of *Paris* itself, in hopes of making himself master of the place by a sudden and violent assault, though he had not been able to reduce it by so long a siege, and so rigorous a degree of famine. And indeed it was not without good reasons that he determined upon this: for the strictness of the siege being in a great measure relaxed, many of the citizens, who were yet doubtful of the event, had fled into the country; and those that staid behind, following the dictates of their ravenous appetites, and being surfeited by too intemperate a use of food in their weak condition, were become so feeble and sickly, that for the most part they were unfit for service. Many of the soldiers likewise, were gone out to convoy the provisions that were coming from *Chartres* and other places, and to prevent them from falling into the hands of the King's garrisons, which lay near them on every side. And, which was of the greatest importance, it was probable that the neighbourhood of so powerful an army of their confederates, which they knew waited close upon the King's, would make the *Parisians*, who were already tired out and exhausted with continual labour and hard duty, more negligent than usual in setting proper watches, and guards sufficient to maintain so large a compass of ground. The King, therefore, having resolved upon this attempt, gave orders for a general rendezvous of his troops on the plain of *Bondy*, but a few miles from the city: and having got all the scaling ladders together, which were carried with the army for that purpose, took the road toward *Paris*, betwixt * eight and nine of the clock at

* The *Italian* says, *sù le due bore della notte*. But their account of hours beginning night.

night. The Marshal *D'Aumont* led a flying squadron with its ladders: the Baron *De Biron* another, and a third, appointed in the same manner, was conducted by the *Sieur De Lavardine*. The King followed, with all the Princes and Commanders, and with all the cavalry ready drawn up in order of battle; and having passed the *Seine*, proceeded directly toward that part of the city which, being furthest from danger, he thought would not be so strictly guarded as the rest. The scaling-ladders were fixed to the gates and walls of *St. Germain* by the Marshal *D'Aumont*; at *St. Michael's*, by the Baron *De Biron*; and in the space betwixt *St. James's* and *St. Marceau's* gates, by the *Sieur De Lavardine*. But they found the people within ready and alert in all parts: for the Duke of *Nemours*, who had parties continually patrolling upon the roads, had received some intelligence of their assembling at *Bondy*, and of their marching towards *Paris*, and therefore had carefully disposed and visited the guards in every place. So that all hopes of a surprise being at an end, as they were chiefly founded on the negligence and weakness of the city guards, the commanders, without pursuing their attempt any further, brought off their ladders, and returned to the place where the King with the cavalry waited for them; who, upon their arrival, immediately faced about and drew off with an easy pace by the same way that he came. But not being able to bear the thoughts of desisting from his enterprise without obtaining any advantage, and imagining the citizens would be more remiss and secure towards the morning, after watching all night and having repulsed his men, he caused his cavalry to make a halt, and turned about again to lead up the three flying squadrons to the trenches of the gate and curtain of *St. Marceau*, with a resolution to make his last attempt there. Nor was he altogether disappointed in his expectation: for the townsmen, being fatigued with long watching, had retired to sleep: and two ladders were erected with so much silence, that no body either heard the noise or stirred to prevent it: but a Jesuit, who stood sentinel at some distance from the corps-de-garde kept by those Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelle*, a bookseller, who was also upon the gate, though something farther off, hearing the noise, gave the alarm, and running presently to that place with their halberts in their hands, overturned one of the ladders, which being too long, reached above the top of the wall, and made so stout a resistance at the head of the other, that the *Sieur De Cremonville* and *Parabiere's* Lieutenant being killed when they were just

from sun-set and ending at sun-set again, which includes a space of twenty-four hours, it is plain the author meant two hours in the night, which, according to the time of sun-set there at that season of the year, must needs be before nine of the clock: for after two in the morning, they could not have had time enough, before day-light, to march so far, and to make two several attempts upon the city.

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1590. going to get upon the parapet, there was sufficient time for assistance to come up: for at the spreading of the alarm and the cries of the sentinels, the guards, who were gone to sleep, came out again armed, and a great number of citizens from all parts followed the Duke of *Nemours* thither, who with singular vigilance had rode round the walls all that night: so that the second attempt proving likewise ineffectual, the King retired with all his forces, when it was broad day-light, and marched away towards the walls of *St. Dennis*.

Many were of opinion, that the King was much wanting, upon this occasion, in point of Generalship and military skill. For if he had left the principal posts near *Paris* well guarded with part of his army, and advanced with the rest as far as *Clave*, a town that stands in a more fenny country, and is much more defensible than *Chelles*, and had taken care to fortify and secure himself in that place, he might very likely have held the Duke of *Parma's* army (which could pass no other way to *Paris*) so long in play, that the city must have surrendered out of downright necessity; since the Duke of *Parma* would not have been able to have forced that pass, maintained by so powerful an army, if it had been properly fortified and intrenched; nor could he possibly have got to *Lagny*, if the King had been so posted. Some argued, that as the King was resolved to fight him, and had risen from before *Paris* with that intention, he ought to have fallen boldly upon the Duke of *Parma* at their first meeting, before he had time to intrench himself: for though the interval betwixt night and morning was but short indeed, yet the Duke's soldiers, who were so much inured to labour, worked with such order and diligence, that in less than four and twenty hours they had finished their trenches: in which the Commanders and Gentlemen took no less pains than the common soldiers, whilst the Duke himself likewise assisted, causing the engineers to plan out and distribute the work in his presence. Others again blamed the impatience of the King's army, which had been witness of so much constancy and resolution in the common tradesmen, and the very women who were shut up in *Paris*, that after many months of extreme hunger, they had nevertheless bravely held out to the last: whilst so many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, of whom that army was composed, had not had the courage to bear even the apprehension of scarcity, but after a short stay, without making any opposition to the purpose, or doing any thing but shewing a desire only to engage, left the field open, and the honour of the victory to the enemy. So that the Duke of *Parma's* conduct and discipline were highly extolled on one side, and the hasty and impatient temper of the *French* much blamed on the other; who having too lightly imagined, that a soldier of so great experience and reputation would rashly trust that to fortune,

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which he could effectually secure by his own prudence and well concerted designs, upon that persuasion had neglected to avail themselves of those opportunities and advantages which the nature and convenience of the country afforded them. 1590.

Others excused the King, and said (perhaps with as good reason) that the leaving of weak guards about *Paris*, would only have been giving them up to be cut to pieces by the citizens and soldiers, who would have sallied desperately out of the city in great numbers: that to attack the Duke's army (which was much superior to his) so rashly at their first coming, would have been a very inconsiderate and destructive step. For though he was not then absolutely fortified, yet he had already lodged himself pretty securely: and that they would not have had to do with a parcel of raw, unexperienced men, gathered together in a tumultuary manner, which might have been terrified or put into disorder and confusion by an assault, but with a veteran army, conducted by commanders of exceeding great valour and experience, who would have known how to make a proper use of their own advantage and the temerity of the assailants. They likewise excused their retiring so soon, and imputed it not to the impatient temper of the *French*, but to a wise and well-grounded consideration; since armies were not to be hazarded nor exposed to certain dangers, except an advantage equal to their risque and suffering might result from them: but the nearness of the King's army could in no wise incommode the Duke of *Parma*, who was intrenched in his quarters, and had the passage of the river open behind him, nor could it prevent the conveying of provisions into *Paris*: for which reasons, it was prudently done to withdraw the Nobility from the danger of diseases, which began to multiply very fast, and from other distresses, especially of famine, which they were sure to suffer, and to reserve them for a better purpose and a more convenient opportunity.

However it might be, the King, upon his arrival at *St. Dennis*, perceiving the sickness increased in his camp, and not having either publick or private money sufficient to maintain his army all together, resolved to separate it, and whilst he attended chiefly to the security of the provinces, only to keep a flying army near himself, with which he might hinder the Duke of *Parma* from making any further progress. He therefore sent the Prince of *Conti* into *Touraine*, the Duke of *Montpensier* into *Normandy*, the Duke of *Longueville* into *Picardy*, the Duke of *Nevers* into *Champagne*, and the Marshal *D'Aumont* into *Burgundy*: In *Brie* he left Monsieur *De la Noüe*, and he himself with the Marshal and Baron *De Biron*, having furnished those towns that he held near *Paris* with sufficient garrisons and other necessaries, marched with a body of men, rather well disciplined than numerous, into the most rich and fertile places that

1590. lie upon the banks of the river *Oyse*, to refresh his soldiers after so many hardships. And being come to *Clermont*, a town which, because it was tolerably well garrisoned, had the boldness to shut its gates against him, he began to batter it with so much violence, that the walls being beaten down, it was taken the third day and sacked with very great slaughter, and the next day the castle surrendered to him, without making any resistance. So that being master of the whole country round about (for *Senlis* and *Compeigne* were already at his devotion) he had the convenience of quartering at large and refreshing the army that was with him. At which time the Sieurs *De la Guiche* and *Sipierre*, having left the camp to return to their own houses with a pretty large number of horse, met with the Viscount *De Tavannes* and the Sieur *De Falandre*, who were conveying provisions from *Dreux* to *Paris*, and without having any notice of each others approach, they suddenly began a very fierce encounter with exceeding great valour on both sides: but after it had lasted two hours with the same fury, the King's party had so much the advantage, that both *Tavannes* and *Falandre* abandoned their convoy, and saved themselves by flying into the town.

About that time also the city of *Troyes* was in great danger of being surpris'd by Monsieur *De Tinteville*, the King's Lieutenant in *Champagne*; for having entered into a treaty with some of the citizens, it was so well carried on, that being let into the town, he had already advanced as far as the principal square, when *Claude de Lorrain*, Prince of *Jainville*, son to the late Duke of *Guise* (a youth in valour and resolution not unlike his father) being then in the town, drew his men together and charged the assailants with so much bravery, that they were repul'd with very great slaughter of their men, and with much difficulty saved themselves.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma*, after the dissolution of the King's army, having taken *St. Maur* and the bridge of *Charanton*, was principally employed in facilitating the conveyance of provisions into *Paris*: and being moved by the frequent importunities of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians*, on the 22d of *September*, laid siege to *Chartres*, that he might open the passage of the river *Seine* on that side also. But he entered upon that undertaking much against his will; for *Chartres* was sufficiently garrisoned and fortified; and though it was but a little town and of small account, yet he saw it was prepared to sustain a siege: so that having but a few cannon to batter the walls, and, which was still of greater consequence, but a very small quantity of powder and ball, he was apprehensive it would prove a very difficult matter to make himself master of it, and that it might tend to the lessening of his own reputation and the credit of his army. He likewise began to be afraid that the discipline of his army would be relaxed, which till then had been exactly • observed

observed. For the *French* of the League not taking care to furnish him with such a quantity of victuals as he himself used to provide with wonderful order, to keep plenty in his camp; but on the contrary, provisions often falling short in his army, through their negligence, he was obliged to suffer his soldiers to over-run the country, and to disperse themselves to plunder far and near, which gave him infinite concern (as he was very averse to oppressing and destroying a friend's country, or indulging his men in the usual licentiousness of pillage) and made him very solicitous about the siege, during which, he saw, if it should last many days, those necessities and disorders would of course be multiplied. Nor was he deceived in his expectation: for the town being defended by *Rigaud*, the Governor of it, made so obstinate a resistance, that the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and much more the *Walloons*, began to plunder all the country round for want of provisions, and sacked even those places which the King had spared during the long siege of *Paris*: so that the *French* of the League, though the fault proceeded from themselves, murmured, nevertheless, against the Duke's soldiers, and hated them as much as ever they had formerly hated and murmured against the *Hugonots*. The siege of *Corbeil* also, through many deficiencies, proceeded but slowly, as they were not furnished with those things that are necessary for the reducing of strong places: and in particular, there was so small a quantity of heavy shot, that they were obliged to send for some, though few were to be had, from *Orleans* and *Pontoise*. Yet the Duke, endeavouring to supply all these important wants by redoubled industry and diligence, renewed the battery in so many different places, and made so many assaults, that on the 16th of *October*, after an action that lasted four hours with surprising obstinacy on both sides, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Walloons* entered the town promiscuously, killed *Rigaud*, with the greater part of the garrison, took *La Grange* prisoner, and sacked the place with the utmost fury.

In the mean time, the King had moved from *Clermont* with eight hundred horse, to try if he could throw some relief into *Corbeil*: but being informed that it was lost, in his return he fell upon the quarters of two troops of light horse, which lay at some distance from the rest, and having presently defeated them and taken the Captains, he put most of the soldiers to the sword.

After *Corbeil* was taken, the disgusts betwixt the Duke of *Parma* and the *French* chiefs of the League began to increase: for the Duke thought it was necessary to put a garrison of *Walloons* or *Italians* into it, sufficient to keep what he had got: and the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians* grew jealous that the *Spaniards*, under a colour of assisting them, would make themselves masters of that place and many others, and forcibly

1590. maintain what acquisitions soever they should from time to time thereafter make. The Duke of *Parma*, therefore, perceiving what the *French* suspected, and being now more confirmed in his first designs of spinning out the war, in order to break the strength and weary out the obstinacy of both parties, and finding that the minds of the people were not yet thoroughly disposed to take such a turn as his Catholick Majesty's affairs required, resolved to leave them and return into *Flanders*, where there was very great occasion both for him and his army. Many other circumstances persuaded him to that resolution: as the wasting of his forces, which perished by diseases every moment, the want of money, the scarcity of provisions, which were the causes that he could not maintain discipline in his army: besides the inconvenience of the season, which hindered him from making any further progress, and made him fearful that his reputation would suffer, and the valour of his soldiers degenerate by lying still. To these might be added, the necessary and redoubled instances which were continually made to him from all parts for money, as every one persuaded himself, that he had brought mountains of gold along with him, to satisfy all their wants and desires: and, lastly, the suspicions of many, who already rather murmured, than gave him any thanks for the relief which he had afforded them, in a time of so great distress and so evident danger. Upon these considerations, having put *Corbeil* into the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and left *Lagny* entire, which he had before determined to dismantle, he gave the Duke and the *Parisians* to understand, that the necessity of affairs in *Flanders* demanded his presence there, and that as he had fulfilled his Catholick Majesty's command in raising the siege of *Paris*, and opened the passages that were necessary for the bringing in provisions, he could not stay any longer with them at a time of the year so unfit for action, but must return to take care of his concerns, which had been left in danger and confusion, merely to relieve his friends.

This resolution occasioned much trouble and perplexity amongst those of the League: for, having flattered themselves that the *Spanish* army would not forsake them till their undertaking was fully compleated, and that the Duke of *Parma* would assist their party to the utmost of his power, with his men and the King of *Spain's* money, they now saw all these hopes vanish in an instant, and their party left destitute of the necessary supplies of men and money. Wherefore, both the Duke of *Mayenne* in person and the Deputies of *Paris*, together with Monsignor *Sega*, Bishop of *Piacenza* (appointed Vice-Legate by Cardinal *Caetano*, who had suddenly departed on account of the Pope's death) pressed the Duke of *Parma* with the most earnest and reiterated arguments and intreaties to change his resolution: and when they saw that words could not make any
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impression upon him, but that he continued making preparations for his departure, the Duke of *Mayenne* began a new treaty of accommodation with the King, by means of Monsieur *De Villeroy*, in order to create a jealousy in the *Spaniards*, and make them believe, that when their forces were once gone, a peace would be immediately concluded, and consequently, that all the expences and pains which they had already been at and undergone, would be entirely thrown away. But even this did not move the Duke of *Parma* from his determination, as he knew the Duke of *Mayenne* could not easily prevail upon himself to drop his present hopes and submit to the power of his enemies: and that if he should do so, the whole enterprize did not depend upon him alone, but that it was necessary that many others, who were not only far off, but divided and governed by different interests, must consent to it: and that, before they could conclude upon any thing, he himself might have leisure to return, and cancel whatsoever should be agreed on in the mean time. But lest the affairs of the League should grow desperate, he promised them to disburse two hundred and thirty thousand ducats, for the payment of the foreign troops, as soon as he came to *Brussels*, and to leave a sufficient number of horse and foot, under the Duke of *Mayenne's* command, to support and continue the war. But that sum of money seemed very small to those who had fancied to themselves, that all the treasures of the *Indies* would have been poured down upon them; and the forces which he left were indeed sufficient to keep the war alive, but not to put an end to it. So that all the party, but especially the *Parisians*, who had suffered so much before the coming, and had conceived such magnificent hopes after the arrival of the *Spanish* army, were now reduced to very great distress and perplexity, which was still increased by the departure of Cardinal *Caietano*, and because they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urban* the seventh, and after him (who lived but twelve days) from *Gregory* the fourteenth, his successor in the Apostolick chair.

The Duke, however, continuing firm in his resolution, after an interval of twenty days, which he had given his army to refresh itself, marched towards *Champagne*, to keep the enemy in doubt which way he designed to bend his course, and by that means to prevent his passage from being interrupted by ambuscades. His army was divided into four bodies: the vanguard, led by the Marquis of *Ranty*: the first column of the main battle, by the Sieur *De la Mothe*; the second, commanded by himself: and the rear-guard, by *Georgio Basta*. The several divisions marched constantly in order of battle, with their baggage waggons on each side, which flanked them like a breast-work, and kept so near together, that they could very soon assist each other upon occasion. They had a sufficient quantity of provisions, and as they were to march through a fertile and plentiful

1590. plentiful country, they had no occasion to extend themselves: except the light horse, which scoured all the neighbouring roads, and reconnoitred the country: and even they did not go very far from the army. So that being always prepared and in good order, they were not under any apprehension of being taken unprovided.

But he had scarcely marched with his army towards *Chateau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the Baron *De Givry*, who was at *Mehun*, assaulted and took *Corbeil* again, which the *Parisians* had negligently and weakly garrisoned, and with the same good fortune returned and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of *Parma's* advice, had not been dismantled: at which the *Parisians* were not a little affected, and pressed the Vice-legat *Sega*, with great importunity, to procure the slay of the *Spanish* army, till such time as those places, so necessary for supplying them with provisions, could be re-taken. The Vice-legat, accordingly, dispatched the Prothonotary *Carracciolo* to acquaint the Duke with the earnest intreaties of the *Parisians*, and the danger of the city: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was was still in his army, used his utmost endeavours to persuade him to comply with them. But the Duke of *Parma* excusing himself, by saying, that his army was very much diminished by sickness, that the season was so adverse, that nothing could be done, and that the affairs of the *Low Countries* required his presence, continued his march, in some hopes of making himself master of *Chateau-Thierry*, by a correspondence which he held with the Viscount *Pinart*, Governor of that town.

In the mean time, the King, who was departed from *Compiègne*, attended by the Baron *De Biron* and the Duke of *Longueville*, with a body of select men, followed the rout of the *Spanish* army, to prevent it from taking those places that adhered to his party, and to watch some favourable opportunity of annoying it: and having some suspicion of the correspondence betwixt the Duke of *Parma* and the Viscount *Pinart*, he caused the *Sieur De la Noüe*, with three hundred horse, and six hundred foot, to enter *Chateau Thierry*; by which means the Duke, being disappointed in his designs upon that place, turned to the left-hand, and took the direct road towards *Flanders*. But the King pursued him with all expedition, and was sometimes before him, sometimes quartered on one side of him, sometimes pressed upon his rear, continually hovering round his army, and harrassing it day and night with frequent alarms and warm skirmishes. The Duke of *Parma* proceeded with no less order and circumspection, and keeping all parts of his army under the same discipline, was ready to turn on which side soever the enemy should shew himself. After they had marched in this manner from the 13th to the 25th of *November*, the King, being desirous to reap some advantage from so much diligence, and so many labours, having divided his cavalry in five bodies, advanced upon

the same road by which the army of the League was to pass, seeming as if he designed to attack them upon their march. But the carbineers, who were ready for all assaults, coming out of the barricadoes of their carriages, began a very fierce skirmish with them, giving fire, and wheeling about, and then returning to the charge, by which they did no small damage to the King's cavalry. The Baron *De Biron*, therefore, in hopes of breaking them, and removing that obstacle, charged them more boldly than considerably, with fourscore cuirassiers, expecting to drive them back in disorder: but the carbineers giving way, according to their custom, to retire behind the rest of the army, the Baron advanced so far in pursuit of them, and was so deeply engaged betwixt two squadrons of lances in the vanguard, that his horse was killed under him, and he was in great danger of being taken prisoner: which being perceived by the Count *De Tillieres*, who was on the right hand with a body of cuirassiers, and by the *Sieur De Humieres*, who was on the left with ninety horse, they advanced no less bravely than he had done to disengage him. But being attacked by the whole cavalry of the vanguard, and the other battalions coming up one after another, as they knew by the volleys of small arms that a skirmish was began, and therefore hastened their march, they were forced to quit the field, and retire full speed, in evident danger of being all cut off, if the King himself, and the Duke of *Longueville*, with two other squadrons, had not advanced to secure their retreat: by which they disengaged the Baron, and with much difficulty mounted him on horseback again, (after he and two of his companions had defended themselves at the foot of a bank a long time against the enemy) though they were afterwards pursued as far as a village called *Longue-val*; when night coming on, put an end to the fight, and gave the King a convenient opportunity of retiring to *Pont-aux-François* with all his forces, where they stood to their arms the whole night. Nor did the enemy enjoy more rest: for the King's well known courage and celerity kept all their quarters in continual apprehension, especially as the rout of the two squadrons had been attended with more terror and danger than real loss, there being not above five men killed, and only twenty wounded. The next day the Duke of *Nevers* joined the King, with the forces of *Champagne*, as did also the *Sieurs De Givry* and *Parabiere*, who having taken *Corbeil*, and put a garrison into it, were come with all expedition to look for him again: by which, being increased in strength, he began to harass the Duke's army afresh with more boldness than before: but the Duke, being intent upon his journey, would not suffer his men upon any account whatsoever to break their order, nor to stir out of the shelter of their carriages, and continued to march forwards at his convenience.

But on the 29th, as the army drew near *Guise*, the King being resolved

1590.

ved to make another attempt, fell with all his cavalry upon their rear guard, which making a halt, and putting themselves in readiness to engage, the carbineers with their wonted courage began the skirmish. But the King's cavalry, which was divided for that purpose into small squadrons, and had orders to charge home, and not to give the enemy time to avail themselves of their fire arms, inclosed them in such a manner, that they would all have been cut off upon the spot, if *Georgio Baffi* had not come up with twelve hundred lances to disengage them. His squadron rushed so furiously upon the *French* cavalry, which were divided into those little troops to engage the carbineers with more advantage, that the Baron *De Biron*, not being able to sustain the shock of so many lances, was obliged to retire in some disorder. But being reinforced by the King himself, who advanced to renew the battle with the rest of his horse, and a thousand foot of *Parabiere's* old regiment mounted behind them; *Baffi* having no orders to engage any further, retired in very good order under the shelter of the main army, yet not with so great care as to prevent the *French* from taking some carriages, which by chance were separated from the rest. But when the King had advanced almost to the rear guard, where *Pietro Caietano* was making ready to oppose him with the infantry drawn up in good order, and almost encompassed with the carriages; and saw the Duke of *Parma*, who had faced about and changed the order of his march, coming up with the second battalion, he resolved to retire without attempting any thing further, as the enemy was drawn up in such a soldierlike manner, and there was so manifest a disparity in their forces. This was the last time that the King molested the *Spanish* army in its march.

The Duke of *Parma* being arrived at the frontiers took leave of the Duke of *Mayenne*, endeavouring to encourage him with warm professions of friendship, and assurances, that he should very soon receive powerful assistance both of men and money: and that he might not leave him in so weak a condition as to be forced to come an agreement with the enemy, he ordered the *Italian* division commanded by *Pietro Caietano*, and the *Spanish* one under the conduct of *Alphonso Idiaques*, to stay in *France*, and implicitly to obey the Duke of *Mayenne's* instructions; with whom he also left four hundred horse, and one hundred *Walloon* carbineers. These supplies, added to the division of *Germans* under *Collalto*, which were in his Catholic Majesty's pay, and to the other *French* forces, he thought a sufficient body to support the cause of the League: especially at a time when the King had divided his army for want of subsistence, and was so weakened by his late losses and disappointments, that his affairs seemed manifestly to be upon the decline.

The End of the Eleventh Book.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C I V I L W A R S
O F
F R A N C E.

B O O K XII.

A R G U M E N T.

The various disturbances in several parts of the kingdom. The progress of the Duke of Mercœur in Bretagne, and of the Duke of Savoy in Provence and Dauphinè. The King takes Corbie. He is embarrassed by the contrary importunities of the Catholics and Hugonots of his own party. He sends the Viscount De Turenne into England and Germany; who raises a great army to come into France the next spring. The Duke of Mayenne is no less perplexed than the King. The Parisians attempt to surprise St. Dennis, but are disappointed, and the Chevalier D'Aumale is killed there. The King, on the other side, endeavours to surprise Paris: but that design likewise proves ineffectual. Pope Sixtus the fifth being dead, Gregory the fourteenth succeeds to the papal chair, and not only declares himself in fa-

vour of the League, but dispatches his nephew the Duke of Monte-marchiano with powerful supplies into France. The King in the mean time besieges and takes the city of Chartres. The Duke of Mayenne not having sufficient strength to relieve that place, marches towards Champagne, takes Chasteau-Thierry, and goes to Rheims to confer with the Duke of Lorraine. Marsilio Landriano, the Pope's Nuncio, arrives there, and publishes a Monitory against those that follow the King, which occasions various alterations. The young Cardinal of Bourbon endeavours to form a third party of Catholics, to open himself a way to the Crown: which the King being informed of, uses divers means to prevent it. The Duke of Mayenne makes an attempt upon Mante, but without success. The King besieges Novon, which being destitute of relief, after many assaults, is at last taken by him. The Pope's and the King of Spain's forces pass the mountains to assist the Duke of Savoy; which event occasions many encounters. The Duke of Guise escapes from his imprisonment at Tours. The King and the Duke of Mayenne advance: the King to receive, the Duke to oppose the Viscount De Turenne and the Germans in Lorraine. The armies draw near to each other at Verdun; the King having received the Viscount with the supplies, retires. The Council of sixteen raise an insurrection in Paris, and cause the first President of the Parliament and other Counsellors to be executed. The Duke of Mayenne hastes thither, reduces the city to obedience, and punishes the delinquents. The King marches into Normandy, lays siege to Roüen, defended by Monsieur De Villers and a great number of choice soldiers and commanders. The various events that happened during the siege. The Duke of Parma, with the Spanish army, marches to relieve that place. The King, with part of his army, goes to oppose him; they meet, and an engagement ensues at Aumale. The King is wounded, his men routed; and he saves himself with much difficulty. Villers sallies out of Roüen, enters the trenches, and makes himself master of the artillery. The Duke of Parma advances: but finding the city secured by that sally, resolves to retire and watch his opportunity. The King returns to Roüen and renews the siege. The Duke of Parma also returns to its relief. The King's forces being much diminished, he raises the siege and marches to the banks of the Seine.

1590.

THE passions of the people were no less enflamed, nor the course of the war less bloody in other parts of the kingdom, than in those places where the main armies lay: for the concerns of religion being mingled with private interests and the inveterate animosities of the factions, every one exerted himself, as in his own cause and a contest that particularly affected him, and applied himself with all his power to the profession of a soldier. The war, therefore, was carried

on

on both by the heads and governors of the two parties, and by private persons, of their own voluntary accord, with the same spirit through every province, but with various success and different fortune on both sides. 1590.

The principal and most dangerous commotions were in *Bretagne*, a great and opulent province, well peopled, full of Gentry, considerable for the largeness of its cities, and the convenience of the sea, along the coast of which it extends itself towards the north-west. *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Dombes*, son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, a youth of very great courage, had the government of it in the King's name: but the towns that acknowledged his authority were so few, that if it had not been for the assistance of the lower *Normandy*, which borders upon it and adhered to the King, under the government of the Duke his father, he would either have been driven out of the province, or suppressed without much difficulty by the superior forces of the League. On the other side, *Emanuel of Lorrain*, Duke of *Mercoeur*, commanded the party of the Union there, and had not only from the beginning been in possession of the best cities and strongest holds, as Governor of the province, but also pretending that the duchy of *Bretagne* wholly belonged to his wife, *Mary of Luxembourg*, Countess of *Penthièvre*, he was strongly supported by all such as chose rather to have a Prince of their own, than to be dependent on the Crown of *France*, which was not very agreeable to them: and being exceedingly impatient to establish himself in that possession, now the present situation of things afforded him so fair an opportunity, he had secretly negociated in *Spain*, by means of *Lorenzo Tornabuoni*, one of his Gentlemen, who went thither by sea, and had prevailed upon his Catholick Majesty to send and pay four thousand foot for his service, upon condition that *Blavet* should be consigned to him for a security: a place at that time not considerable, but which, by the benefit of a large port, well fortified and improved by the *Spaniards*, came, by little and little, to be of exceeding great consequence, not only to the affairs of that province, but also to those of the whole kingdom.

As soon as the Prince of *Dombes* was informed of this, though he had but few forces, and till that time had only employed himself in undertakings of small importance, just to keep up the King's reputation in those parts, yet now he made use of art, to supply the want of strength as much as it was possible, in the present exigency, and immediately took such measures as lay in his power to oppose the entrance of foreigners into that province: and having routed three hundred of the Duke of *Mercoeur's* light horse, that were going to join his army, he suddenly assaulted and took *Annebont*, a place near *Blavet*, and began, with wonderful expedition, to build a fort by the sea-side, to command and prevent the

1590. entry of ships into that harbour; in which he exerted himself in such a manner, that he would presently have compleated his design, if he had not been forced to retreat into places of his own party, before the fort was quite finished, by the Duke of *Merccœur's* army, which was still increasing, and had advanced to *Vannes*, seven leagues from *Blavet*. Nevertheless, as he had left a strong guard in the fort, and put eight hundred foot into *Annebont*, he was in hopes those places might be able to hinder the enemy from entering and settling themselves there. Soon after, the *Spanish* fleet appeared off *Blavet*, consisting of six and thirty sail of ships and four galleons, and with so fair a wind, that notwithstanding the shot from fort *Dombes*, which were redoubled with very great fury by the garrison, it entered the port without receiving much damage, and landed four thousand five hundred foot, commanded by Don *Juan de l'Aquila*, who, to free the port from all annoyances, immediately invested the fort, which not being finished, and having no hopes of relief from any place, surrendered on the fifth day of the siege, and was presently demolished by the *Spaniards*: after which enterprize, being joined by the Duke *De Merccœur*, they recovered *Annebont* and the other neighbouring places with the same facility, and at last, under the shelter of the fleet, began to fortify *Blavet*, securing it with two royal forts built at the entrance of the harbour, for the convenience of bringing in supplies of all kinds by sea, and strengthened it with moats, bastions, and all other sorts of military fortifications on the land side. But the King and the Prince of *Dombes* being sensible they could not resist the power of the Duke and the *Spaniards* with the forces they had in that province, applied to *England* for assistance, which lying over-against it, hath no less opportunity than *Spain* of sending relief to that coast: and having been promised six thousand foot from the Queen, they expected their landing at *St. Lo*, the furthest port of lower *Normandy*.

The war raged on the other side of the kingdom with the same variety of success and equal fury: for *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, which border upon the Duke of *Savoy*, and extend themselves to the very foot of the *Alpes*, underwent the like vicissitudes of fortune. The Duke of *Savoy*, from the very beginning of the war, had formed several great, and not ill-grounded schemes in his breast: for the affairs of *Piedmont* being secured by his seizing upon the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, and lying conveniently to attend to what passed in *Dauphiné* by the near neighbourhood of *Savoy*, he hoped in some measure to enlarge his territories by fomenting the League. On the other hand, being interested in *Provence* by the towns which he held there, he was not without some expectation of making himself master of the whole of what he now only possessed a part: for which purpose he held a correspondence in both provinces, and endeavoured

deavoured to advance his designs upon them by dint both of money and arms. But his ambition was not bounded here; for seeing the kingdom in so great distraction, and ready to break through the *Salic* law, by cutting off the natural succession of the royal family in the King of *Navarre*, he imagined that the States might perhaps make choice of him, as being born of a daughter of *France*: which he thought was so much the more likely to happen, as his reputation was great in arms, and he stood well not only with the Catholick party, but in the opinion of the Pope, who was the principal mover and director (in regard to religion) of the affairs of *France*. Nor did he forget (what event soever these designs might have) that the present circumstances of affairs gave him an opportunity of reducing the inhabitants of *Geneva*, now the King of *France* was sufficiently employed at home, and could not afford them any immediate relief. Elated with these hopes, he sent agents to treat with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and having entered into a correspondence with him, he had raised a large body of horse and foot; and sent the Count *Francisco Martinengo*, General of his army, into *Provence*, and his brother Don *Amadeo*, of *Savoy*, against *Geneva*: and by means of the Governors of his garrisoned towns, gave assistance to the forces of the League in *Dauphiné*. And his success indeed at first was answerable to the greatness of his designs. For the *Sieur De Vins* and the Countess *De Saux* (a Lady of more than manly spirit) who both adhered to the party of the League in *Provence*, finding themselves inferior in strength to *Monfieur De la Valette*, the King's Lieutenant there, not only willingly received supplies and assistance from the Duke, but began also to treat of delivering up the sovereignty of that province to him, and of putting themselves under his protection and command: which being agreed and concluded upon with the Duke, he went in person to his army, and took with him a reinforcement both of horse and foot, which, by virtue of a commission from his Catholick Majesty, he had been supplied with by the Governor of *Milan*. At his arrival, the King's party, now much inferior in strength, were forced to give way, though *Les Diguieres* had come out of *Dauphiné* into that province, and had exerted himself with his usual valour and activity (which indeed were very great) to support it: so that the power of the League was so much increased, that their arms now gave law to the whole country. Upon this encouragement, the Duke proceeded to the city of *Aix*, and being received there with that pomp and solemnity which are commonly shewn to sovereign Princes (though, after the example of the Duke of *Mayenne*, he refused to make use of the canopy of state) he was declared commander in chief of their armies by the Parliament, and of the civil government in that province,

that

1590. that so it might be protected in the Catholick union, and under the obedience of the royal state of *France*.

These proceedings gave no less dissatisfaction to the Duke of *Mayenne* than they did to the King; as it was thought the Duke of *Savoy* not only had used means to usurp that authority which had been conferred upon him by the general consent of the people, but also had a design to dismember *Provence*, and by the help of *Nice*, and his other towns, by little and little to make himself entirely master of it. He therefore wrote letters in very sharp terms, and full of resentment, not only to the Parliament, but likewise to the *Sieur De Vins*, and to the Countess, representing to them the crime they had been guilty of, in separating themselves from the rest of the Union; and in running the risque of alienating so great and so important an appendage of the Crown. These letters had so great an effect upon the *Sieur De Vins*, who was an old dependant on the house of *Lorraine*, that he began to shew himself more backward in complying with the designs and promoting the interests of the Duke of *Savoy*. By whose example the city of *Marseilles*, which (in imitation of the Parliament) had called in the Duke not long before, with the ready concurrence of the people, now began to repent of it, and to grow mutinous.

On the other hand, the King, not a little concerned to see foreign troops brought into that province, had ordered *Les Diguieres* to leave the city of *Grenoble*, in *Dauphine*, besieged as closely as was possible, and march with all the forces he could raise to join *Monsieur De la Vallee* in *Provence*: upon which *Les Diguieres*, accustomed from his youth to encounter difficulties and dangers, having posted sufficient guards about *Grenoble* to continue the siege, which had been begun many months before, went with four hundred horse, and two thousand foot, to the assistance of the *Provençals*. At his arrival, the Duke of *Savoy* was not a little embarrassed, and finding himself in a great measure abandoned by the Catholicks of the province, and but feebly supported by the *Spaniards*, who were not over and above pleased at his proceedings, he endeavoured to protract the time in small undertakings, till the return of *Monsieur De Ligny*, whom he had dispatched into *Spain* to negotiate his affairs with that court; and of the *Sieur De la Croix*, whom he had also sent to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to excuse what was past, and to confer with him about the manner of conducting himself for the time to come.

But his undertakings succeeded much better in the territories of *Geneva*, where, having to do with the forces of those citizens, which were not very powerful, and with Commanders of small reputation and experience, *Don Amadeo* had often routed the enemy in the field, beaten up their quarters, taken many castles, over-run and ravaged the country, and distressed the city to such a degree, that they sent very frequent and importunate

portunate messages for relief, sometimes to the King of *France*, and sometimes to the canton of *Bern*.

1590.

On the other hand the war was carried on with very good success on the King's side in *Dauphine*. For though the Duke of *Savoy's* Agents and Commanders, united with those of the League which were in that province, made great resistance, yet they were not so strong as Colonel *Alphonso Corso* and Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who, after he had put an end to all immediate danger in *Provence*, was returned to the siege of *Grenoble*, and distressed that city in such a manner, that after it had suffered great hardships for many months, the besieged, about the end of the year, agreed to surrender, upon condition, that they should not be molested in their consciences, their fortunes, or liberties: that the city should be permitted to exercise the Catholick religion, and be preserved in the same state it then was. And on the other side, that they should acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth for their lawful Prince, and receive a garrison and governor of his appointing.

The King being now delivered from his late apprehensions of the Duke of *Parma* and the *Spanish* army, was come in his return to *St. Quintin*, where he staid watching with his usual circumspection to avail himself of all opportunities, and at last took a resolution of making a sudden assault upon *Corbie*, a town on the river *Somme*, and very conveniently situated for bridling the city of *Amiens*, the capital of that province, which adhered to the party of the League. With this design he raised his camp from before the walls of *St. Quintin* in the dusk of the evening: but perceiving in his march, that all the country was up, and that every village furiously rung their alarm bells, he could not get to the walls of *Corbie* till within an hour before day, and then, the success of his design appeared no less uncertain: for they found the whole town in arms, and the garrison with torches and fires lighted, ready to sustain the assault, of which they had notice by the uproar and tumult of the country people. Yet Monsieur *D'Humieres* coming up with the regiments of *St. Dennis* and *Parabiere* about break of day, caused a *petard* to be fixed to the iron grate of a canal that runs out of the lower side of the town, which being presently broke to pieces by the violence of the blast, the foot advanced, some to the canal which was frozen over, and others with scaling ladders to the wall adjoining, to give the assault: which was no less manfully sustained by the garrison and townsmen, who boldly ran together to hinder the enemy from entering at the iron grate, and to defend the walls. But the *Sieur De Belle Fourriere*, Governor of the place, being slain in the first attack, and many of the stoutest soldiers falling, after a most bloody action that lasted three hours, the town fell into the King's hands, who

thought

thought he had made no bad conclusion of the year, considering his late misfortunes and disappointments.

1591. From *Corbie* he marched to *Senlis*, which is situated directly upon the road that leads from *Picardy* towards *Paris*; and there applied himself in the beginning of the year, to concert measures, to set his affairs in order, and to consider of means to subdue and dissolve the League. But he was no less perplexed how to keep the Catholics of his party together, than he was to raise sufficient forces to suppress the enemy. For as he had promised in the autumn of the year eighty-nine to call an Assembly of the States the *March* following, that he might be instructed in the Catholic faith, in an honourable manner, and becoming the dignity of his person; and as he had not been able to perform his promise, because the chief actions of the war happened during that interval, particularly the battle of *Ivry*, and after that the siege of *Paris*, and then the coming of the *Spanish* army, to the great prejudice of his affairs; now he seemed to be left in peace, and unmolested by their departure, and the diminution of the enemy, he was called upon by the tacit consent of the most discreet persons to fulfil his promise; and those that did not respect him so much, or were more zealous for the Catholic religion, publicly murmured and complained, that they had been deluded and imposed upon. But especially the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, which with much difficulty had been kept in their obedience to the King, by the good conduct and indefatigable diligence of the Marshal *De Matignon*, and now seeing his conversion was deferred, began to resent it, and at this time had sent their first President and two Counsellors, to beseech his Majesty to come to a final resolution: the Catholics not being able to satisfy their consciences, unless they saw him embrace the true religion, which had been professed and maintained for so many ages by all the Most Christian Kings, his glorious predecessors. Which commission having been fully and pathetically delivered by the Deputies, the King seemed to take their petition in good part, and answered it in a gracious manner, though he was inwardly much troubled and flung to the quick, as he could not tell what course to take, which, as a middle way, might give satisfaction to both parties. He knew his chief dependence was on the *Hugonots*: for his commands were no where so punctually obeyed as in the places that were held by them: and the Catholic provinces being divided against themselves, were shared betwixt the two factions; so that not one of them entirely declared for him. He considered with himself, from the example of times past, what mischievous consequences are generally produced by forsaking old friends and confederates, and giving one's self wholly up to the will and discretion of new ones. He thought that, as he had not changed his religion at a time, when, being strong and victorious, he might have done it with reputation;

reputation; now he was declined in strength, it would seem as if he did it out of fear or compulsion. The occasion he had at that very juncture for the assistance of the Protestant Princes of *Germany* and the Queen of *England*, likewise represented itself to him; so that he was necessitated to take great care of not making them distrustful of him. But on the other side, he knew also, that if he lost the Catholics, he should no longer be able to resist his enemies: and that, except the name of *The King of France*, he should be reduced to the same distressed condition that he was in before he left *Rochelle*. In this uncertainty of mind there appeared but two remedies: one, to give full satisfaction to the leading men in his army, that by keeping them together, all the rest might likewise be induced not to leave him: the other, to keep his men in continual action, that rest and idleness might not suggest such thoughts to them. For this purpose, knowing how great authority the Duke of *Nevers* had in the Catholic party, and how much his manner of acting upon this occasion would be taken notice of, as a Prince that had always shewn great regard to conscience and religion, he gave him the government of *Champagne*, one of the principal and largest provinces in the kingdom, and which he had long before desired. To the Baron *De Biron*, on account of the great reputation of his father, and his own personal merit and valour, besides the rank of Field Marshal, he promised the dignity of High Admiral; and shewed himself liberal and gracious to all the rest, with expressions of the utmost kindness and regard; disposing of places and honours to such Catholic Lords, as by birth or ancient devotion to the church were most likely to keep those steady in their attachment to him, who were in danger of falling off, now he so long delayed the performance of his promise. And that he might not give leisure for idleness, and for those designs which commonly take birth from thence, he recalled the Duke of *Espernon* to the army, not only with a desire to reconcile him to his person, but also to employ him. He likewise sent for the Duke of *Nevers* (who at that time was besieging *Provins*) the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *De St. Paul*, his brother, and many other Catholic Lords: intending, when he had drawn them all together, to go upon some enterprise, which might not only tend to advance his own affairs, but keep every one of them honourably employed.

After this resolution, he began to think of assembling forces, that he might be able, not only to oppose the progress of the *Spaniards* in *Bretagne*, and the attempts of the Duke of *Savoy* in *Provence*; but also to reinforce his army in such a manner, that if the Duke of *Parma* should return and join the Duke of *Lorraine*, he might have sufficient strength to cope with them both in the open field. And as he had no-body else to apply to for supplies of money, and to obtain a numerous levy of men,

591. but the Queen of *England*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, whom he saw equally cool and tardy, he determined to send a person of eminent distinction and abilities to them, who might confer with every one of them in particular, and then balancing the whole, and treating with them all together, might be able to procure such succours, as the urgent necessity of his circumstances required. For this purpose, he first thought of the Marthal *De Biron*, a man of the highest reputation and prudence, and every way qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: but afterwards, judging his presence much more necessary for the conducting of his army, as the order, management, and very being of all enterprises depended chiefly upon him, he resolved to send *Henry de la Tour*, Viscount *De Turenne*, a man that he had always found not only most faithful to him in the course of a long acquaintance, and in having constantly followed his fortune: but also for his wisdom and singular eloquence, very able to manage a negotiation of so great importance, and likewise on account of his valour and military experience, highly proper to conduct what forces should be granted him; and so much the rather, because he, being a *Hugonot*, would be the more acceptable and fit to treat with Princes of the same religion: since Monsieur *De Beauvais* (who till the death of the late King had been Ambassador to Queen *Elizabeth*) being a Catholic, was not well received: and the Count *De Schomberg*, who had already been a long time in *Germany*, was likewise become suspected, on account of his religion, by the Duke of *Saxony*, and Prince *Casimir*, guardian of his young nephew, the Palatine of the *Rhine*: but much more by the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, who was jealous, that, under the pretence of negotiating the King's affairs, he wanted to discover their intentions, that he might communicate them to the party of the League.

The Viscount therefore immediately departed for *England*, where things were not so well circumstanced in favour of the King, but that the Queen thought to make her advantage of his present necessity, and to take that opportunity of persuading him, either to restore *Calais* to her, or to give up some other fortrefs of no less importance, into her hands: a thing, that had not only been coveted by all the Kings that had possessed that Crown, but impatiently longed for by the whole people of *England*. But as it was an affair that was to be artfully managed, and the Queen did not want either prudence or address to conduct it, she first acquainted him, that the merchants of her kingdom desired a safe port upon the coast of *France*, where their ships might put in and secure their goods and persons when they had occasion. She then urged the reasons she had to expect it from a Prince that was her friend and confederate, and whom she always called by the name of *Brother*, since she had made the same demands upon King *Charles* and King *Henry*, his immediate predecessors,

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after the Duke of *Guise* had unjustly usurped the town of *Calais* that belonged to her Crown by the possession of so many ages. Nevertheless, as the Viscount, with no less artifice, did not peremptorily refuse to grant her request, but evaded and deferred it upon several pretences; sometimes representing the hatred which the King, who was not yet established in his throne, would incur amongst his subjects, if he should think of alienating any part of his dominions: that the revolt of the Catholics, who were already not a little offended and disgusted, would immediately ensue upon it: sometimes hinting to the Queen, that it was rather improper to make that demand at present, lest she should shew a desire of forcing the King to a necessity of complying with it, and of taking the advantage of his distress, *to put the collar* (as they say) *about his neck*, she seemed to desist, and reserved the further pressing of that point, till the time that her promises were to be fulfilled, which she thought would be a more proper and more urgent conjuncture. In the mean time, the Viscount prevailed upon her Majesty to lend the King an hundred thousand crowns, for the levies that were to be made: to send the six thousand foot, before mentioned, to the relief of the Prince of *Dombes*: and to dispatch *Horatio Pallavicino* along with him (a *Genoese*, who had fled on the account of religion into that island) to persuade the States of *Holland* and the Princes of *Germany* to assist the King with men and money on their part; and she promised further, that if the Duke of *Parma* should move again to return into *France*, she would send large supplies to Count *Maurice* of *Nassau* and the *Hollanders*, to enable them to make a powerful diversion by entering *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

These things being concluded upon, the Viscount left *England* and went to the *Hague*, where he did not obtain what he solicited from the States of *Holland*, which was thirty thousand crowns in ready money, but three thousand foot paid by them, which were to join those forces that were to be raised in *Germany*, though afterwards the urgency of their own affairs would not admit them to perform even that promise. But it was a matter of much greater difficulty to succeed with the *German* Princes, as there were many of them, and their interests different: yet the Viscount conducted the negotiation with so much address, and was so well seconded by *Pallavicino*, that at last he obtained men of some, and money of others, and took measures for raising four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, with a proportionable train of artillery, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, which were to be ready at the beginning of the summer to march with him, under the command of *Christian*, Prince of *Anhalt*, to the assistance of the King of *France*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was no less embarrassed than the King, and with difficulties that seemed to be nearly of the same kind. For as there

1591. were many Princes of his family, who had equal pretensions with himself, he could not find means to content them all : and to the other Lords and Commanders of that party, who were continually demanding subsistence money for the soldiery, it was impossible to give full satisfaction. Upon which, many being displeased, and several forsaking him, he was afraid there would be a division in his army, and that some would go over to the King's party. Which indeed was much to be apprehended : for on one side, the people thought themselves very heavily loaded, and were no longer able to bear the losses and burdens of the war : on the other, the soldiers were not to be contented, though they were indulged in every kind of licentiousness, but were incessantly crying out for liberty, pay, and gratuities. But amongst them all, the *Parisians*, as they were the chief of the party, were also the loudest in their complaints, not only because they did not see that progress made, which they had flattered themselves with at the beginning, but because the charges and contributions increased without end. They accused the Duke therefore, either of want of conduct ; or of an insatiable desire to engross all to himself ; or of extreme prodigality and profusion of other men's money : not considering what a voracious gulph a civil war is, and how many interested persons were to be provided for in every part of the kingdom. The *Spanish* Ministers likewise endeavoured to inflame these discontents, and in order to prevent the Duke of *Mayenne* from growing too powerful (as they perceived he was but little inclined to promote their designs) and to bring his Catholic Majesty into greater favour and reputation with the people, were always magnifying the supplies of men and money, and other provisions which he had sent them, and exclaiming against the Duke's bad management, who, for want of applying them in a proper manner, had gained so little advantage.

There was also a sort of jealousy betwixt him and the Duke of *Lorraine* : for the latter having taken *Villa Franca*, the Duke of *Mayenne* took upon himself to name a Governor, and appoint a garrison, as it was a place belonging to the Crown. And the Duke of *Lorraine* having reduced it at his own charge, and with the risque of his own men, insisted that he ought to be the master and disposer of it : and being disgusted that his desire was not complied with, he rose from the siege of *Monlealto*, which he had undertaking, alledging, that it was unreasonable that others should enjoy the fruits of his toils and dangers. But these were only shoots that sprung up from a deeper root : for the Duke of *Lorraine*, who pretended to the pre-eminence, as head of the family, saw that the Duke of *Mayenne* not only possessed the first place, and looked upon himself as his superior, now he was Lieutenant-General of the State of *France*, but had also a design to advance himself to the Crown : to which he asserted the

the right of a son, born of a daughter of *France*, was much stronger, and thought it reasonable that all the rest of the house should give place to the head of the family. But these secret competitions, which were yet inwardly concealed, did not at present occasion an open rupture betwixt them.

He was still upon worse terms with the Duke of *Nemours*, who, being a man of great courage, but of a disdainful and haughty disposition, aspired to no less a dignity than to be his brother's Lieutenant-General, and to have supreme authority in the affairs of *Paris*, as the Governor and preserver of that city, which indeed he had bravely and resolutely defended and maintained beyond the expectation of all men. This, however, was a demand that created great jealousy in the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was resolved, that no other person should interfere in the government, and that the affairs of *Paris* (the foundation of the League) should not only be managed by himself, but that they should not so much as be touched by any other hand. Upon which, they disagreed in such a manner, about the election of the *Prevôt des marchands* and the other magistrates, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, without making him or any body else acquainted with it, chose them to his own liking and satisfaction, without the least regard to those that were proposed and favoured by others; looking upon it as so delicate and so important a point, that the considerations which moved him to it ought not to be imparted to any one. But when the election was made publick, the Duke of *Nemours*, having made loud complaints, that those were rejected who had done the greatest service in the siege, to make room for men that either had not proper abilities, or could not be depended upon, told the Duke of *Mayenne*, "That with such magistrates as those he would not undertake to defend and maintain *Paris*, as he had done before, and therefore he desired to resign his government to him." This luckily happening according to the Duke's wishes, he made no difficulty of accepting his resignation, and immediately gave the government to his eldest son *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Eguillon*, appointing the Marquis *De Belin*, a man wholly at his devotion, to be his Lieutenant, during his minority. At which, though the Duke of *Nemours* shewed himself highly exasperated, and the *Parisians* no less than he, as they bore him wonderful respect and affection for his late defence of them; yet matters were at last compromised betwixt them on these conditions: That the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, brother to the Duke of *Nemours*, should have the government of *Dauphinè*: and that he himself should have forces and money assigned him to make war in his government of *Lions*: to which he retired without delay, being neither well satisfied with his brother, nor yet openly disgusted.

But

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But much more grievous were the remonstrances of Madam *De Guise*, who with tears and womanish lamentations, was continually complaining, that amongst so many undertakings, there were no measures thought of to set her son at liberty: and that Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, one of the contrivers of the death of the late Duke of *Guise*, her husband, having been taken in some encounter, was not torn to pieces in revenge, but set at liberty for a ransom of thirty thousand crowns: and, lastly, that the widow Duchess of *Longueville*, having been detained prisoner, instead of treating to exchange her for the Duke of *Guise*, they were endeavouring to get her exchanged for the Duke *D'Elbeuf*. And though it was said, in answer to this, " That the Duke her son was in a place surrounded by the King's forces, which they could not come at without a great army, and without being masters of the field: that nevertheless several overtures had been made for that purpose; that Colonel *Alphonso Corso* being a prisoner of war, it was not lawful to commit any violence upon him, much less to take away his life, and that the thirty thousand crowns had been of great service to the publick affairs: that there had been no treaty entered into about exchanging the Duchess of *Longueville* for the Duke *D'Elbeuf*, till after the King had often declared, that he would not release the Duke of *Guise* upon any consideration: yet she, being a querulous and passionate woman, was continually teasing the chiefs of the League, and troubling them with her complaints and importunities. Nor could the Duke of *Mayenne* agree with the Duke of *Merceur*, for being firmly resolved that no part of the Crown should be dismembered under his government, he was much concerned that *Merceur* should attempt to make himself master of *Bretagne*, and hold a secret correspondence with the *Spaniards* for that purpose.

To these homebred discords and uneasinesses, was added the concern of foreign supplies, which did not answer his expectation: for the Duke of *Savoy's* ends and pretensions, he found were too self-interested; so that, instead of succouring and assisting, he seemed rather to dismember and divide the party of the League. And he knew that the Duke of *Parma* and the other *Spanish* Ministers, were not inclined to assist him so powerfully, that by their favour he might be able to make an end of the war: but perceived they protracted the time, in hopes of some opportunity of promoting their own designs. The death of the Pope still more disconcerted him: for though *Sixtus Quintus*, in the latter months of his life, was grown so suspicious of the practices of the *Spaniards*, and disgusted at the rough behaviour of the Count *De Olivarez*, that he shewed himself much alienated from the League, and dissatisfied with their proceedings, and perhaps was disposed to be reconciled with the King, if he would have given him an opportunity for it by his conversion: yet the
new

new election of Cardinal *Sfondrato*, with the name of *Gregory* the fourteenth, was not at all satisfactory to him at first: as he imagined he would be too nearly dependent upon *Spain*, and so closely united with his Catholic Majesty, that he would not move but by his directions: besides which, he was of so slow a disposition (according to common report) that there was but little life or vigour to be hoped for in his resolutions.

In this perplexity, he thought his main point ought to be, to increase his strength so much as to be master of the field, because by that means, when the city was free from the apprehension of being distressed, the *Parisians* would be appeased, and the reputation of a victory would put an end to all murmurings and discontents. He therefore began, with the greatest diligence, to augment his forces in the kingdom, and dispatched the President *Jeannine* (a man of singular prudence and address in matters of government) to the King of *Spain*; and to the Pope he sent his Secretary *Baudoin*, *Sieur Des Portes*, who, for his long experience in the affairs of the court, where he had been bred in the times of the late Kings, and for the vivacity of his disposition, was thought a proper man to spur up the tardiness and forward the determinations of the Pope. These agents he charged not only to use the utmost expedition in their journies, but to make it their principal end to procure a certain, determinate, speedy, and powerful supply of men and money from both those Princes.

With these designs and preparations came in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-one, at the very beginning of which, the *Parisians* made an attempt upon *St. Dennis*: the recovery of which place they had much at heart. For as it was but two leagues from them, and stood upon the pass that leads into the most fertile plains of the isle of *France*, it was a great hindrance to the conveying of provisions to the city: and the garrison that was in it, over-running the whole country, exceedingly infested and obstructed all the roads. What gave them the chief hopes of success in this enterprise, was, that the place was almost destitute of inhabitants, and only defended by three hundred foot and an hundred and fifty horse, which, though they made bold excursions up and down the country, yet were not sufficient to make good the compass of the walls, that were very weak of themselves, and in some places demolished and tumbled down: and though it generally contributes to the strength and defence of a place to be situated in the midst of fens, and to have a moat round it always full of water; yet these very circumstances at that season of the year, were of convenience to those that intended to attack it, as all the waters that surrounded it were frozen over by the severity of the winter, so that they made a firm bridge, and opened a way to come up to the assault.

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The Governor of the place was the *Sieur De Vic*, lately come thither in the room of *Lavardine*; and though he used all possible endeavours to keep good guards in it, yet the weakness of the garrison, and the continual sending parties abroad to scour and obstruct the roads, tired out his men, and made them remiss in taking care of the walls during the extreme rigour of the season. There were many, however, who were of opinion, that the enterprize was not feasible, on account of the small number of men that could be spared from *Paris* for that purpose: but the Chevalier *D'Aumale*, always a friend to bold resolutions, and well informed of the state of the town, undertook the conducting of it, and marched out in the night-time with a thousand foot and two hundred horse, at the gate which, because it looks that way, is called by the same name: and taking a little circuit, drew near to the town on the side that joins to the abbey, which, being the most remote, he thought would be the least taken care of. At his arrival there, finding the ice very firm in every place, and particularly in the moat, he caused four ladders to be set up against the wall with so much silence, that they were not discovered by the guards, which were very thinly posted in that part. Upon these, two Captains mounted with four and twenty soldiers well armed, and meeting with no obstacle, made themselves masters of the gate adjoining; which being broke open, the Chevalier *D'Aumale* himself entered at the head of them all, with his sword drawn, and after him, the rest of his men, marching up in good order to establish themselves in the place. But the Governor having heard the alarm, and being informed that the enemy had already taken possession of the gate and were got upon the wall, grew so desperate at the thoughts of losing all the honour which he had acquired in so many years of his life happily spent in the service, by the negligence of his soldiers upon this occasion, that he immediately mounted on horseback, with only thirty of his men that followed him, and being resolved to die rather than survive his certain ruin, he caused two trumpets, which he had with him, to sound a charge as loud as possible, to make the enemy believe the number of those that attacked them was the greater: and having put down the vizor of his head-piece, he boldly rushed upon the front of the squadron, that was marching orderly up the main street toward the market-place. The fury of the horse in the uncertainty of a very dark night (as the commanders were not willing to fire any of the houses, lest it should destroy the whole town) put the foot in disorder: in which confusion, whilst the Chevalier *D'Aumale* was turning about to reproach his men, and endeavoured to make them rally and stand again, being wounded by a thrust in the throat, he immediately dropped dead upon the ground; and his soldiers having no longer either strength or resolution to support themselves, immediately took

took to flight, falling foul upon the other parties and disordering each other, till at last they got out of the town again at the same gate: from whence they ran as hard as they could, without being pursued by any body, till they came to *Paris*, leaving above an hundred of their companions upon the spot, that were either slain by the garrison, or trampled under foot in the flight. The *Sieur De Vic* having recovered the town, and redeemed his fortune by his own valour, gave the King an account of what had happened; from whom he received not only very great commendations, but a present also of a rich abbey, which had been possessed by the *Chevalier D'Aumale*, with the title of *Knight of the Cross of Jerusalem*. Speculative men observed, that the *Chevalier* fell down dead before the door of an inn, the sign of which was the *Royal Sword*: and they looked upon it as still more remarkable, that his corps, being laid upon a bier in the church of the Friars of *St. Dennis*, was gnawed to pieces and mangled by rats the night following.

The miscarriage of this undertaking did not deter the King from attempting (though upon a better foundation) to surprize the city of *Paris* in the same manner. The first President, *Brissot*, who so voluntarily, not to say precipitately, had made himself head of the League in the Parliament, and author of their adhering to that party, now perceiving (as his friends said) that the designs of the chiefs were not so sincere for the good of the publick, as he had been at first persuaded; or corrupted (as his enemies gave out) by great promises which were made him from the King, by certain persons who were prisoners in the city; or induced to it (according to the general opinion) by the instability of his own disposition, had secretly begun to favour the *Politicks* (as they called those that were well affected to the King) who taking courage from his protection, already made a considerable party, and began to consult of means to make the city revolt, and to reduce it to the King's devotion. The attempts and practices of these men were favoured by the indolence and supineness of the *Prevôt des marchands*, who either did not believe, or paid little regard to the informations that were laid before him concerning them: nor did he take any care or pains to prevent the effects of these new designs, the report of which was now become common in every one's mouth. But what was of the greatest service to the King's party, was the general dissatisfaction of the people, who were not only tired out with the scarcity of provisions, and the hard duty they continually underwent in guarding the walls, but being disgusted that the *Marquis De Belin*, a man of obscure condition, and of an inactive disposition, should be obtruded upon them for a Governor, when they had always been used to have the first Princes of the Blood and the greatest Officers of the Crown. The Duke of *Mayenne* was absent, the Duke of

1591. *Nemours* at a distance and discontented, and the Chevalier *D'Aumale* lately dead, whose courage was wont to give life and spirit to their party. All these circumstances concurring, invited the King to make an attempt upon *Paris*: and he was the more effectually induced to it by a desire of preventing idleness in his army, and of employing it in some enterprize of such importance, as might keep it in action and full of expectation. For this purpose, as the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Espernon*, who had been sent for before, were now arrived, and he thought the correspondence which he held in the city was fully ripe, he determined to exert all his strength and art together, and formed his design in this manner: That eighty commanders and reformed officers, disguised in the habit of peasants, with as many horses laden with flour and meal, should go to the gates of *St. Honorè*, to be let in after midnight (as provisions were generally brought thither and received by night, on account of the parties that were continually scouring the roads) and that these, being secretly provided with arms, should endeavour, at their entrance, immediately to make themselves masters of the gate, with the assistance of an hundred men completely armed, that were to follow them: during which tumult, he had given private orders, that those of his party should raise a commotion within the city, but on the opposite quarter to the gate that was to be assaulted, and attempt to get possession either of that of *St. James* or *St. Marceau*: and that at the same time the army should come up close, on the side of *St. Honorè* and *St. Dennis*, to scale the walls: by which assaults, all made at the same instant, he fully expected either to enter the city by force, or to be voluntarily received into it, as his adherents were continually using all their endeavours to raise insurrections in every part of it. This was to have been executed on the night of the 20th of *January*, which they knew would be dark enough, even though it should not rain, as the moon would go down about midnight. But the Princesses, who resided at *Paris*, hearing that the Duke of *Espernon* had passed by *Beaumont* and joined the King's army; that the Duke of *Nevers* had done the same, and left the siege, which he had laid to *Provins*, without any apparent reason: that the Baron *De Giery* had passed the river at *Lagny* to join the rest; and that the King still lay so near them, began to entertain some suspicions. Upon which they earnestly exhorted the Marquis *De Belin* to take care of the city, as some symptoms had been already discovered of the first President's inclinations, and of the machinations of many others who were employed to stir up the common people. The Marquis, therefore, being roused by the pressing instances of those Ladies, began to attend to the discoveries that had been made, and finding cause for the same suspicion, he published a most severe proclamation, in which he enjoined every one, if any tumult or commotion

commotion should happen in the city, to take arms and come out of their houses into the street, at the ringing of the palace-bell and the others of every parish, but that no man should stir out of that ward in which he commonly lived, upon pain of death without mercy. He likewise gave orders to the heads of the several wards, to keep a strict eye upon the motions of every one: by which means, the *Politicks*, being fewer, were watched and kept down by the much greater number, and being dispersed in their different wards, could not assemble in a body to disturb or make themselves masters of any parts of the city, all which, by the same order, were also equally guarded. But the conjectures and suspicions still increasing, by the report of certain soldiers belonging to *St. Dennis*, who were taken by the *Sieur De Tremont* as they were scouring the country, and informed them that there were scaling-ladders, and other instruments commonly made use of in assaults, getting ready in that town: the Princesses, full of fear and apprehension, sent for the Governor to them at the house of *Madam De Montpensier*, and desired him to order the gate of *St. Honorè* to be immediately shut up and lined with earth, as being weaker and more exposed to danger than the rest: which was performed with great diligence, on the 19th, and the *Sieur De Trumblacourt* was posted there to guard it with his regiment of *Lorrainers*. The *Marquis De Menclay's* regiment was also sent to take care of the gates of *St. Dennis* and *Mont-martre*: and *Collalto's Germans* staid to secure the *Fauxbourgs* beyond the river.

On the 20th, in the afternoon, without knowing of the orders that had been given in the city (as extraordinary care was taken that no one should stir out of the gates) the King began to move towards *Paris*. *Monsieur De Vic*, Governor of *St. Dennis*, led the eighty officers that were disguised in the habit of peasants: and the other hundred were commanded by the *Sieur De Lavardine*. The *Baron De Biron* followed next with twelve hundred firelocks, which were to march up to possess themselves of the gate: and behind them were four divisions, each consisting of four hundred men, who being armed with breast-plates and head-pieces, were to advance to the wall on the side towards *Mont-martre* and *St. Dennis*, and there to fix the scaling-ladders: and these were conducted by the *Sieurs De Givry, De Dunes, D'Humieres, and De la Noüe*. After them marched the *Swiss*, with three small pieces of artillery, two petards, to be made use of upon occasion, and all other instruments necessary for an assault. The King himself was in the rear guard, with the *Dukes of Effpernon and Lougueville* and eight hundred Gentlemen, who, being dismounted from their horses, and well armed, were to fall on with their swords and pistols where they saw their assistance most necessary: and last of all, the *Duke of Nevers* with the rest of the cavalry,

1591. staid under arms, and ready drawn up, to maintain the field. As soon as the first party arrived with their loads of corn and meal, and desired to be let in, they were questioned by *Tremblecourt*, who being very cautious and upon his guard, talked a long while with them: and when he had found out who they were, in order to amuse them a little longer, he directed them to go down to the entry of the river, where they should be received by the boats that waited for that purpose; but presently gave such an alarm to the whole city by ringing a bell, that the soldiers ran in great numbers, ready armed, to the fortifications. Upon which, the eighty officers retired a little back, and seeming as if they would obey their directions and go down towards the river, gave the King an account of the alarm that was in the city (of which indeed he was already apprised by the sound of the bells) and desired to know what further was to be done. *D'Humieres* and the Baron *De Biron* were of opinion, that the scaling-ladders should be set up and a petard fastened to the gate: but all the other commanders thought it was a thing not to be attempted, and that as they had not succeeded by stratagem, it would be too full of danger and little less than madness to have recourse to other measures: so that after they had made a stand for a while, to see if their party within offered to make any commotion, and this expectation was also disappointed, they faced about, and leaving the cavalry to make good their retreat, returned in the same order to their former quarters.

This attempt produced an effect very different from the King's intention. For the *Parisians* being dissatisfied that the Duke of *Mayenne*, upon all occasions, left them with a weak garrison, and exposed to these dangers; and seeing the King continually upon the watch to surprise them, they consented, at the persuasion of his Catholick Majesty's agents, to receive the *Spanish* division that was under the command of *Idiaques*, into the city: and another of *Neapolitans*, which was *Pietro Caстанo's*, commanded by Don *Alessandro di Monte*: which not only directly tended to confirm and strengthen the King's enemies, and to suppress his friends and adherents, but also reduced the city into danger of falling at last into the hands of the *Spaniards*. Yet there presently after followed an event much to the advantage of his affairs. For the Duke of *Mayenne* (who had complied with the resolution of the *Parisians*, that he might not totally alienate their affections, though it stung him to the quick to see that they confided so little in him, as to put themselves under the protection of foreigners) being confirmed in his suspicion, that the *Spaniards* had private designs of their own, and that they were endeavouring to diminish his authority, and to make their advantage of the fickleness of the *Parisians*, now pressed forward the treaty of agreement, which was formerly begun betwixt Monsieur *De Villeroy* on one side, and the High Chancellor and Marshal *De Biron*

De Biron on the other, and had never been wholly dropped. But as he had not been able upon any terms to obtain a truce and free correspondence betwixt the two parties, he was at last contented with the King's granting so many safe conducts, that Deputies from all the provinces might assemble, to consult in common of the means of concluding a peace, in which religion might be secured, and the King acknowledged to be their lawful Prince. And things were so far advanced, that for many days the peace was thought to be absolutely concluded. But as the opinions of men are changeable, and the most important determinations liable to be altered by trifling accidents, whilst the safe conducts were dispatching, in granting which the King was for some days very backward, the Duke of *Mayenne* having found the Parliament firm in his interest, and the garrison that was admitted into *Paris* but insignificant, as the *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans* did not in all amount to more than thirteen hundred foot, a number rather sufficient to satisfy the people in appearance, than to over-awe the city: and not being yet able to wean himself from the hope which he had conceived, as soon as he had got the safe conducts, he dispatched them with letters to all the provinces, summoning them to meet together at the city of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, not to consider of pacifick measures (as had been agreed) but to elect a new King. But when this came to be made publick, and the King found he was imposed upon, since it was now intended to assemble the Deputies to his prejudice, whom he had permitted to meet together, only to treat of a re-union and peace betwixt the two parties: having first made heavy complaints to *Villeroy* of so faithless a manner of proceeding, he re-called his safe conducts, and gave orders, that all the Deputies that should fall into the hands of any of his party, should be immediately put to death: which nevertheless would not have prevented the Duke of *Mayenne* from calling the Assembly together: but things not being yet fully ripe, nor disposed in such a manner as he desired, the convocation of the States was suffered to drop insensibly, under the pretence of the Deputies being terrified by the severity of the penalty, with which they were threatened.

The Duke's hopes were not a little augmented by the declaration of *Gregory* the fourteenth. For as the resolutions of Popes are almost always warm and vigorous at their accession to the Papacy, so he, despising the phlegm which *Sixtus* the fifth had shewn in the affairs of *France*, towards the latter end of his life, declared himself resolved to favour and promote the progress of the League, thinking it necessary so to do, for the security of religion, and the credit and grandeur of the Apostolick See: and being desirous, that his nephew, *Hercole Sfondrato*, newly invested by him with the title of Duke of *Montemarcano*, should have some respectable command in the army, by which he might advance his fortune and reputation

1591. tion in the war, he determined to send him, with a numerous body of forces, to the assistance of the League; and for that purpose had given orders, that horse and foot should be raised, with all expedition, in the territories of the Church; for the payment of which (though he met with great opposition in the Consistory of Cardinals) he resolved to make use of the money that had been amassed with extreme care by *Sixtus*, and repositied in the castle of *St. Angelo*: as he thought this one of the greatest and most urgent occasions that the church could ever have. At the same time, he appointed his confidant, Monsignor *Marfilio Landriono*, to be Legate to the kingdom of *France*, a Prelate of *Milan*, and a man that was wont, upon all occasions, strenuously to assert the rights and privileges of the church. These things being resolved upon, and now in readiness, he immediately sent messengers to the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Bishop of *Piacenza* (whom he had in the mean time confirmed Vice-legat in *France*) promising them plentiful supplies both of men and money, that they might be able not only to extirpate heresy and rescue the kingdom out of the imminent danger it was in, but to chuse a Catholick King, who should be a lover of peace, and obedient to the church, to compose all discords, and restore tranquillity and repose to the people, already wearied out and ruined by the calamities of war. And because the city of *Paris* had merited exceedingly, by constantly shewing itself the true metropolis of the kingdom, and the main bulwark of religion upon all occasions, he protested, that he would use his utmost endeavours to redress its grievances and restore it to its ancient splendor in opulence and authority.

These letters not only rejoiced the Vice-legat, and encouraged the Duke of *Mayenne* (and so much the more as the Pope sent bills with them for fifteen thousand crowns a month, upon the merchants of *Paris* and *Lions*) but being printed and made publick to the whole party, likewise filled them all with infinite hopes, when they saw that the new Pope did not stand doubtful and undetermined what to do, like *Sixtus*, but declared himself resolutely, and shewed that he was an open enemy to the King, and a strenuous protector of the Union, by adding effectual proofs to his professions, at a time when he had hardly been applied to. And what still increased the Duke of *Mayenne's* hopes, and at the same time spurred up the Pope's resolution, was the artifice of the Duke of *Parma*: who, persisting in his design of spinning out the *French* wars, that he might at last make an advantage of their weakness and weariness, and therefore not being willing that the Duke of *Mayenne* should become so much inferior in strength, as to lose courage, and resolve to make an agreement with the King, seemed not at all to approve of those proceedings which *Mendoza* and Don *Diego d'Ivarra*, who were in *Paris*, had privately conducted without the Duke's participation: and assured him by frequent

frequent messages, that he was settling his affairs in *Flanders*, that he might be able, as soon as possible, to march with his army into *France* again: promising him, that he would order things in such a manner, that they should act in concert, without regarding the opinions of others, as the commissions imported which he had from his Catholick Majesty: for the confirmation of which, he shewed the messengers whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent to him, the disposition that he had made for raising an army of forty thousand men to enter *Picardy*: for the payment of which, and to furnish the League with plentiful supplies of money, as the *French* desired, he told them, that measures were taken at the court of *Spain*, and that he expected an order for it every hour. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, being wonderfully animated with these promises, dispatched his Secretary, the *Sieur Baudouin des Portes*, a second time to *Rome*, with orders to solicit the Pope to hasten the march of the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, who was to pass through the states of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the county of *Burgundy*, directly into *Lorraine*, to oppose the forces that were raising for the King in *Germany* by the Viscount *De Turenne* and the Prince of *Anhalt*. For the same purpose, he sent an express into *Spain* to the President *Jeannin*, who was already gone to that court, to see if he could prevail upon his Catholick Majesty, that the forces which were to march that year from *Milan* into *Flanders*, might join the Pope's in *Lorraine* for the same end, being fully assured, that when the *Germans* met with so vigorous an opposition upon the frontiers, that they could not advance to join the King, whilst the Duke of *Terna* entered *Picardy* with the *Flamish* army, the forces of the League would soon and very easily carry all before them. In the mean time, he had invited the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the other Lords of his family, to meet at *Rheims*, that things might there be disposed in a proper manner, by their general consent and approbation, and that the difficulties and objections might be removed, which prevented the designs of their house from being fully accomplished.

Such were the schemes that were at that time meditated by the Duke, and promoted every where with the utmost industry by men of good parts and address, whom he employed for that purpose. But the King resolved not to throw away his time in vain, whilst a proper opportunity, and the weakness of his enemies seemed to invite him to action, and still continued firm in his design to distress the city of *Paris*, by the reduction of which, he thought the principal resource of the League must soon fail: and therefore determined to lay siege to *Chartres*, from whence, and the adjacent territories, the *Parisians* usually receive the greatest part of their provisions. And because the city was large and populous, and very well fortified, and the siege of it appeared, at the first view, likely to be attended with great difficulties,

1591. difficulties, he resolved to cut off the supplies that might be sent by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Parisians* to a place of so much importance, as he still lay at *Soissons* with the forces that he had left, to be ready to turn himself which way soever occasion should require his presence. Having sent the Marshal *De Biron*, therefore, towards *Dieppe*, to receive and convoy the ammunition and other necessaries that were come out of *England*, he took a different rout himself, and marched with the Duke of *Nevers* once more to besiege *Provins*, a place of no great consequence, and for the defence of which the heads of the League were resolved not to run any hazard. But after the Marshal *De Biron* had taken the provisions under his convoy that were at *Dieppe*, and was upon his return, the King sent him orders to make a feint of besieging *Dreux*, and to turn off suddenly to *Chartres*, and invest it in such a manner, that any relief that might be sent to it should not be able to get into the town. In consequence of these orders, *Biron* having passed the *Seine* at *Vernon* with his men and artillery, turned sometimes one way and sometimes another by which means, he gave his soldiers an opportunity of refreshing themselves, and at the same time kept the enemy in doubt whither he would take his course at last; sometimes seeming as if he intended to join himself to the army at *Provins*, sometimes as if he was making preparation to besiege *Dreux*, sometimes posting himself upon the main road to *Chartres*, and at last, having marched twelve leagues without stopping, he came, on the 16th of *February*, before the walls of *Chartres*.

The city of *Chartres* is situated in an uneven country, varied with fertile eminences, in such a manner that the east-side stands upon the top of a hill, and the west extends itself along the bottom of the plain, through the midst of which the river *Eure* takes its course, and is divided into three branches, as soon as it comes near the walls of the city on the south side: one of which goes through the town, and supplies a great number of mills: the second passing under the walls, falls into the moat and runs through it: and the third, taking a circuit about a hundred paces from the walls, surrounds the suburbs: but when they come to the northern boundaries of the city, they all join again, and run in one channel towards *Normandy*. The east side, which stands upon the hill, was not invested by the army, on account of the difficulty of bringing the artillery thither, and because it looked towards those places from whence there was no expectation of any relief: but the other side, which stretches along the plain, and looks towards *Paris*, was all blocked up at the same instant. For the *Sieur De Vivans*, with his harquebusiers on horseback, quartered himself on the north side, in the *Bourg Des Espars*: Monsieur *De Sourdis*, with the *French* infantry, lay over against the gate that leads to *Dreux*: and the Marshal *De Biron*, with the remainder of the cavalry, and the *Swiss* encamped

camped on the south side, opposite to the gate and bastion of *St. Michael*. 1591.

The Governor of the city was Monsieur *De la Bourdaisiere*, a vigilant and experienced officer. The infantry of the garrison was under the command of Captain *Pefferay*, a soldier of great reputation: but the rest of the provisions necessary for a defence were by no means answerable to the abilities of the commanders. There were but few foot in the town, and still fewer horse, and the supplies that had lately come into it were so inconsiderable, that they made but a small addition to its strength: for the *Sieur De la Croix*, who had left *Orleans*, and was come in great haste with sixty cuirassiers and two hundred harquebusiers on horseback to enter the city, had unexpectedly fallen in with the army, as it was drawing near the walls, and being routed and put to flight, got in, though not without much difficulty, and with only eighty of his men. On the other side, Monsieur *De Grammont*, who was upon his march to go into *Normandy*, returned with all expedition by the same rout, but brought no more than forty Gentlemen and an hundred soldiers with him: and Monsieur *De Vitry*, expecting the enemy would have come to *Dreux*, had shut himself up in that town, and had neither time nor means to come to their relief: so that the garrison was much less than what the occasion required. Besides this deficiency, there was but a small quantity of ammunition: for though there was thirty thousand weight of powder, when the Governor first surveyed the military stores, yet the gunners had purloined so much, as it was then sold at an excessive price in all places, that on the first day of the siege, to *La Bourdaisiere's* great surprise and concern, there was not above eight thousand left: and they were likewise in want of many other things requisite to make a proper defence. These important necessities were in some measure supplied by the alacrity of the citizens, who freely underwent all manner of duty; as did a great many of the country people, who laboured with the utmost cheertfulness to put the fortifications in good order. For the first days of the siege, the Marshal thought it sufficient to block up the avenues to the city, and to shut out all succours, till the King should arrive at the camp with the rest of the army; and for that purpose, had immediately advanced to make himself master of the suburbs. The Governor, however, endeavoured to deprive him of that shelter, which was very necessary at that time of the year, by setting fire to the houses, in order to burn them down. But the remedy was too late, for the approach of the enemy was so sudden, that they found means to quench the flames before many of the buildings were destroyed: so that the besiegers had free possession of the suburbs, in which, after the Marshal *De Biron* had commodiously lodged himself, the King arrived on the 19th. Yet

1591. they did not immediately begin to raise batteries, because the commanders were not well agreed amongst themselves on which side they should make their assault; and ammunition was equally scarce in the army and in the town, as the supplies that came from *England* were far short of the King's demands, and the promises that had been made to the Viscount *De Turenne*. But the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Governor of the province, who was exceeding rich, and had very great authority in that country, having, at his own expence, sent for many things necessary for undertaking a siege, from the adjacent towns and castles, it was resolved to begin the battery on the side towards the *Fauxbourg Des Espars*, as a place not so well fortified as the rest, there being no defence but great towers, built in the old manner, and a wall not very strong, nor before that time sufficiently lined with earth. But the besieged having foreseen where they were most likely to be assaulted, though they had no engineers that were thoroughly skilled in fortification, threw up a rampart, as well as they could, on the inside of the wall, flanking it with ravelines, and raising it to such a height with earth, that when the artillery had battered down a good part of the wall, the works behind it appeared so strong, that the King did not care to expose his men to so evident a danger: but knowing the number of the besieged to be very small, and thinking it a safer way to weary them out with hard duty and service, he resolved to remove his battery to another place, in order to defeat their precautions and make their past labours useless: for which purpose, two batteries were opened in the beginning of *March*, over-against the gate that leads to *Dreux*, and began to play on that side with eleven pieces of cannon. Upon this, the besieged threw up works there also, and with so much the greater spirit, because that part was already flanked with two good ravelines, which had been raised ever since the year 1569, when the Prince of *Condé* besieged that place; by which addition they made it so strong, that it was several times assaulted in vain, and with the loss of many men. All the month of *March* was spent at that place without making any great progress, the besieged repairing the works on the inside, as fast as they were beat down on the outside, and skirmishing almost every day at the points of the ravelines and the entrance of the curtain: but on the 5th of *April*, the King removed his battery once more, and raised eleven redoubts something lower, towards *St. Michael's* gate, with the same design of harassing the besieged and disappointing their labours. The care of the siege on that side was committed to the *Sieur De Chastillon*, who being afraid that the darkness of the night might occasion him to mistake the place where he had resolved to open his trench, had recourse to the expedient of making a truce for two hours with those of the town, under a pretence of carrying off the dead: which being agreed upon,

upon, he himself attended in person to see the dead bodies drawn out of the moat, and had them brought (for the sake of expedition) directly along the lines, to the place where the battery was prepared. This gave him a sufficient opportunity of viewing and measuring the ground; and pretending that one of the dead bodies could not be brought off in time, he left it for a mark upon the edge of the moat, in that very place where he designed to intrench himself by night. In which he succeeded without making any mistake, and so well, that the battery being raised and his trench cast up in the intended place, he began to batter with twelve pieces of cannon, and at the same time had a gallery built and covered with timber, that he might pass the moat securely and come to the foot of the wall. Things therefore seemed to be in a very hopeful way on that side, especially as the besieged were almost tired out already, and had not time to raise many works there. But the batteries made little progress, and fired very slowly; for there was hardly any ammunition in the camp. So great a deficiency, and so difficult to be remedied, often made the King resolve to give up the undertaking; and he certainly would have done it, if the Duke of *Nevers*, and much more the High Chancellor, had not prevented him with the most earnest intreaties and persuasions, and if some, that deserted to him from the city, had not informed him, that the scarcity of powder was much greater within the walls than without: which indeed was very true, for all that belonged to the garrison being spent, there was hardly the quantity of two hundred weight left, and that was brought in by private people and shop-keepers to be distributed amongst the soldiers. The besiegers had already finished their gallery, which was built in the form of a bridge covered with planks; over which skins and clods of earth were laid, with other boards and pieces of wood, fastened across the top of all to make it more firm and compact: the sides were made of thick beams of wood, joined so close together, that they sufficiently defended those that were in the hollow of the bridge; and the bottom was raised to such a height with planks, that it lifted the assailants up to a level with the breach. But the besieged had yet some fireworks left, and having also got together all the pitch they could find in the shops, set fire to the gallery at the time when the King's forces were going to make the assault, and many had already advanced into it: in such a manner, that the engineer himself (whose name was *La Garde*) and some others with him, having lost their lives, Colonel *Parabiere* was forced to come out of the gallery again with his men, and not only to march a good way without any shelter, but to begin the assault before the time appointed: by which many of his bravest men were slain, and yet the dispute was so obstinately maintained on both sides for four hours, without intermission, that two Colonels, eight

1591. Captains, and above two hundred private men, were left dead upon the spot: *Parabiere* himself, and the *Sieur De Montet*, a Gentleman of great courage, who came out of *Languedoc*, and was Aid du camp to *Chastillon*, being dangerously wounded. But the powder of the besieged being now totally exhausted, Monsieur *De Vitry* first, and then the Viscount *De Tavannes*, attempted to throw supplies of men and ammunition into the city; which was prevented by the vigilance of the cavalry, that were continually scouring the roads. So that, after it was also known that the Duke of *Mayenne* had come to *Bois de Vincennes*, and finding himself not strong enough to make head against the King in the field, was gone to lay siege to *Chateau-Thierry*, a place at a great distance, the besieged being forced to defend themselves with their swords and pikes for want of ammunition to load their cannon and small arms, and being diminished by hard labour and duty, and the loss of men killed in the late assaults, at last agreed, on the 12th of *April*, to surrender, if they were not relieved in three days with at least four hundred men and a stated quantity of ammunition: which term being expired without their receiving any succours, Monsieur *De la Bourdaisiere* and the *Sieur De Grammont* (for Captain *Pessieray* was killed in one of the assaults) marched out in rank and file with their baggage and colours flying, on the 19th, and gave up the place into the hands of the Baron *De Biron*, who entered it with eight hundred foot and two hundred horse: but the government of it was given by the King to Monsieur *De Sourdis*, to gratify the High Chancellor, upon whom he, or (as his detractors said) his wife was a dependant.

Whilst the King was employed in the siege of *Chartres*, the Duke of *Mayenne* had left *Soissons* with all his forces, and come to *Bois de Vincennes*, where he staid in suspense some time, whether he should venture his army to relieve that place: but as the forces that he had sent for from several places did not arrive in time, and he was so weak, that he knew his advancing would endanger his army, without any hopes of relieving the besieged, he turned towards *Champagne*, where he had appointed the meeting of the Princes of *Lorraine*: and to keep up his reputation, sat down before *Chateau-Thierry*, a large place, well peopled, and pleasantly situated: but which could not be expected to make any long defence, considering the walls of the town were in a bad condition, and the castle not very strong. The Governor of it was the Viscount *De Combley*, son to Secretary *Pinart*, who, besides his wife and children, had also his father and mother, and a great many women, shut up with him in the castle: and though they were assured that the garrison was sufficient to defend it some days, yet they were all so frightened, that it occasioned much disturbance and confusion: for the father and the son had brought all

all their plate, money, and best household furniture into the castle, which amounted to a very great value, and were in the utmost pain and anxiety, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy if the place should be sacked. On the other hand, the Duke's army was impatient to plunder the town, which was full of inhabitants, but especially the castle, where, it was reported, there were inestimable riches: so that the soldiers, and particularly the foreigners, bravely made themselves masters of the suburbs at their first arrival, to the great terror and dismay of those within, when they saw them so resolute and furious. As soon as the suburbs were taken, the cannon were immediately planted, which having beat down a good part of the wall, an assault was made; and though it was pretty well sustained till evening, yet it convinced the besieged, that they were not able to defend the town any longer: so that they presently quitted it, and retired the same night into the castle. Upon this, the tumult increased, and the cries of the women grew louder, who at last prevailed upon *Pinart*, with their prayers and importunities, to send a trumpet for his old colleague the *Sieur De Villeroy*, then in the Duke of *Mayenne's* camp, to treat with him about a composition; and yet, after they had conferred together above two hours, they could not come to any conclusion. *Villeroy*, therefore, had no sooner left the castle, but the cannon instantly began to play, the noise of which frightened not only the Ladies, but even *Pinart* himself, and many others also, who were not accustomed to the profession of arms, to such a degree, that *Villeroy* was sent for again the next morning, and was met by *Madam De Pinart*, with the other Ladies that were of her company, who kneeled down upon the ground, and besought him with tears to deliver them by a composition from falling into the hands of the soldiers, and especially of foreigners. This spectacle moved even *Villeroy* himself so much, that he returned to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and endeavoured to persuade him, that it was much better to receive the castle upon capitulation, and the payment of a handsome sum of money towards the support of the war, than to enrich strangers, and to lavish the blood of *Frenchmen*, to satisfy their greediness. To which the Duke of *Mayenne*, always averse to cruelty and plunder, readily consented, though the army murmured exceedingly at it: yet the agreement was concluded, and the castle compounded for twenty thousand crowns, and a great quantity of provisions which the town was to raise: the place, with the artillery and ammunition, being left to the free disposal of the Duke. But *Pinart*, who thought himself now fully delivered from the calamities of the siege, presently fell into other misfortunes: for being accused of treachery, and that he had given up that place, not out of cowardice but perfidy, and without any necessity of so doing, he was therefore pronounced guilty by

1591. the Parliament of *Châlons*, and condemned in his absence as a rebel : though he afterwards found means to procure a pardon from the King, and an exemption of his estate from confiscation, by paying the sum of thirty thousand ducats. The taking of *Chasteau-Thierry*, though not to be balanced against that of *Chartres*, either for the quality of the place, or the consequences that it drew along with it, yet added some reputation to the arms of the League, and gave fresh hopes and courage to the Duke of *Mayenne* ; upon which, he proceeded to the meeting at *Rheims*, where a consultation was to be held concerning the means that should be taken to advance their common interests, and to oppose the progress of the King ; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, partly by policy, and partly by force, had made himself master of *Louviers* also, a place near *Roüen* in *Normandy*, which, for its strength and situation, was esteemed of very great importance.

But though the war proceeded prosperously for the King, he was not altogether so happy in some other respects ; as new matter arose from his own party, which gave him much trouble and uneasiness. For the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen, perceiving that the time of his conversion was continually put off, and that all the promises and all the appointments of assembling the States and calling the Prelates together, to give him instruction, as he himself proposed and daily talked of, now proved vain and without any effect at all, began already to stagger in their resolutions, to think of retiring, to murmur amongst themselves, and to shew their discontent, which was increased beyond measure, by the King's declaration ; who, after the taking of *Chartres*, being come to *Mante*, had called his council together, with many of the most eminent persons that followed him, and told them, " That the Queen of *England* and the Princes of *Germany* his confederates, and of whose arms and assistance he had such urgent need, that without them he had no hopes of being able to maintain his Crown, were daily pressing him to give peace to men's consciences, to grant liberty in religion, and to indulge his subjects in a quiet and moderate way of living, that he might at last unite them with perfect charity in the same body. That the *German* army being now upon the point of entering the kingdom, he thought it best to anticipate those requests which would then be made to him with arms in their hands, in a time of extreme necessity, and to grant something now to those of the reformed religion, that he might not be forced, at such a crisis, to give up much more to them. That he did not intend to grant them any thing further, than what King *Henry*, his glorious and most Catholick predecessor, had done, but simply to renew the last edict of pacification, which had afterwards been broken and revoked by the violent proceedings of the League : that he thought proper to declare his motives there in Council,

Council, to the end that no-body might put a sinister interpretation upon that resolution, but that every one should be convinced, that all was done for the advantage of the Catholick religion, and that he might not be reduced to a necessity of granting greater liberty than what had been granted and established by his predecessors. That they ought all to consider the present state of affairs, and the forces that the Pope and the King of *Spain* were sending against him, which necessitated him to make use of the supplies of Protestants, to whom he could not in justice deny some reasonable satisfaction, if he expected to be supported by their blood, their money, their good offices and endeavours. That this should not in the least retard the performance of his promises, nor prejudice the Catholick religion, which he would constantly favour, protect, and maintain to the utmost of his power."

The major part of the voices assented to the King's proposal, though some of the assembly were offended at it: and particularly *Charles*, Cardinal of *Vendosme*, who, now his uncle was dead, caused himself to be styled the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. He said, "He could not, with a safe conscience, be present at such a resolution;" and got up, as if he would have gone away: but as none of the other Prelates seemed inclined to follow him, and he was sharply recalled by the King, he came back, though not much to his reputation, and sat down again. The Archbishop of *Bourges* and the Bishop of *Nantes*, President *De Thou*, the High Chancellor, and many other Catholicks, demanded that the edict for liberty of conscience might not be absolute, but that a clause might be added, to shew it was intended to be no longer in force, than till peace was restored, when differences in religion might be accommodated, and all his subjects reunited in one and the same faith: which being willingly consented to by the King, the edict was drawn up, and some days after published and registered in the Parliaments of his party. Those of the Council did not make much opposition to this declaration, because they saw the pressing occasion which the King had for the assistance of the Protestants, and that the opposing it would have produced no good effect: besides, the *Hugonots* already enjoyed in fact, what was now granted to them in writing. But those of the soldiery that were most zealous for the Catholick religion, and did not know the reasons, were wonderfully offended at it, and began almost openly to shew their disgust: and so much the more, as the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other principal men, fomented that discontent, and were constantly endeavouring to spirit them up by their discourses and harangues, both in private and in publick.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* had already long before entertained some thoughts of forming another party of Catholicks, distinct both from those of the League, and them that followed the King. This design arose from the

1591. the consideration, that the King's obstinacy in not changing his religion, not only made it more difficult for himself to possess the Crown, but also deprived the whole Royal family of their just pretensions to the succession, since they were all equally excluded from it, as followers of an heretick : and those of the League began already to talk of setting aside the *Salic* law, and of calling other Princes to the Crown who were not in any wise related to the Royal Blood of *France*; which it concerned him more nearly than any of the rest to prevent. For his cousin the Prince of *Condé* being yet, as it were, in leading-strings, and of the *Hugonot* religion : and his elder brother not very fit to govern, on account of a great imperfection in his speech, and, because he had been cut for the stone, esteemed not likely to have children, he thought the next turn of the Crown belonged of right to himself, as the Count *De Soissons*, the third brother, was younger than he : and the Duke of *Montpensier* was still much farther from the succession than they. From these considerations, and the resentment which they excited in him, he began by degrees to encourage a design of opposing that infringement of his rights, and of creating himself a faction that might be able to get him elected King, since neither the Pope could well tell how to discountenance the person of a Cardinal, nor his Catholick Majesty to object to him as a heretick, nor, lastly, could they of the League have any pretence to refuse him due obedience. He communicated this resolution to *John Touchard*, Abbé *De Bellezane*, who had been his tutor from his infancy, and was a man not at all of a pedantick turn, nor of mean and heavy parts, but of a lively, active spirit, and well versed in the practices of the court. This man, in hopes of advancing himself by promoting the interests of his master, fomented the Cardinal's designs, and regulated his manner of conducting himself with prudent instruction : advising him to proceed with caution and secrecy, till he had secured a sufficient number of followers and adherents, and teaching him how to make the best advantage of such favourable conjunctures and opportunities as time should offer. And that he might have some other proper assistants in carrying on so high a design, he first opened the affair to *James David* *Sieur Du Perron*, a young man of mean birth, but of very great learning, and upon that account well received and esteemed in the Cardinal's family from the beginning ; and then to *Scipio Balbani*, a native of *Lucca*, who, from being a merchant (which profession he had followed many years with very ill success) had since been employed as an agent at different courts.

These men therefore began to apply themselves, with the utmost diligence and address, to form that third party : for which purpose, *Perron*, under the colour of a complimentary visit, went to wait upon the Duke of *Longueville* and the Count *De St. Paul*, two brothers, who

who being descended from the Royal family (though their progenitors were not legitimate) called themselves of the house of *Orleans*, and, notwithstanding they were zealous Catholics, yet kept united with the Princes of the Blood, for the maintenance of the Crown: and having represented to their consideration what prejudice their common interests received from the obstinacy of the present King, artfully drew them into the same design, and engaged them to enter into a private correspondence with the Cardinal. On the other hand, *Balbani*, pretending to have private business of his own, went directly to *Rome*, to make an apology to the Pope for the Cardinal's residing in those places that adhered to the King's party, as it was for no other end, he said, but to exhort and persuade him to a conversion: which being now protracted, contrary to the general expectation, and to so many promises that he had made, the Cardinal, not willing to violate his own conscience, had sent him to execute it to his Holiness, and to beseech him to protect the Royal family, which ought not to forfeit its rights for the obstinacy of one man: adding, that when the Cardinal should once be firmly assured, that the Apostolick see would not suffer any other King but a Catholic, and of the legitimate race of *St. Lewis*, he would declare himself competitor for the Crown, with the approbation of the Catholic Nobility and Commons, and deprive the King of the main strength of those who now followed him, only to support the rights of the Royal family. Whilst *Perron* and *Balbani*, therefore, one within, the other without the kingdom, took great pains to lay the foundations of this third party, the Cardinal staying at *Tours*, as President of the King's Council that resided there, endeavoured, both personally, and by means of *Touchard*, to work upon the affections of many, and particularly of *Gilles de Sourvay*, Governor of that city, a man of exceeding great piety and no less prudence, and who had always been in the highest esteem at court, for his goodness and wisdom. But these designs being communicated to several, could not long be kept secret, and were come to the ear of *Philip*, Cardinal of *Lenoncourt*, an old dependant upon the house of *Navarre*, who likewise following the King's party, resided in *Tours*, and was one of the Council: and as there was no very good understanding betwixt him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he was the first that gave the King advice of them, informing him, in a confused manner, of what he had been able to find out, concerning the schemes that were in agitation. The King, being no stranger to the jealousy and emulation that subsisted betwixt the two Cardinals, did not absolutely give credit to *Lenoncourt's* report; and yet he began to be a little uneasy about it, and took some pains to get a more thorough insight into the matter; when mere chance itself opened the whole scene to him, in a very unexpected manner. For *Balbani*, who was already come into

1591. *Italy*, having met *Des Portes*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* secretary, upon the road, who was likewise going to *Rome* upon his master's affairs, contracted an acquaintance with him, as it usually happens amongst those that are interested in the same nation: in consequence of which, either inconsiderately, or that he might begin to scatter some seeds of it into the League, he imparted the affair to him for which the Cardinal had sent him to *Rome*, and shewed him the commissions which, for his better instruction, he had given him, distinctly reduced into writing. Upon which *Des Portes*, a man of great subtlety and address in managing things of that kind, insinuated himself into his confidence in such a manner, that he not only got to the bottom of the whole, and informed himself what adherents the Cardinal had, but also obtained a copy of his instructions from him: of which, as he sent several duplicates in his letters to the Duke of *Mayenne*, one of the copies, that was intercepted by the garrison of *Auxerre*, came to the King's hands, with a minute and particular detail of the conspiracy. For the further clearing up and confirmation of the intelligence, which he had thus got from the letters of *Des Portes*, it happened that *James du Quesnay*, a *Norman* Gentleman, who had been bred Page to the Duke of *Longueville*, being one night in his Lord's bed-chamber (as it is a custom in *France*, for people to make their compliments to great men there before they go to repose) and standing so far behind the curtains that he could not be distinguished, by chance heard a long conversation betwixt him and *Du Perron*, upon the same subject, which he thinking of no great consequence, told again to his kinsman, *John d'Espignay*, who being a *Hugonot*, and a man of discretion, immediately communicated the whole to Monsieur *De Chaferon*, under whom he served in the army, and he again informed the King of every circumstance.

When the King was thoroughly acquainted with the designs that were carrying on against him, he was much concerned and troubled in his mind, and having imparted them to the High Chancellor and Monsieur *De la Nouë*, and desired their advice in the affair: The High Chancellor being very desirous of the King's conversion, or thinking it the best step he could take, said, "It was in the King's own power to remove those obstacles, and dispel those clouds: for by turning Catholick, he might at once destroy the foundation of all such conspiracies, and open a most secure way to union and peace. That to think of any other remedy, would not only be in vain, but exceeding dangerous and prejudicial to his interests: for by alienating the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Princes of the Blood, who sided with him, he would cut off one of his own arms, and weaken his party in such a manner, that he would no longer be in a condition to oppose his enemies. On the other hand, if he dissimulated his knowledge of their machinations, it would give them an opportunity

tunity of accomplishing their designs, by drawing with them a great part of the Catholicks, who were discontented that his conversion was so long delayed: so that, to avoid these two imminent dangers, it was absolutely necessary at last, to give satisfaction to all his servants, whilst the state of affairs permitted him to do it with honour: for when the Catholick party should once have deserted him, it would no longer be to any purpose to think of converting or of giving them satisfaction, in hopes of luring them again, as they do hawks when they have got loose from their owners: and therefore it behoved him to exert a resolution worthy of himself, and lose no time in plucking up the roots of those evils which were spreading in so dangerous a manner."

Monsieur *De la Nouë* said, "He would declare his opinion the more freely, because both his Majesty and all the rest of the world well knew, he had said from the very beginning, *That if he did not turn Catholick, he would never be King of France*; but that the present was not, by any means, a proper conjuncture for that purpose. That his Majesty must be sensible, with how formidable a power his enemies were soon likely to come upon him, as the Pope and his Catholick Majesty had made wonderful preparations to assist the League. That to oppose those forces, he had no other resource but the supplies which had been promised by the Queen of *England* and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who were drawing a powerful army together, under the Viscount *De Turenne*, to support him in a time of so great need: all which succours and provisions would vanish in a moment, if he should change his religion at that juncture; and not only they would disappear, but all the *Hugonots* in the kingdom that now followed his fortune would desert him; so that at the arrival of the enemy's forces, he would be left destitute, unprovided, abandoned, without means to resist, and at the mercy of his adversaries. That the exigency of affairs would not admit him to deliberate upon means to prevent future evils, whilst he was threatened with present ruin, as the *Italian* forces were already upon their march, the Duke of *Parma* assembling an army, and time so precious, that it naturally dictated to him to postpone the care of things yet at a distance, and to provide for more immediate and pressing necessities. That the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* design had no very solid foundation to rely upon, and required a long time to bring it to perfection: That desperate remedies were not to be applied at present, but such as might palliate the disease, till it was a proper season to purge it thoroughly off. That it was necessary to divide those Lords, and separate them into different places, to have an eye upon their actions, to soothe and keep well with them, till it was seen what consequences the arrival of the foreign forces on each side would produce: that afterwards time and occasions would of themselves administer remedies proper for

1591. the disease, and means of delivering himself at last out of these labyrinths." The King seemed to prefer this advice, which was also approved of by the Marshal *De Biron*, to whose decision all matters of importance were ultimately referred. Upon which, he immediately dispatched letters to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Lords of the Council, desiring them to come to the camp, as he had occasion for their advice and assistance: the Count *De Soissons* he removed from the government of *Poitou* and *Touraine*, and sent the Prince of *Conti*, who was not engaged in the conspiracy, and already excluded by his brothers, to govern those parts. For, the Count *De Soissons* (being also provoked that the King had often promised him his own sister *Catherine* to wife, and now refused to give her to him) had embarked in the Cardinal's designs, not altogether without hopes, that though he was the younger brother, yet being a layman, the Catholick Princes of the Blood might be induced to make choice of him: so that the Cardinal being arrived at the camp before *Chartres*, and continuing to come to the Council, happened to be present (as has been said before) at the edict that was made in favour of the *Hugonots*, which he opposed both by his words and actions, and after it had passed, never ceased to represent it in an unfavourable light, in order to draw the Catholicks into his designs. Nor could the King have disengaged himself so easily from that embarrassment, if a device, framed by the League on purpose to do him a mischief, had not proved of admirable service to him.

Landriano, the Nuncio, was come to *Rheims*, by the Pope's orders, with monitory letters, addressed to the Prelates that followed the King; and to the Nobility, cities, and people, that adhered to the same party. In which, after the usual preambles, and having copiously exaggerated and expressed his detestation of the error which the Catholicks, especially the Clergy, had been guilty of, in favouring and supporting a King, that was a relapsed and excommunicated heretick, and in rivetting the miserable yoke and bondage of heresy upon their own necks, he proceeded, in the most pathetick manner, to enjoin and expressly command the Clergy (on pain of excommunication, of being deprived of their benefices and dignities, and of being treated as sectaries and hereticks) that within a certain, limited time, they should withdraw themselves from those places that paid obedience to *Henry of Bourbon*, and from all union and correspondence with his faction: admonishing, exhorting, and at last strictly charging the Nobility and people wholly to abandon them, to leave all towns that acknowledged the *Heretick*, and to retire amongst the Catholicks that obeyed the Apostolick See, in the unity of the true faith. The whole Monitory was conceived in an elaborate and pompous style, full of haughty and menacing expressions, sharp and rigorous commands,

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and, in short, such as did not seem at all well adapted to a time, when the King's arms were attended with great success, and the affairs of the League appeared declining both in strength and reputation: so that, after it had been taken into consideration by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the chiefs of his party, many were of opinion, and particularly Monsieur *De Villeroy*, that it would be the best way to defer the publication of it, till the arms of the confederates were in greater credit, and they might hope to reap some advantage from it. But the Nuncio, who was very little versed in the affairs of *France*, and accustomed to measure things by the opinions of the court of *Rome*: the Bishop of *Piacenza* also, though he had more experience in the present concerns, yet wholly intent upon pleasing the Pope and gaining his favour: and the *Spanish* Ministers, induced by ancient hatred, and a desire of seeing things daily more and more disturbed; all resolved that the Monitory should be published. The *French* Lords, however, remonstrated, "That it was not only very difficult, but also not by any means to be hoped, that the Clergy and Nobility, whose estates, dignities, and prelacies, were in the King's power, should resolve to forfeit them, only to gratify the Pope, especially, as there were but few in those days, who would be content to give up all their worldly goods, for the sake of conscience: that, moreover, they had already from the beginning expected these threats and penalties from his Holiness, and had long been prepared to bear them: that the more they were forced, the more obdurate they would grow; and when they had lost all hopes of being reinstated in the Pope's favour, they would become more obstinately attached to their party, and labour with greater industry to destroy their enemies. That it was necessary to allure and gain them by gentle means, and not to terrify and drive them to utter despair: that such like menaces would be better timed after a victory, to furnish them with a plausible pretence for leaving the King, when his affairs were in a low condition; than now, when he was strong and powerful, and it was not to be imagined that any body would forsake him. That wise resolutions were not to be grounded upon probabilities, but facts; nor ought things to be regulated according to the opinions of those that formed their judgment of them at a distance, but by men, who, besides their experience in affairs, were immediately present upon the scene of action." Nevertheless, the Ministers of the Pope and the King of *Spain* thought these objections were urged out of common partiality to the nation, and not because they were either true or reasonable: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had built all his hopes upon the coming of the *Italian* and *Flemish* forces, and was not willing to disgust those Princes, referred himself entirely to them. The Monitory, therefore, was published without further delay, and produced the same effect that the *French* Lords had foretold: for the King having called

1591. called a Council, at which, he desired all the Prelates that were in *Mante*, and the most considerable persons of his army, to assist, complained grievously of the violent measures that the Pope had just taken against him, praising and extolling the moderation of *Sixtus*, who being at last convinced, that all these discords arose from ambition, and a desire of dividing the kingdom, and not from any real concern or zeal for religion, had desisted from sending assistance to the League, and tacitly granted him time to think of turning, in a decent manner, to the Catholick faith; whilst he favoured and graciously listened to those that followed his party for a good purpose, and for the service of God, of justice, and of their country, as the Duke of *Luxembourg* could fully testify. He further declared, his sincere intention of fulfilling what he had promised to the Catholick Nobility at the beginning of his reign: he excused himself by saying, that he had hitherto been prevented, by the fury of the war, from using those means which he thought becoming the importance of the affair, and the quality of his person: and at last, exhorted the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, to use their utmost endeavours to conserve the privileges and immunities of the *Gallican* church, to hinder that kingdom from being divided and dismembered, which they had received in so flourishing a condition from their ancestors, and not to suffer the people to be left without their Prelates and Pastors, exposed to the manifest danger of error, schism, and damnation: things, which, though they were neither seen nor considered at *Rome*, were nevertheless but too obvious to the eyes of any person whatsoever, that should look upon them with Christian piety and affection. After which, he caused a solemn Decree to be made, declaring, that he would inviolably observe his promise, and exhorting the Parliaments to have a proper regard to the dignity of the Crown, and the Prelates to attend to the spiritual welfare of the people committed to their charge, and to the preservation of the liberties of the *Gallican* church.

This Decree being published with unanimous consent, as every one was offended at the rigour of the Monitory, and the coming of the Nuncio *Landriano*, he dispatched President *De Thou* to *Tours*, and President *Favre* to *Châlons*, in which Parliaments the proceedings of *Landriano* were both spoken and protested against with great freedom; and it was there determined, that the Monitory should be publicly burnt. At the same time, other most severe decrees were made against those that should obey the injunctions of *Landriano*, and desert the King's party, depriving the Clergy of their dignities and benefices, and confiscating the estates and goods of such Lords, Gentlemen, or others, as should do so, and making them all subject to the pains and penalties of high treason and rebellion: which, together with the disdain that the free spirit of the *French* had conceived

ceived at the style of the Monitory, made such an impression upon their minds, that not one of them now offered to stir. On the contrary, those that were inclining to favour the new designs of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, laid aside all other thoughts, except such as tended to the conservation and support of the King, whose arms they saw in so fair a way to prevail: the Clergy publicly declaring, "That the canons did not command them to abandon their flocks in times of such danger and distraction, nor did duty enjoin them to leave their country, their own houses and estates, granted them by the liberality of former Kings as a reward for their services, to go a begging like miserable vagabonds for a pension of an hundred crowns, from the charity of the Pope's nephews: that in the end, when the King had suppressed his enemies, he would compose all differences with the Pope, and then, whosoever had been obstinate and rebellious against him, would be utterly undone: and that they could not in conscience forsake a Prince, who implored their aid and instruction to bring him into the bosom of the church." Thus, for the most part, those very engines that were raised on purpose to do the King the most mischief, were turned, in a wonderful manner, to his service and advantage, and the poisons prepared for him, converted into salutary medicines. To these decrees of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Châlons*, the Parliament of *Paris* opposed contrary decrees, receiving the Monitory, admitting the Nuncio's commissions, exhorting and commanding every one to accept, publish, and obey them, and threatening to inflict the heaviest punishments upon those that should transgress them. But even this did not in the least move the Prelates and Nobility, that followed the King's party, from their determination: and all those remonstrances and complaints which were made before, concerning the liberty granted to the *Hugonots* in the exercise of their religion, were now turned against the Pope's severe and (as they called it) precipitate resolution:

In the mean time the Lords of the house of *Lorraine*, the Nuncio *Landriano*, the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *Savoy*, and Cardinal *Pellève*, Archbishop of *Rheims* (an old protector and favourer of the League) were all come to that city, to the appointed meeting, where their common interests were thoroughly and largely discussed: and though every one disguised his own views and designs under various colours and pretences, yet it was very plainly seen they could not all agree in the same end. The *Spaniards* depended upon their power, and the want that others were in of their assistance: the Nuncio, upon the majesty of the Apostolick See, and the support of religion: asserting, that the power of settling those matters was proper and peculiar to the Pope. The Duke of *Lorraine* pleaded the expedience and decency of the thing, as head of the family, and pretended that the rest ought in modesty to give way to his pre-

1591. pretensions. The Duke of *Savoy* aspired to the acquisition of *Provence*; the Duke of *Mercaur* to that of *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Nemours* wanted to establish himself in his governments: and, lastly, the Duke of *Mayenne*, General of the armies and leader of his party, trusted to the union of the people, and the concurrence of the Nobility that bore an affection to his name. But things were not yet sufficiently mature; and every one proceeding with great caution and secrecy, concealed his own designs, and pretended to be moved only by the consideration of the general good. All which being observed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, he was confident, that with time and opportunity, and proper management, he should be able at last to bring over all the rest to his interest; and after they had only concluded upon opposing the coming of the King's foreign supplies, with their common forces, all other concerns were referred to a more seasonable occasion, the Duke having demonstrated, that it was necessary to employ the present in action and not in consultation, as the *Germans* in the King's service were already upon their march, and he himself continued to proceed with great success in the war.

The breaking up of the conference at *Rheims* in this manner, and without coming to any other resolution, convinced the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he had no longer any reason to put so much confidence in the Pope's assistance, when he found the Nuncio in all things inseparable from the interests of *Spain*: and determined him to make use of the ecclesiastical troops only to hinder the entrance of foreigners, and in other enterprises not to trust to any but his *French* forces. Upon which account, he dispatched a Gentleman in all haste to President *Jurmin*, who was already arrived in *Spain*, with instructions, not to take so much pains for supplies of *Spanish* or *Italian* forces, as to procure pay for a certain number of *French* horse and foot, under a pretence, that he found the officers of those two nations unwilling to obey his command, and that with *French* troops, which were more tractable and better acquainted with their own country, he should be able much sooner, and with less difficulty, to bring their common designs to a happy conclusion. For the same purpose, he sent repeated couriers with commissions to *Des Portes*, to solicit the Pope for an express order for his army, under the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, to stay in *Lorraine*, and there, in conjunction with that Duke's forces and the supplies from *Flanders*, to oppose the coming of the Viscount *De Turenne*; alledging, that those were the best means of cutting off all succours from the King, and of putting a speedy and victorious end to the war: which having been already agreed upon with the Nuncio, whom he had easily made to believe, that the fate of their whole undertaking depended upon that, he, with his own forces, marched away towards *Paris* and *Normandy*, to oppose the daily progress of the King.

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The Duke of *Monte Marciano's* forces were considerable; for being drawn together at *Lodi*, a place fixed upon, by his Catholick Majesty's permission, for their rendezvous, they amounted to twelve hundred horse and two thousand foot, all under gallant and experienced commanders; which were to be joined by four thousand *Swiss*, raised in the Catholick cantons, with the money which the Pope had taken out of the castle of *St. Angelo*. The King of *Spain's* forces destined for *Flanders*, consisting of two divisions of foot and four hundred horse, commanded by *Marco Pio* and the Governor of *Alexandria*, marched with the Pope's army, and took the same rout. To this body, which was to pass from the confines of *Savoy*, through the territories of *Burgundy*, into *Lorraine*, the Duke of that state intended to join his army, already amounting to four thousand effective foot and eight hundred horse: so that the confederate Princes imagined that the King's *Germans* (even if he himself should advance with all his forces to receive them) would not be able to oppose their progress, and at their entrance into the kingdom, must either disperse of themselves, or be defeated.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, after his departure from the Assembly, had marched with the utmost expedition to *Rouen*; in which city, the people, dissatisfied with the government of the Viscount *De Tavannes*, had furiously risen in arms to drive him out: and *Andrew Brancacc*, *Sieur De Villers*, Governor of *Havre de Grace*, being come thither with some forces, for fear the city should revolt and put itself into the King's power, there afterwards arose such a jealousy and enmity betwixt those two commanders, that it was expected they would attack each other; which could not have happened without much bloodshed, nor without exceeding great hazard of the city's falling into the enemy's hands. The Duke, however, arrived so opportunely, that if he had staid but one day longer, things could not have been composed without a great deal of mischief. But his coming gave a check to the fury of both parties: and being unwilling that private discords should endanger a place of so great moment, he satisfied the desires of the people and Parliament, by chusing his son, *Henry de Lorraine*, to be Governor of that city: and because he was very young, he made the same *Sieur De Villers* his Lieutenant, who was a man of exceeding high spirit and singular valour; and sent the Viscount *De Tavannes*, his old dependant, to command, as Field-Marshal, under the government of the Duke of *Aumale*, in the province of *Picardy*.

About the same time, *La Fere*, a place of very great importance on the confines of *Picardy*, was near revolting: for the Marquis *De Mene-lay*, who had that government (though he had been most obstinately attached to the League from the beginning, yet at this time, whatever might be his reason) having changed his mind, had secretly agreed to

1591. deliver up the place, and to go over to the King's party. For this purpose, the King himself still waited with his army in those parts; but the Duke, either having had intelligence of the matter, or, as some said, only suspecting it, immediately sent the Vice Seneschal *De Montelimar* (whom, on account of his great sagacity, he used to employ upon the most urgent occasions) together with the *Sieur De Magny*, Lieutenant of his guards, to *La Fere*, with orders, that, if they could not get the Marquis out of the place by other means, they should endeavour to have him assassinated as soon as they possibly could. Nor did they fail to execute what was given them in charge: for after they were arrived there, and had delivered letters from the Duke to the officers of the garrison, whilst the Governor was at mass, without staying till he should resolve upon any thing, they fell suddenly upon him as he came out of the church, and having taken him at unawares and unprovided, presently dispatched him at two stabs, and made themselves masters of the place without any opposition. This action, which looked more like the proceedings of an absolute Prince than the head of a confederacy, disgusted many, though the Duke took much pains to shew, that extreme necessity had produced it, contrary to his will: and it still gave greater offence, that the government was conferred on *Montelimar*, one of the assassins; so that people did not scruple to say publicly, "That the arms of the League never had any edge, but when they were employed against their friends."

Great was the ferment that this event occasioned in men's minds, on account of the Marquis's family and connections, and because it displeased every one that the Duke should arrogate so absolute a power to himself. Seeing therefore he had lost much of his credit, and that it was necessary to retrieve it by some new enterprise of importance (as later actions commonly in a great measure cancel and abolish the memory of former ones) he resolved to give a scalado to *Mante*, where the King's Council and many other Lords, Prelates, and most of the Officers of the Crown that adhered to him, then resided, but without such a guard as the quality of their persons and the weakness of the place required. And imagining that if he should succeed in this undertaking, it would gain him great reputation, and exceedingly weaken the King's party and interest, he drew out the forces that were in *Paris*, together with the garrisons of *Meaux*, *Dreux*, and *Pontoise*, and having made choice of a very dark and rainy night, he approached on two sides with scaling-ladders to the walls of the town (the situation of which he was perfectly acquainted with long before) in full assurance of entering it without much difficulty, on account of the small number of soldiers that were in it. But it happened that he found the sentinels awake at both places, and so alert, that they imme-

immediately gave the alarm to the guards, who took to their arms and ran to defend the wall : and yet this would have proved but of little service, and they could not long have resisted the assailants, if the Lords of the Council themselves, now their own safety was so nearly concerned, had not taken arms with more courage than could be expected from men of the gown, and ran, with their attendants to reinforce the guards. Upon which, the Duke's soldiers being not only tired, but, almost drowned with the rain, and in a great measure deprived of the use of their fire-arms, and not able to get up to the top of the wall, which they thought they should have found slenderly guarded : but, on the contrary, many of their ladders falling and being broken, they were driven back by the people of the town, and retired without gaining any advantage ; so that the assault was attended with more noise and tumult, than bloodshed or loss on either side. This repulse, however, did not damp the Duke's courage : but being informed that part of the King's *Swiss* were quartered at *Hudan*, he marched the next day, with the same expedition, to attack them, but to no purpose ; for having found them very strongly fortified and entrenched, he was forced to retire from thence also without any success ; to the great praise of the vigilance and good discipline of the King's soldiers, who had so effectually frustrated the Duke's celerity and well-laid designs.

But the danger of *Mante* had been so great in the opinion of all prudent men, that *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, represented to the Council, and the other Lords that were there, that it would be downright rashness to stay in a place so weak and poorly manned, till the Duke assaulted it a second time ; and persuaded them to retire to *Chartres*, where, besides the largeness and commodiousness of the city, they might reside with more dignity and security, considering the strength of the place and of the garrison that was in it. The King approved of this resolution, which (as one person cannot attend to every thing at the same time) had not occurred to him before : and being come to *Compiègne*, began to put his army in order, that he might advance to receive his foreign supplies. But because he had not yet had any intelligence of their marching, he resolved in the mean while (that he might not throw away his time in doing nothing) to lay siege to *Noyon*, a town upon the confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, which being much better provided with horse than foot, infested all the roads round about it, and greatly incommoded those places that adhered to him in that country. What induced him to attempt that place, made it also more easy to be taken : for as there were such numbers of horse in it, and but few foot, and a very small quantity of ammunition, and other things necessary for the defence of it, the siege could not be attended with much difficulty. Where-

1591. fore, having drawn all his army together, upon the 25th of July, he ordered the Marshal *De Biron* to lodge himself within a mile of the town: and the same day the *Sieur De Rieux*, perceiving the King's intention, left *Pierrefont* with sixty horse and as many foot mounted behind them, each man having a bag of powder at his saddle-bow, and passing secretly through the woods, got safe into the city, to the great relief of those that were in it.

Noyon is situated betwixt a mountain, on the north side, which is very steep and craggy; and a fen, on the south side, occasioned by the overflowing of the river *Oyse* in that place. Behind it, thick and spacious woods extend themselves for many miles: and there is no open road that leads to it, except in the front, over a small plain that reaches to the gate of *St. Ely*, and to a rich abbey that stands near the *Fauxbourg*. The town was surrounded with an old wall, and great towers at proper distance from each other; but both the towers and the curtain were very well lined with earth. The Marshal *De Biron*, therefore, having viewed the situation, encamped not far from the river, with a design to attack the *Fauxbourg* and abbey that were contiguous to the plain, and stood out of the fen; and by that means to open himself a way to the moat, which is of a considerable breadth, and encompasses the town on that side. On the other hand, Monsieur *De Ville*, Governor of the place, knowing the weakness of the garrison, and the want of many necessaries, had been very importunate for relief, several days before the siege, and even after the army appeared, in repeated letters and messages both to the Viscount *De Tavannes* and the Duke of *Aumale*, Governor of the province: who, being no less solicitous for the safety of the place, first dispatched the *Sieur De Gribouval* with an hundred foot and about twenty horse, and then the *Sieur De Tremblecourt* with his regiment of foot, which was now reduced to a very small number, to try if they could get privately through the woods into the town: but both of them, being charged by the garrisons of *Chauny*, *Corbie*, and *Catelet*, were defeated by the way: so that *Gribouval* only, and sixteen of his men, entered with much difficulty, and *Tremblecourt* could not come within many miles of *Noyon*. The miscarriage of these supplies obliged the Viscount *De Tavannes* to attempt to get in himself: for which purpose he left *Roye*, on the 1st of August in the evening, with five hundred firelocks and three hundred horse to escort them, and, under favour of the night, drew near the guards of the army an hour before day, in great hopes of passing betwixt guard and guard, before the King's army had put itself in order to oppose them. But the *Sieur D'Arges*, who, by the Marshal's order, had been out the same night with a party of sixty light horse to scour the roads, happened to meet him on a sudden, and not being daunted, though he had so few men with him,

him, bravely began a skirmish with a small volley of his small arms, which occasioned all the other parties that were abroad to hasten to the same place. Upon which, the forces of the League finding themselves discovered, and not well knowing in the dark by what number of enemies they were so resolutely attacked (as encounters in the night are commonly attended with more terror than bloodshed) presently disordered themselves without making any resistance, and fled, by different ways, in a very great panick: the Viscount alone, whilst he was endeavouring to stop the flight of his men with his sword in hand, being wounded both in the arm and thigh, was at last taken prisoner by the *Sieur D'Arges* himself.

The Duke of *Aumale*, being intrusted with the government of that province, was not a little mortified at the ill success of his officers, and was resolved to attempt the relief of *Noyon* himself, being very certain, that if both foot and ammunition were not thrown into the town, it must of course be lost in a few days. He therefore marched from *Han*, on the 7th of *August* in the evening, with six hundred horse and nine hundred foot: and, that his men might proceed in good order to the execution of his design, and not be thrown into confusion by the darkness of the night, as the others had been, he resolved to beat up one of the King's quarters at break of day, and whilst they were in alarm and fully engaged there, to endeavour to succour the town by day-light, rather than expose himself to the danger of being disordered in the dark. With this intention, he marched up to the plain, along the great highway that leads directly to the gate, where he suddenly fell upon one of the quarters of the King's light horse that lay without the trenches, under the cover of some scattered houses upon the same road. The attack was fierce, and it was no less resolutely sustained by the *Sieur D'Arges* (a young Gentleman of high courage) and the men that he had under his command. But the Duke of *Aumale* being still reinforced with fresh supplies of horse, and Colonel *Berangère* coming up with the foot that followed him, the light horse, though they fought valiantly, would have been forced to quit their post, and leave the way open to relief, if *Biron* had not seasonably come to their assistance with three hundred cuirassiers and two hundred Reiters: at whose arrival, the Duke being furiously charged in the flank, and the light horse (who had began to give way) now recovering themselves after their surprise, the further advance of the enemy was stopped, till new supplies came up after each other, and the infantry of the camp, already in arms, had fallen into their ranks to defend their posts; upon which the Duke of *Aumale* was obliged to retire, though he made good his retreat by an obstinate opposition, wherein, besides the death of sixty private men, he lost the *Sieur De Longchamp*, a soldier of great experience,

1591. rience, and *Francisco Guevara*, a Captain of the *Spanish* light horse, and was pursued to the very gates of *Han*, without being able to give the least relief to the besieged.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, being informed that *Noyon* was besieged, had dispatched expresses in all haste for the *Sieur De Rhosne*, with the forces that were in *Champagne*, and for the Prince of *Ascoli*, who had been sent by the Duke of *Parma* with eight hundred horse, and three thousand foot; and being joined by them at *La Fere*, came up to *Han*, on the 10th of *August*, where he posted his army upon the road that leads toward *Noyon*, but with the river betwixt them: imagining his presence would give sufficient courage to the besieged. But the King having taken possession of the most convenient places, had carried his approaches so far, that he had already begun to batter the abbey that stood without the *Fauxbourg*: which was resolutely defended by those within it, to keep the enemy as far as they possibly could from the walls. The five pieces of cannon, however, with which it was battered, had demolished it to such a degree, that the foot took it on the 8th day by assault, in which thirty of the besieged were killed, and above fifty more taken prisoners, to the great diminution of the garrison, which of itself was too weak at first to defend the compass of the walls. The Duke of *Mayenne's* arrival, however, made it necessary to suspend the progress of the siege: for as he had ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse with him, it was thought, if he could not relieve the place any other way, he would venture a battle with the King, rather than see it taken.

Yet the opinions in his camp were very different: for the Prince of *Ascoli* did not think the loss of the town of so much importance, that it was worth while to hazard a battle to prevent it, with the risque of the only army they had in being to make head against the enemy: and said, "That, as the Pope's and the King of *Spain's* supplies had already passed the mountains, and were very soon expected, it would be an unaccountable piece of rashness, to put that now into the power of fortune, which might be more effectually secured, and indeed made certain, in a few days." The Duke of *Aumale*, on the other hand, being thoroughly picqued at his late disgrace, and impatient to wipe it off, argued, that the safety of the place was of very great consequence to the affairs of the province, since there was no other strong town left in those parts that adhered to their party: but that their reputation was of still greater importance, which would be much tarnished, if they should suffer the place to be taken from them without striking a stroke, when they had advanced to the very face of the enemy with forces not inferior in number to theirs. The Duke of *Mayenne* inclined to the safer side, partly, because he was naturally averse to hazardous enterprizes, and partly, because he had it

not so much in his power to command as to persuade the Prince of *Ascoli* 1591. and the *Spaniards*, whom he saw thoroughly determined not to consent to the hazard of a battle.

In the mean time, the King, being desirous to discover the enemy's intentions with some certainty, and having no more expeditious way of doing it, ordered the Marshal *De Biron* to pass the river with the greater part of his horse, to see whether the Duke would come out to engage him, or still continue in his quarters. But as soon as the Marshal was advanced within sight of *Han*, and of the army of the League, which was encamped across the main road, he found the country quite clear: nor did any part of them stir out of their quarters to skirmish in the open field: which being repeated for three days together with the like event, the King apprehending, that the Duke thought to relieve *Noyon* only with the report of his being so near it, went on with the siege, and caused the courtain of *St. Ely* to be battered on the 15th, and having beaten down the works on each side, on the 16th in the morning, being resolved to make an assault, he ordered the cavalry to pass over the river as usual, that they might be in readiness if the enemy should stir: and after he had drawn up his infantry in a proper manner, gave orders to the Baron *De Biron* to advance to the attack. Upon which Monsieur *De Ville*, who had held out as long as he possibly could, and expected relief in vain, now seeing himself in such a condition, that he was not able to oppose so fierce an assault as was preparing against him, signified to the King, that he would capitulate, and in a few hours agreed to surrender, if the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either advance to engage him, or throw at least five hundred men into the town within two days: which being concluded upon, and hostages given on both sides, he dispatched a Gentleman to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to let him know of the agreement: who having consulted again with his Commanders, and come to the same conclusion as before, drew off to the walls of *Han* the same evening; and the Sieur *De Ville*, punctually performing the agreement, delivered up the town on the 18th into the hands of Monsieur *D'Estree* for the King.

After the taking of *Noyon*, the attention of both sides was chiefly taken up with expectation of the foreign forces, which did not yet happen to make their appearance on either. For the *Germans*, who, to the number of eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, had been raised by the Viscount *De Turenne*, with the assistance of the Protestant Princes, were not willing to stir without money, and expected that a large sum should have been disbursed from *England* for their pay and subsistence: which the Queen being obliged to raise upon her subjects, who had promised to grant it upon certain conditions, things were not so soon settled, nor were the terms equally satisfactory to both sides. For the *English* being still
desirous

1591. desirous to recover footing in *France*, and particularly in *Normandy*, a province long possessed by them in former times, had promised the Queen three hundred thousand ducats, to be employed in the affairs of *France*, provided she could get some convenient sea-port to be assigned to her, not only as a security for their money, but also for a store-house for their merchandizes, and that they might carry on their commerce with more convenience in the kingdom of *France*: which demand having been formerly made, and now earnestly repeated by the Queen, who likewise insisted upon liberty of conscience for the *Hugonots*, on pretence of complying with the earnest importunities of her subjects, gave the King a good deal of trouble and uneasiness, as he was not willing to deprive himself of *Dieppe*, a place where he successfully made the first trials of his fortune: much less of *Calais*, to which the *English* made very strong pretensions: and all the other places were in the possession of the League. He therefore at last proposed, and made a firm promise to the Queen, by the *Sieur De Salette*, a *Hugonot* Gentleman, whom he sent on purpose, that he would lay siege to the city of *Rouen*, and if the *English* would assist him with men and money to take it, he would give them a reasonable jurisdiction in it, that they might carry on their commerce with freedom and security thereafter, which, if he could make himself master of *Caudebec* and *Harfleur*, towns near that city, he would also consign one of those ports to them, which might serve for a convenient retreat for their shipping, upon occasion. But whilst the *English* demurred to these conditions, and whilst they were treated of with the usual precautions on both sides, the march of the *Germans* was deferred, nor could they be prevailed upon to move, till the first hundred thousand ducats were paid down, and assignments given them for the other two hundred thousand.

On the other hand, the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, and the forces which were marching from *Milan* towards *Flanders*, at the Duke of *Savoy's* reiterated instances, had received orders to stay some days in his territories, that by their countenance and assistance, he might not only recover some places that had been taken from him, but suppress the forces of Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who was very active, and harrassed him exceedingly, both in *Dauphinè* and *Provence*. The Duke was picqued, that the King's party had taken some places, though of no great importance; but he was much more alarmed at a fort which *Les Diguieres* had begun to build over against *Mont-meillan*. Upon which account, as he had permission to detain the *Italian* army, and the four thousand *Swiss* raised by the Pope, sometime with him, he sent Don *Amadeo* before him to attempt the taking of that fort, which was called *Morestello*, from the place where it was erected, whilst he himself entered *Dauphinè* with other forces by a different side, and Count *Francisco Martinengo*, with the main strength of his army,

army, laid close siege to the town of *Barre* in *Provence*. In the mean time Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who was sometimes obliged to attend to the affairs of *Dauphinè*, sometimes to assist Monsieur *De la Valette* in *Provence*, had set out to raise the siege of *Barre*, whilst *La Valette* invested and battered *Gravion*: but not arriving till the besieged had already agreed to surrender the town, after some slight skirmishes, he returned with wonderful celerity to relieve fort *Morello*, and was advanced with four hundred horse and three thousand foot, as far as *Ponte-Cbiarra*, a place near the fort, and very convenient for his design: which being soon discovered by the *Savoyards*, who were reinforced by part of the Pope's troops, they rose silently from the siege, after it had been carried on many days, and leaving the fort behind them, encamped upon the road by which they saw the *French* army seemed resolved to advance. But *Les Diguieres* having personally reconnoitred the camp and number of the enemy, and making small account of the raw men which composed that army, in comparison of his veterans, determined to fight them, imagining that he should soon put them into disorder by a bold and furious onset. Both the armies, therefore, being betwixt the mountain and the river *Isare*, in a narrow pass, which was of great advantage to him, considering the inferiority of his forces, he divided his infantry into two bodies, one of which he sent up by the steep of the hill, and the other along the bank of the river, whilst he himself kept the plain with his cavalry, drawn up in four squadrons, amongst which there were some musketers placed at proper intervals, and resolutely advanced in this manner to attack the enemy. The *Savoyards* having drawn up their army in very good order, likewise advanced, and sustained the first encounter in the front with great courage: but whilst they were thus warmly engaged, and had their eyes and attention wholly taken up with the enemy that was before them, they were suddenly charged in the flank by the foot that were come round by the way of the hill, which they had not taken care to make good: so that being thrown into confusion by this unexpected attack, they broke their ranks, and, without making much further resistance, soon took to flight. When they came into the plain, however, that lay behind them, they recovered their spirits, and endeavoured to rally and face about again: as they were stronger in cavalry, and had a spacious open field, which gave them an opportunity of renewing the battle with great advantage. But the conquerors pressed upon them so close, and with so much impetuosity, that it terrified them to such a degree, that they dispersed and were pursued to the very walls of *Montmeillan*, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, two Cornets, eighteen pair of colours belonging to the foot, and a great quantity of spoil and baggage. This unlucky accident, which put an end to all hopes of making any

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1591. further progress at that time, together with the importunities of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorraine* to have the Pope's and *Spanish* forces march to prevent the passage of the *Germans*, determined them to leave *Savoy*, and advance through the county of *Burgundy* directly towards *Lorraine*.

Whilst the King was victoriously overrunning the whole country, after the taking of *Noyon*, the Duke of *Mayenne* still continued at *Han*, to reinforce his army and put it in order : at which place President *Jeannine* came to him at his return from the court of *Spain*, but did not bring back a satisfactory answer to any of those demands that he had been negotiating with his Catholick Majesty. The Duke of *Mayenne* had long conceived a suspicion, that the artful and reserved behaviour of the *Spaniards* proceeded from the temper and disposition of their ministers, whom he thought either ill affected to his person, or ambitious to do more than was given them in charge by the council of *Spain* : he imagined that the Duke of *Parma*, a very cautious and experienced commander, would not willingly hazard his reputation against the King, who was followed by almost an invincible body of Nobility, and was so wonderfully expeditious, intrepid, and resolute in all his undertakings : he apprehended that *Diego d'Ivarra* and *Mendoza* (who, on many accounts, were ill disposed towards him) either to diminish his credit, or out of avarice, misapplied those sums of money that were sent for his service, and often disposed of them, without his privacy, at their own pleasure ; and was fully persuaded, that as soon as his Catholick Majesty was once thoroughly informed of the affairs of *France* in general, of the private interests of different persons, and of the great authority which his pains and endeavours had procured him in particular, he would soon not only determine in his favour, but give him sufficient assistance to make an end of the war, and suffer him to take such measures as he thought proper to fix the Crown upon his own head : for which purpose, he had deprived himself of the advice and assistance of President *Jeannine*, by sending him to that court, as a man privy to his most secret designs, well informed of all particulars, of great prudence and circumspection, and by his eloquence and experience, sufficiently qualified for so difficult and important a negotiation. But both he and the President found themselves much deceived in their opinion : for (whether it had been the intention of the *Spaniards* from the beginning, or the advice given and repeated by their ministers that resided in *France* had occasioned that resolution) the court of *Spain* was desirous to have the war spun out and carried on very slowly, to prevent the Duke of *Mayenne* from rising to such a height of credit and authority with his party, as to be able to dispose of things in his own manner, and that a way might be opened, by degrees, either for the union of

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the two Crowns, or the election of the Infanta *Isabella*, which could not be effected without great length of time and much patience; or at least, if nothing else could be done, to secure themselves, that so many vast sums of money, and such a series of labours, should at last, in some measure, redound to the emolument and augmentation of their monarchy. When *Jeannine* arrived, therefore, at that court, he found in his first audience, that King *Philip* was already fully informed of all particulars, and very far from being so partially inclined to the Duke's interests, as he, at so great a distance, had vainly flattered himself: yet he endeavoured, by all possible arts and means, in his subsequent audiences, to remove those impressions, which he thought had been made upon him to the Duke's prejudice, and to persuade his Majesty to concur with him to promote the same end. But all was in vain, nor was he able to succeed in any one point: for when they treated about supplies of money, he not only found the King averse to granting larger sums than he was wont, but now determined, that even those that he had been used to furnish the Duke of *Mayenne* with, should pass through the hands of his own ministers for the future, though with the Duke's privity; alledging, "That he had seen but very small benefit arise from such heavy expences, and that he was not willing to have his supplies kept secret, but that every one should see and know from whence they came, and be obliged to him for them, as the principal source. As for his armies, he said, it was his pleasure that they should advance into *France* to support the cause of religion, which seemed to be in danger, and to establish a King who should be a Catholick, and generally approved of: but that the Duke of *Parma* could not so soon leave the *Low Countries*, as the States of *Holland* had lately taken *Zutphen* in *Friesland*, and other places in *Brabant*; and that he would not proceed any further in the dark, or without knowing what bottom he was going upon: that therefore it was necessary to assemble the States to resolve upon the election of a King, that they might go on with order and deliberation to one certain and determinate end. Lastly, as for what related to the paying of the *French* forces, which the Duke of *Mayenne* was desirous to raise and command himself, he said, he was ready to do it, when the principal resolution was once taken; that he would send a new Ambassador into *France*, to declare his intention to the States, and to cause that to be determined upon, which was necessary for the completion of such an undertaking: that in the mean time he would give orders to the Duke of *Parma* to return into *France* as soon as the affairs of *Flanders* would admit him: but that no time was to be lost in calling an Assembly of the States together, till the end of which he was not inclined to grant any larger supplies, either of men or money." This was his final resolution: nor could *Jeannine* obtain any thing further,

1591. notwithstanding he made use of his utmost address in setting forth the present state of affairs, the jealousies of the *French*, the merits of the house of *Lorrain* in general, the labours and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne* in particular, and the interest of his party. He was returned, therefore, to give an account of this negotiation to the Duke, which reduced him to greater perplexity than ever he had been in before: for having now lost all hopes of over-reaching the *Spaniards*, he was likewise involved in fresh troubles and difficulties, by the escape which his nephew, *Charles* Duke of *Guise*, had lately made out of his confinement.

That Prince had been detained prisoner ever since the death of his father: nor had any attempt been made to release him, though it had often been talked of: and when the King was applied to for that purpose, he always peremptorily refused to exchange him for any other person or persons whatsoever, alledging, that he was not a prisoner of war, but of justice. And though his mother had made the most heavy and reiterated complaints upon that head, the Duke of *Mayenne* had never been very solicitous about obtaining his liberty, foreseeing it would probably occasion a division in his party, on account of the dependance that many would have on him, in gratitude to the memory of his father, and for the favours received from him; which might induce the common people to concur unanimously in his exaltation: so that if he would not submit to acknowledge his uncle's superiority, but should endeavour to advance himself to the rank long held by his father and grandfather, the League must certainly be disunited, if not dissolved: for which reasons, he never intended to apply himself in good earnest to procure his freedom, till things were brought to such a point, that it should not be in his power to alter or disturb the course of them, even if he was at liberty. But now, whether the King (as some thought) foresaw the consequences, and privately connived at his enlargement, or that it was happily contrived by the *Sieur De la Chastre*, who had the adjacent government of *Berry*, and was one of his father's old friends and dependants, it is certain, that after it had been agreed upon, that a groom and another servant, with a very fleet horse, sent by *La Chastre*, should be laid for him in the fields under the castle of *Tours*; where he was kept prisoner, he took an opportunity of making his escape in the following manner. On the 15th of *August* in the afternoon, when he retired from the table, and had shut the doors of his apartment in order to repose himself, whilst his guards and the other attendants were making themselves merry with good cheer, he silently locked them up in the room where they were at dinner, and went up to the top of a tower that looked towards the fields, from whence he descended, with exceeding great danger, by a ladder of silk, which had been privately sent him in apye; and having got safe to the bottom, ran
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along the side of the river *Loire* towards the place appointed, where he found the horse, and those that waited for him, and made all possible haste to join the Baron *De Maisson*, son to *La Chastre*, who had appointed to meet him some few miles on the other side of the river *Cber*, with three hundred horse: under the escort of which he was safely conducted into *Berry*, and there received, with demonstrations of the utmost joy, in the city of *Bourges*. Monsieur *De Sourray*, Governor of *Tours*, and Colonel *Grillon*, who had staid in that town ever since the wound which he received in the attack made upon the suburbs of it, having advice that *La Chastre's* forces were roving about those parts, and apprehending they might have some correspondence in the city, had for some days kept the gates shut, and attended more strictly to their guards than they used to do: but being immediately informed of the Duke's sudden escape by Captain *Rouray*, Governor of the castle, they either had in reality, or pretended to have, a much stronger suspicion than before, and would not let the gates be opened, without the precaution of first drawing up the soldiers under arms, and then causing a diligent search to be made quite through the town; so that the Duke, having the advantage of above an hour and a half, could not afterwards be overtaken by those that pursued him, which confirmed the suspicion some had conceived, that the King had given secret orders to permit his escape, as letters, and messages, and presents of all kinds, were allowed to be sent to him, without restraint, about that time, amongst which was the pye, with the silk ladder in it, without which it could not possibly have been effected.

The news of this event affected the heads of the two parties in a very different manner: for as it did not displease the King, who hoped to reap some advantage thereby, so it stung the Duke of *Mayenne* to the quick, especially at a juncture when he was diffident of the *Spaniards*, and of many of the *French* of his party, who were dissatisfied with him: yet he dissimbled his vexation, and did not lose his spirits, but having expressed great joy at his nephew's escape, he exhorted him to come to him as soon as possible; thinking, that as he was not much acquainted with affairs, and known but to few, he might, perhaps, when he was with him, be induced to submit to his maturer age and experience, and the great authority which he saw him in possession of: and having recourse to artifice himself, to counteract the schemes of the other confederates, he immediately, by means of Monsieur *De Villeroy*, caused a correspondence and sort of a treaty to be set on foot with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the other Princes of the Blood, who he knew, by the relation of the *Sieur Des Portes*, were discontented with the King, to try if they could raise a third and different party, hoping by that means to create a jealousy in the *Spaniards*, and necessitate them to comply, if not with all, at least with many

1591. of his demands. *Villeroy*, therefore, who had been always desirous to see the war end in an accommodation, was not tardy in his endeavours to promote that treaty, by the assistance of his brother the Abbè *De Chézy*, which was still artfully kept alive, from time to time, with vain hopes and imaginary conditions.

But the King, who had got some intimation of the affair, being distressed, on one hand by these machinations, which in a manner necessitated him to hasten his conversion; and, on the other, by the repeated importunities of the *English* and the Princes of *Germany* (who pressed him to give them strong places in his kingdom, and security for the liberty of the Protestant religion, in which they insisted, that he himself must persevere if he expected any assistance from them) was in no less perplexity than the Duke of *Mayenne*; which was still increased after he arrived at *Sedan*, when he found the money promised by *England* was not yet disbursed, and the *Germans* had therefore delayed their coming so long, that it was thought the Pope's and the King of *Spain's* forces would get into *Lorraine* before them. And it was no inconsiderable addition to his other troubles, that *Charlotte de la Mark* (who resided at *Sedan*, and was heiress of that duchy) being now grown up to years of maturity, he was obliged to take a resolution of giving her in marriage to some body in his interest, lest the Duke of *Lorraine* should be before-hand with him (as he was very desirous) and marry her to one of his sons. As the importance of that duchy, therefore, and particularly of *Sedan*, made it necessary for the King to take care, that it might not fall into the hands of the Duke of *Lorraine*, so it occasioned much doubt in him, when he considered to whom it would be most proper to give that Lady in marriage, who had the inheritance of a state that was of so great consequence. *Carlo Gonzaga*, son to the Duke of *Nevers*, aspired to this match, as the duchy of *Retelois*, whereof he bore the title, lay contiguous to her territories: but she being of the *Hugonot* religion, as the common people and Noblesse of those parts were in general, the King could not resolve to gratify him in that respect, lest he should alienate the affections of that party, and disgust those whom he had taken so much pains to keep firm to him. On the other hand, he was afraid the Duke of *Nevers* (who was naturally apt to take offence) would be affronted, if he should propose any other match of inferior quality to his son. These considerations, so opposite, held him some days in suspense, but it being necessary to come to a resolution, he at last determined to marry her to the Viscount *De Turenne*, not only on account of the confidence he had in him, but because he was of the same religion: and much more, that he might have an opportunity of rewarding him for the eminent service he had done him in raising and conducting the foreign army. And indeed it immediately produced the effect which the King had before apprehended:

hended : for the Duke of *Nevers* was exasperated to such a degree, that he began to take part with those that were so urgent for his conversion, and to hold a secret correspondence with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Longueville*, his son-in-law, and the rest of the new party, who pretended to exert themselves principally for the sake of the Catholick religion, which they said was trampled under foot, and themselves imposed upon, from time to time, by those who were professedly determined to live and die *Hugonots*, and only endeavoured to establish themselves in power and strength, notwithstanding the many promises they had made them to the contrary. Nor was there any other remedy against the dangers with which the King saw himself threatned, except to keep his party in continual action, and not to suffer idleness to feed these discontents, but to lull and extinguish all private animosities by warlike and victorious enterprises. Upon which consideration, he was so importunate in soliciting the march of the *German* army, and so diligent in sending them those sums of money, by little and little, which he had been able to get together from several parts with infinite difficulty, that he was at last joined by them before the *Italian* and *Spanish* armies came up to prevent that union, as the Duke of *Mayenne* had always strenuously endeavoured to do : an error so great in their Commanders, that it rendered all those vast expences and pains which they had been at in assembling and conducting those forces, entirely vain and of no effect : for having imprudently thrown away their time in *Savoy*, in attending to things that in no wise conduced to advance the main design of the war, they could not arrive soon enough to hinder the junction of the King's army with the *Germans*, upon which the further success of his Majesty's arms this year principally depended.

The King being thus joined by the Viscount *De Turenne*, without any opposition, after taking many castles about *Metz* and *Sedan*, at last assaulted *Attigny*, a large town, into which all the riches, valuable furniture, and cattle of the neighbouring country were put, as a place of safety : and having made himself master of it, he gave all the plunder, which was very great, to the *Germans*, who, being ill provided with money, were refreshed and satisfied with it for some time : after which, the King, always inclined to bold resolutions, determined to try whether the Commanders of the League had the courage to venture a battle. For this purpose, though he was informed, that the forces of the Pope, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were also at last joined at *Verdun*, he resolved to advance towards them, and provoke them by his presence, and all other possible means, to come to an engagement ; imagining the *Italian* forces were yet raw, and not well disciplined ; and the Duke of *Lorraine*'s not in any wise comparable to his.

1591.

With this intention he left *Attigny* on the 1st of *October*, and lodged that night with his vanguard at *Grandprè*: Upon which day Monsieur *D'Amblyse*, who commanded part of the *Lorrain* forces, having marched from *Mont-faucon*, joined the army of the League. The next day about noon, the King arrived in sight of *Verdun* with his army, which he drew up, and extended a great way along the plain. On the other side, the Chiefs of the League, who were encamped without the city, put their forces in order of battle under the walls: the *Italians* having the right wing, the Duke of *Lorrain* the main battle, and the Duke of *Mayenne's French* the left: though the Duke himself commanded, and drew up the whole army, as he thought most proper. At the first approach there began so furious a skirmish betwixt the two armies, that many of the Commanders themselves thought a general engagement would have ensued: for the Sieurs *De Pralin*, *De la Curée*, *D'Arges*, and the Baron *De Givry*, with the King's light horse in four divisions, flanked on the right and left by the Count *De Brienne* and the Sieur *De Marivaut*, with two hundred cuirassiers, advanced to the very face of the enemy: and on the other side, the Cavalier *D'Avolio*, *Ottavio Cefis*, and *Afcanio della Cornia*, likewise advanced with the Pope's light horse, flanked by the Sieur *D'Amblyse* with a body of *Lorrain* lances. But, though the skirmish was very hot in the beginning, the Sieur *De Pralin's* horse being killed under him, and *La Curée* thrown to the ground with the shock of a lance, the *Italians* behaving themselves very gallantly every where; yet the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorrain* were resolved not to engage, because his Catholick Majesty's forces that came out of *Italy* (according to their wonted behaviour) had refused to follow them, and were marched directly to join the Duke of *Parma*, and the Pope's *Swiss* did not amount to above three thousand: so that, as they did not think themselves a match for the King's army in so open a place as the plain before *Verdun*, they ordered the skirmish to cease by degrees, and drew back their men under the walls again, yet without any shew of fear: whilst the King took up his quarters, and entrenched himself, within sight of the town, and of their army.

All sorts of provisions were carried, in great plenty, to the camp of the League, and the city furnished them with many conveniencies, not only of victuals, but of lodging under cover: whereas the King, being in the midst of an enemy's country, and the weather very rainy, suffered much for want of provisions and other conveniencies, nor could his soldiers, accustomed to another manner of living, endure the hardship of lying abroad in so adverse a season. Besides these discouragements, there was a most violent storm that night, with thunder, whirlwinds; and exceeding heavy rain, which spoiled the soldiers tents, overflowed the plain, and

and put the whole army in great confusion. Wherefore, after the King had stood in order of battle for many hours the next day, and none of the enemy's forces appeared in the field, he faced about, and marched back with his army to quarter again at *Grandpré*: where the *Germans* had like to have mutinied, for want of the money that had been promised them. So that the King, who was now obliged to perform his engagements to the Queen of *England*, that he might receive the other two hundred thousand ducats, having raised a certain sum of money at *Sedan*, upon the jewels and credit of the Princess *Charlotte*, to quiet the *Germans*, immediately took the rout toward *Normandy*, with a design, at last, to besiege the city of *Rouën*.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, contrary to whose expectation the Pope's forces had so long deferred their coming, and who had also seen the King of *Spain's* march directly towards *Flanders*, without making any stay, immediately dispatched the Count *De Brisjac* to the Duke of *Parma* to inform him, that if he did not either enter the kingdom himself, or send such supplies as should be sufficient to oppose the King, the affairs of the League, and the state of religion, would be very much endangered, and that he should not be able to prevent many from making their peace, and leaving him, as (seeing the tardiness and evil designs of their allies) they daily threatened. He made the same declaration, though more at large, to *Diego d'Ivarra*, who was there with him, shewing him the fatal consequences which the delays and secret practices of the *Spaniards* produced: for if all his Catholick Majesty's expences, and the forces which he had granted separately, first to one person, and then to another, in *Bretagne*, *Provence*, *Savoy*, and *Languedoc*, had been collected into one body, and all employed to promote the main undertaking, a compleat victory over the King must necessarily have ensued, with the total suppression of their enemies. But whilst a division of the League was attempted, whilst his own advice was neglected, and whilst the Duke of *Parma* would not advance, the King had found an opportunity of receiving foreign supplies; and was now grown so powerful, that he over-ran all *France* at his pleasure, to the great concern and astonishment of all good men. But these arguments and representations having no weight with *D'Ivarra*, who had received another impression, and was differently inclined; and the cause from whence this coldness proceeded being clearly perceived, from the report of President *Jeanne*, the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorraine*, not being able to find any other remedy, secretly agreed, in general, to keep closely united together, and to use their joint endeavours not to suffer any one to be advanced to the throne, who was not of their own family, much less a foreigner: and, if they should be forced to chuse another person, not to consent to his election, except he was a Catholick,

1591. and Prince of the Blood, or that the kingdom should ever be either alienated or divided. With this resolution, confirmed also by an instrument in writing, which they both signed, the Duke of *Mayenne* began to make preparations for carrying on the war: and having left *Verdun* with the Pope's army and his own, and the supplies which he had obtained from the Duke of *Lorraine* (who consented that the Count *De Vaudemont*, the Count *De Chaligny*, and the Sieur *De Bassompierre*, should follow him) he took the road towards *Champagne*, that he might be near the confines, till he heard what was determined upon in *Flanders*.

When the Duke arrived at *Retel* in *Champagne*, he was joined by the Duke of *Guise* with six hundred horse, all Gentlemen, who, upon the report of his being at liberty, were come in to him: and though their salutations and outward deportment seemed very affectionate, and full of confidence in each other, yet their private conferences did but ill agree with this outside shew of kindness: for, as the Duke of *Mayenne* had always apprehended, all those that were dissatisfied with his conduct, immediately turned their eyes upon this young Prince, who was of a great and generous spirit, of a handsome presence, courteous and affable in his behaviour, and, which was still of more importance, heir to his father's reputation, and to that extravagant affection that had been borne him by all the people of *France*. The *Parisians*, and particularly *The council of sixteen*, who could not endure to be kept under by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that he should dispose of all offices in their city just as he pleased, without confiding in any of them, openly declared for, and desired the exaltation of this Prince: and even the *Spaniards*, by shewing him all possible favour and respect, endeavoured to set him up, as a counterpoise to the Duke of *Mayenne*, with whom they were out of conceit, because they saw him so little inclined to encourage their designs. He was supported, in particular, by the Sieurs *De la Chastre*, *De Vins*, and Colonel *St. Paul*, and, in general, by all those that had been obliged to, or dependent upon his father: and he himself, though but just come upon the stage, and not much acquainted with the situation of affairs, was not in any wise deficient in his endeavours to advance his own interests. For, being informed by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Sieur *De Bassompierre*, of what they had agreed upon with the Duke of *Lorraine*, namely, to endeavour not to suffer any one to wear the Crown, that was not of their family, and, in case they were forced to elect another person, to make choice of a Catholic Prince of the Blood, he at first excused himself for not concurring with them, by saying, he was as yet in a great measure a stranger to the present state of affairs, and afterwards desired further time to consult with the Dukes his mother: and at last resolved not to detach himself from the *Spaniards*, but first to hear the Duke of *Parma's* opinion, and then

to dispatch proper persons to the court of *Spain*, to negotiate his affairs with his Catholick Majesty. Which resolution the Duke of *Mayenne*, always cool and moderate in his proceedings, and accustomed to overcome all difficulties by patience, much commended in his nephew, and seeming inclined to favour his advancement to the utmost of his power, at the same time endeavoured to keep him near his person, that he might have neither means nor opportunity of attempting, or so much as projecting new designs.

Whilst they were thus employed at *Retel*, and staid there in expectation of the Count *De Brisac's* return with an answer from *Flanders*, they had advice of the Pope's death, which gave a new turn to things, and greatly embarrassed them. For the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, not knowing what the Cardinals would determine upon, during the vacancy of the See, nor what part the Pope that should be chosen might act, began to raise objections, and said, he must concur with whatsoever the Duke of *Parma* should resolve upon : and Monsignor *Matteuci*, Archbishop of *Ragusa*, and Commissary General of the army, having but little money left, proposed the dismissing of the *Swiss*, till he received further instructions (which were to be waited for) from *Rome*. But whilst the Duke of *Mayenne* was detained by these impediments at the same place, an unforeseen accident happened, that occasioned fresh perplexity amongst them, and had like to have thrown the affairs of the League into the utmost confusion.

The council of sixteen at *Paris*, in strict conjunction with the preachers and the college of *Sorbonne*, having from the very beginning been the basis and foundation of the League, had always pretended to dispose of matters after their own will, in which they were influenced by those passions and affections, that are generally incident to factious persons, without any regard to the conservation of the dominions of the Crown, or the honour and dignity of the *French* nation, and made it their sole care and endeavour to suppress the King, whom they bitterly hated, to extinguish the party and name of the *Hugonots*, and to put the reins of government into the hands of persons that should rule according to their appetites and desires. The Duke of *Mayenne*, however, though he originally owed his own exaltation, the support of the League, the maintenance of the war, and the late defence of *Paris*, chiefly to these men, did not yet chuse to be governed by their caprice; but, as he was wholly bent upon keeping the kingdom entire, rather endeavoured to bridle and moderate their turbulent spirits. For this purpose, he had from the beginning instituted a Council of State, distinct from this, in which there were many cool and prudent men, who balanced and restrained the violence of their proceedings: amongst these were the Archbishop of *Lions*, the Sieur *De Villeroi*,

1591. *Villeroy*, President *Jeanmme*, the Bishop of *Meaux*, and the Sieur *De Videville*, who were all averse to the designs of the *Spaniards*, and disgusted at the intemperate zeal of the preachers. The Duke had likewise always endeavoured to maintain the authority of the Parliament in credit and vigour, referring many important affairs to it, and shewing great deference to the decrees which were published by the Counsellors, upon divers occasions : and though the first President *Brissson*, and many others, had been suspected of endeavouring to make the city revolt to the King, yet he dissembled his suspicions, and was not sorry to see that one Council was such a check upon the other, but always displeased when the *Sixteen* accused them, or any members of the other Council, of betraying their trust : for though he well knew, that some of them were inclined to favour the King's party, and were endeavouring to promote his interests, he thought, at the same time, they could not do him much injury, but would rather be of great service in restraining the impetuous career of the *Sixteen*, by which he was afraid of being overturned, if the Parliament should lose its credit and authority.

In the mean time, this secret jealousy betwixt the Parliament and the Council of State, on one hand, and the *The council of sixteen*, on the other, began to discover itself by degrees, and at last flamed out to such a height, that one side determined to support the greatness and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other immediately concurred with the views of *Spain*, and entered into many other designs that were most likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the Duke. The last were chiefly such as had caused many of the citizens, who were suspected of favouring the King's party, to be precipitately executed, during the siege : these men, at the instigation of the Duke of *Nemours*, had opposed the choice that the Duke had made of the magistrates and officers of the city : and these were the very same persons that were the authors and advisers of introducing a *Spanish* garrison into the city, and used their utmost endeavours that his Catholick Majesty might be invested with *the marks of justice*, and acknowledged as patron of the League and protector of the Crown of *France*. But now their passions began to rise much higher, and being not only dissatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne's* proceedings, whom they accused of cowardice and meanness of spirit, but furiously exasperated against the Parliament, whose weight, they saw, was a curb upon their power, they were grown intolerably insolent and audacious, since the Duke of *Guise* was at liberty, and since the *Spaniards*, who had discovered the private agreement betwixt the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Lorraine*, openly endeavoured to deprive the former of his authority, and to draw over the forces of the party to themselves, the main strength of which was founded upon the affections of the *Parisians*. These leaders had the common
people

people at their devotion, not only on account of their natural dependence as fellow citizens, but also because they were tired out with contributions, which the griping disposition of the Duke of *Mayenne* often tempted him to multiply, without reason or necessity, especially as they were not afterwards applied in such a manner as either tended to his honour and reputation, or was sufficient to justify the imposition of so heavy a burden. Some of the chiefs of the *Sixteen*, therefore, that were the most strenuous for the party (which they distinguished by the name of *Zcalots*) began to consider of means how to lessen the authority of the Parliament, that they might be able more easily to dispose of the affairs of the city at their own pleasure, and put it either under the Duke of *Guise*, or the immediate protection of his Catholick Majesty. The *Spanish* Ministers assented to, or rather gladly concurred in, this design, as did the Bishop of *Piacenza* with no less alacrity, who, since the Pope's death, was wholly gone over into the interests of *Spain*: and they were supported by Monsieur *De Bassy*, Governor of the *Bastile*, the *Sieur De Cromay*, a member of the great Council, the Commissary *Lauebart*, one *Ameline* an Advocate, *Olivier* the Treasurer, *Beucher* a Divine, Father *Commelet* a Jesuit, and several others of the same rank and condition. After many consultations and debates, they chose four of the *Sixteen*, by the advice of the Bishop of *Piacenza*, who should carry their complaints to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and demand that the Council of State might be filled with able and honest men, and such as the city could confide in: That the same Council should always reside in *Paris*; that the Treasurer's accounts should be examined, especially those of one *Ribes*, who kept the Duke of *Mayenne*'s private coffers: That this should be done by select persons, approved or by the Council of the Union: That the *Gabels* should be taken away, which had been newly imposed by the Governor *Beliz* and the *Précôt des marchands*: That the city garrison should be paid and augmented for their security: And, lastly; that the President *Briffon*, against whom they preferred a multitude of complaints, and some other principal men of the Parliament, should not only be deprived of their offices, but expelled that court, and punished in a severe and exemplary manner, as traitors and rebels.

The four Deputies came to *Rheims*, at a time when the Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Lorraine*; and having waited for him many days, they at last found him at *Retel*, where, at their first audience, he gave them a sharp rebuke, as men that took too much upon them and aspired to absolute power: but afterwards, that he might not totally alienate them, he treated them with more gentleness and affability; representing to them, that he was at present so fully taken up in watching the motions of the enemy, that he could not possibly attend to those matters: that he would

come

1591. come himself to *Paris* the very first opportunity, and give them all manner of due satisfaction, advising them, in the mean time, to desist from any new projects which might throw things into confusion, to their own prejudice and the manifest advantage of the enemy. With this answer, they returned to *Paris* much dissatisfied, and particularly offended with the reception they met with at their first audience: so that, instead of moderating, they still added fresh fuel to the passions of the rest, by making new complaints of the Duke's behaviour, and saying, That it was necessary to come to some resolution, as they found him so thoroughly averse to their designs: upon which report, as they thought themselves despised and undervalued by the Duke, they were all enraged to such a degree, that they resolved either to humble, or totally to change, the Parliament, that they might govern the city as they pleased; and began to excite the people to a revolt, by insinuating to them, that religion was betrayed, and that the Parliament was endeavouring to put the city into the hands of the *Navarrese*.

It happened that *Brigard*, one of the first fomenters of the League at *Paris*, having been accused before the Parliament, of changing his principles, and holding a secret correspondence in favour of the King, was violently hurried away to prison, at the instigation of the *Sixteen*: but whilst they were proceeding slowly against him in a judicial manner, he found means, either by corruption or some other artifice, not only to make his escape out of the place where he was confined, but out of the city, and so got clear of his enemies: which creating a vehement suspicion in *The council of sixteen*, that the judges themselves, who were concerned in forming his process, had purposely contrived his escape, the *Spanish* Ministers and the garrison that depended upon them, took this opportunity of blowing them up to such a pitch of fury, that on the 15th of *November*, in the morning, they raised the people in arms, and, having put themselves under the command of the *Sieur De Buffy* and the Commissary *Louchart*, without further consideration, immediately blocked up all the avenues to the place where the Parliament was assembled, and seized upon the first President *Briffon*, *Claude l'Archer*, and *John Tardif*, one of them a Counsellor of the *Chasselet*, the other of that court, who were the persons that had been employed to manage the process against *Brigard*: and having brought them fast bound to the *Chasselet*, they caused them to be strangled in prison the very same day, without any lawful form of proceeding, except some precipitate informations taken by the *Sieur De Cromay*, and the next morning to be ignominiously hanged up in publick upon a gallows. After which, they ran armed up and down the city with the common people in a frantick manner, as if they had gained some notable victory, placing guards in many parts of it, and threat-

threatning to take the same course with several others. In the mean time, the Governor, being desirous to put a stop to these violent proceedings, had begun, by the advice of the Ducheſſes of *Montpenſier* and *Nemours*, to try if the foreign garrison would ſhew any obedience to his authority : but finding them in general diſpoſed to favour *The council of ſixteen*, and their preſent deſigns, and *Aleſſandro de Monti* having openly declared, that he would not ſtir a finger againſt people that had ſo cordially engaged in the cauſe of God and all good men, he thought it the beſt way to go out unarmed to reaſon with them, and to ſee if he could appeaſe the multitude, and in ſome meaſure prevent the evils that were likely to enſue. But this expedient met with no better ſucceſs than the other ; for they paid very little regard to him, and much leſs to the *Preſvôt des marchands* ; on the contrary, they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted that both of them ſhould be turned out of their offices. This tumult continued all the 16th ; and on the 17th in the morning, their Council being aſſembled at the houſe of one *Pelletier*, a Divine, and Curate of *St. James de la Boucherie*, they readily agreed to put themſelves under the protection of the King of *Spain*, and, in the mean time, to preſent ſome articles to the Council of State, for the government of the city, which they were determined, at all events, to get accepted and put in execution. The ſubſtance of the articles was, “ That a court of juſtice ſhould be formed of men of their party, who ſhould proceed againſt Hereticks and favourers of the *Navarreſe*, hoping to reduce, and at laſt utterly to annihilate, the power of the Parliament by this juriſdiction : That all commerce with the people of *St. Dennis* ſhould be diſcontinued, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had eſtabliſhed, to facilitate the means of bringing provisions into *Paris* : That the impoſts upon wine ſhould be taken off ; and that the accounts of all ſuch ſhould be examined as had been entruſted with the management of the monies raiſed by the *Gabels* and contributions of the city : That the ſums that accrued from the ordinary impoſts ſhould only be applied to the payment of the garrison, which ſhould be reinforced by foreigners, either *Walloons*, *Italians*, or *Spaniards* : That the Council of State ſhould be filled up to a certain number, by ſuch perſons as they had ſet down in a liſt : That a Council of war alſo ſhould be appointed, which ſhould conſiſt of ſome Colonels of the city and the chief Commanders of the foreign forces, and that the Governor ſhould not have it in his power to determine upon any thing, without the conſent of this Council : and, laſtly, that the ſeals of the Crown, which the Duke of *Mayenne* carried with him whitherſoever he went, ſhould conſtantly be kept in the city, and not be removed to any other place. This being reſolved upon, they preſently diſpatched Father *Claudio* to the court of *Spain*, with letters to his Catholick Majeſty, in which they intreated him to take
them.

1591. them under his government and protection: and having obliged the Council of State to assemble, by their threats and clamours, they offered the articles to be confirmed, that they might be put in execution. The Governor and *Précôt des marchands*, with some of the most prudent of the *Echevins*, endeavoured to gain time, by objecting that the day was too far spent, in hopes the ardour of the people would be something cooled by delay: but the Council having, by their advice, determined to wait till the next day, the *Sixteen*, at the head of the people, all in arms, stopped Madam *De Nemours*, as she was coming out from the Council, and peremptorily insisted upon the articles being immediately confirmed: which the Council having complied with, as the less evil, the Duchess herself carried out the decree to them that was made upon it; intreating them, in the softest terms, to forbear the execution of it, till her son the Duke of *Mayenne* had given his consent to it, without whose knowledge, it was not decent, that things of so great importance should be precipitately concluded upon: adding, that it would occasion a delay only of a few days, and that the Council, nay, she herself, would instantly dispatch the *Sieur Du Bourg* with the decree to the Duke for his confirmation, and that they should receive full satisfaction in every respect. The fury of the people being in some measure appeased by these concessions, they began to lay down their arms and to grow quiet again, with a resolution to continue so till they had an answer from the Duke; who being gone from *Retel* to *Laon* to meet the Duchess, mother to the Duke of *Guise*, on the 20th in the evening, received the news of what had happened at *Paris*.

The Duke was exceedingly shocked at the account of so dangerous an event, as it seemed to strike directly at the foundation of his authority; yet he dissembled his chagrin, and did not outwardly shew much emotion upon the occasion, lest the Duke of *Guise*, who was present, should think he harboured any thoughts of revenge upon people that had now attached themselves to his interests, but only said, "That he would wait for the arrival of the *Sieur Du Bourg* (who, as the Governor wrote him word, was setting out immediately) to be better informed of the affair; that it was the best way to allay popular commotions by gentleness, and not to proceed with harshness and severity, for fear of incurring further scandals, and falling into greater difficulties and dangers, as the people, when they are too zealous, which may happen even in a good cause, often act without necessary foresight and consideration." This declaration gave the Duke of *Guise* much satisfaction, who was apprehensive that he would have treated his dependants with extreme vigour; and what passed betwixt them in conversation the next day, made him still more easy upon that head: so that, though the Duke of *Mayenne* said he
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would go directly to *Paris*, to prevent the evil consequences that might ensue from these divisions amongst the people, yet he suffered himself to be prevailed upon to stay where he was, because he had the command of the army, and was to meet the Duke of *Parma*; who being already come to *Valenciennes*, was to proceed to *Guise* about the end of the month, where they were to agree upon the time and manner of his entering the kingdom again with his army. The *Sieur Du Bourg* arrived the next day, from whom the Duke had a particular relation of the whole affair, and of the decree that had been made in the Council of State to appease the people: upon which, he determined to set out as soon as possible for *Paris*, and to take this opportunity of thoroughly establishing his own power and authority there. For this purpose, he dispatched Monsieur *De Rhosne* to the Duke of *Parma*, to excuse him if he should not be at the place appointed upon the day prefixed, and left the charge of the army and of meeting the Duke of *Parma* to the Duke of *Guise*: but with such precaution, however, that, to prevent him from being able to attempt any military enterprise, he gave secret orders to *Rhosne* and the Viscount *De Tavannes*, who were Marshals of the field, that they should neither draw out the artillery nor ammunition, which were all at *La Fere*: nor did he acquaint the Duke of *Guise* with any of the particulars that were to be treated of with the Duke of *Parma*, that so he might not have it in his power to conclude upon any thing of moment. And having first prevailed upon the Duke of *Monte Marciano* and the Commissary *Matteucci*, not to disband the *Swiss* at present, and that all the forces should continue together till his return, pretending his presence was immediately required at *Paris*, he took with him the Counts *De Vaudemont*, *Chaligny*, and *Brisac*, the *Sieurs De Bassompierre* and *Villeroy*, with seven hundred of the flower of his horse, consisting altogether of *French* and *Lorrainers*, and departed, on the 25th in the morning, for that city, leaving President *Jeannine* with the Duke of *Guise* to moderate his counsels, and to have a strict eye upon his motions. And though the Duke had earnestly desired the *Spanish* Minister, Don *Diego d'Ivarra*, to stay with the army, yet he likewise set out for *Paris* the very same evening, resolving not to suffer himself to be deluded by fair speeches, as the Duke of *Guise* had been, but to use his utmost endeavours, by his presence and advice, to divert the storm with which he saw the adherents of his master were threatened.

The Duke, though he proceeded in his journey with very great expedition, was yet determined to take with him two regiments of foot that lay at *Soissons*, and being joined by the *Sieur De Vitry* with two hundred more horse at *Meaux*, he arrived near *Paris* on the 28th in the evening. Upon which, the *Sixteen*, with the preachers and the college

1591. of *Sorbonne*, seeing the Duke come attended with such a body of forces, and knowing that the Governor and the *Prevôt des marchands*, with the dependants of the Council of State, would make a powerful party in the city (though the *Sieur De Buffy* held the *Bastile* for them) were under great apprehensions of feeling the effects of his displeasure, and resolved to spare no compliments or demonstrations of affection that might in any wise tend to mitigate it : for which purpose they sent four of their chiefs to wait upon him, and endeavour to appease that resentment which they imagined he had conceived against them. These Deputies met him at the abbey of *St. Anthony*, without the walls, and took great pains, in a very submissive and elaborate speech, to persuade him, that whatsoever had been done was with a most upright intention, for the safety of the city, the conservation of the Catholick religion, the maintenance of his own authority, and to satisfy the people, who were grown desperate, because no notice at all was taken of those rebels and disturbers of the publick peace : that this course had been taken as liable to be attended with the least mischief, and to prevent the people from running into sedition and bloodshed in the height of their fury : that those who had been executed were notoriously guilty, as he might be convinced by the proofs, which, though not accompanied with the usual forms of justice, were nevertheless clear and manifest : that the articles proposed to the Counsellors of State were such as they thought but just and reasonable, which yet they submitted to his censure : and, lastly, they put him in mind how much they had done and suffered to promote the grandeur of his house and his own exaltation, intreating him to behave towards them like a tender and indulgent father, and not like a rigorous and severe Prince. The Duke, who was desirous to prevent any opposition that might hinder his entering *Paris*, and of being peaceably admitted with his forces, admirably dissembled his sense of the affront that had been put upon him, and having received them separately, in a very gracious manner, answered in general terms, “ That he was come to the city for no other purpose, and with no other design, than to secure it, as he well knew the support of religion, and his own hopes, all depended upon the safety of the *Parisians*, and particularly of ~~The~~ council of sixteen, the first authors and founders of his party.” With these professions and outward appearances of affection, having in a great measure quieted their apprehensions, he entered the city that night when it was late, and being conducted to his *bôtel*, repeated the same assurances to many others ; knowing, that, by such a manner of proceeding, in case he should meet with any opposition, the pardon of past offences might fairly be attributed to his declared design of shewing lenity and mercy : and if he should be able to accomplish his intentions, those outward demonstrations and professions could

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not be of any prejudice, or lay any restraint upon him. Soon after arrived *Diego d'Ivarra*, who being come to wait upon him with the other *Spanish* Ministers, they jointly endeavoured to persuade him not to take any revenge for what was past, but rather to give the people satisfaction for the time to come, since the things that had been done, though not according to the due course and formalities of justice, were yet good in themselves, and necessary for the conservation of religion: alledging further, "That in the distractions of civil wars, the common rules of good government cannot be so well observed, but many things must be done to promote a laudable end, in extremity of danger, which ought not by any means to be suffered in quiet and peaceable times: That he himself had acted in the same manner at *La Fcre*, without forming any process against the Marquis *De Menelay*, whom he had caused to be assassinated, as the place could not otherwise have been kept; that, therefore, it would be better to compose things, by approving of what had happened, than by going about to punish any one, to raise new discords and more dangerous tumults." To all which the Duke returned an answer, with the same appearance of kindness and moderation that he had shewn to the Deputies. After they were gone, however, he began to make a strict enquiry into the strength of the forces that were in the city; and being informed by the Governor and the *Prevôt des marchands*, that the much greater and better part of the people were at his devotion, he caused the Colonels of the city to keep a guard in their several quarters that night; and in the morning, having drawn up all the horse and foot that he brought with him, under arms, he marched through *St. Anthony's street*, and sent to order the *Sieur De Buffy* to deliver up the *Bastile* into his hands that instant. But he excusing himself, and raising objections, and demanding security for his person, the Duke caused the artillery to be brought out of the arsenal and to be drawn that way: at which the Governor of the *Bastile* being terrified (as he was a man but little accustomed to military operations) and not seeing that any party in the city offered to stir in his favour, the Governor and *Prevôt* having taken possession of all the avenues, he at last, after a long capitulation, agreed to quit the *Bastile*, upon a promise, not only from the Duke, but from many others, that his life should be spared: and yet when he came to his own house, it was attacked the same evening, and he saved himself with much difficulty and very great danger, by getting over the tops of some houses: and after a few days (by the Duke's connivance) fled secretly out of the city and went to live in another place. *Buffy* having thus given up the *Bastile*, the Duke appointed the *Sieur Du Bourg*, a man of known valour and fidelity, to be Governor of it in his room, and put such a garrison into it, as was sufficient to secure it from the danger of any sudden

1591. sudden surprize. After which, he sent the *Sieur De Vitry* the next morning with his horse, whilst the streets were still blocked up and the soldiery in arms, and caused the Commissary *Louchart*, Captain *Emmonot*, *Bartholomew Auroux*, Colonel of the quarter of the *Carmelites*, and *Ame-line*, the Advocate, to be seized upon at their own houses; *Cromay*, the Counsellor, having secretly stolen away and made his escape: for being favoured by the *Spaniards*, he continued some days in the habit of a soldier, amongst those forces in the town that were under their command, and afterwards fled into the *Low Countries*, where he lived in great indigence and distress. These four, who were deemed to be the most guilty of the *Sixteen*, were strangled the next day in one of the apartments in the *Louvre*, by the common executioner, and afterwards publicly hanged upon a gallows: an example, that the Duke thought sufficient to restore his authority, without dipping his hands in the blood of many others, who were accomplices in the late insurrection, as he might look too much like cruelty and revenge. This piece of severity struck a wonderful terror into the preachers and the college of *Sorbonne*. But the Duke, for fear of entirely alienating their affections, and of occasioning further obloquy and scandal, or of raising such a disgust as might create a division in his party, went personally to the church of the *Sorbonne*, where he assured them, in a mild and gracious, but pathetick speech, of his future favour and protection, and said, "That, in consideration of their former zeal and constancy, he would pardon the disobedience and conspiracy they had lately been guilty of fomenting:" and seeming to do it upon their account alone, he caused an edict to be published, in which he declared, "That justice was satisfied by the punishment already inflicted upon four of the principal offenders only, and that he granted a full pardon to all the rest, with a perpetual oblivion of every thing that had happened." From the benefit of this pardon, he excluded the Counsellor *Cromay*, *Adrian Cocher*, and the Notary that drew up the sentence against *Briffon*, who were afterwards all put to death at different times and in different manners. It was likewise declared by the same edict, "That, as experience had fully shewn how mischievous those secret meetings and cabals had been, which were assembled without the privity of the magistrates, no one should thereafter presume, on pain of death, to assemble any council, either within the city or without it, except the ordinary Council of the Union, with the presence and assistance of the lawful magistrates. This edict, which was registred by the unanimous consent of the Parliament, entirely abolished the power of the *Sixteen*, and in some measure checked and retarded the machinations of the *Spanish* Ministers.

But as soon as the Duke of *Parma* was particularly informed of what had been done at *Paris*, he was exceedingly displeased at it, publicly
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blaming the little foresight and consideration of the other Ministers; who, to gain the insignificant support of the dregs of the people, had disgusted and alienated the Duke of *Mayenne*, a person that had the arms and strength of the party in his hands, and without whose assistance it was not to be expected, they should ever be able bring their designs to a happy conclusion. He therefore protested to the *Sieur De Rhosné*, that those things had been done without his knowledge; at the same time commending the Duke of *Mayenne* for punishing the delinquents, and for his prudent moderation: and though he shewed the Duke of *Guise* all possible respect when he came to him at *Valenciennes*, yet he refused to treat with him about any thing, without his uncle's presence and consent. He saw, that all the rest of the party stood upon a weak foundation; that there was no certain dependance upon the common people: that the Nobility were firmly attached to the Duke, the strong places held by men that he could confide in, and that he was the only proper head to rule and direct all the rest. Upon which considerations, he had always been against exasperating and reducing him to despair, as he was sensible, the agreement betwixt him and the Duke of *Lorraine* had been the effect of that, and knew for a certainty, that when he should once see himself unable to support his dignity, and the rank which he held, he would presently come to an accommodation with the King: nor was there any room to doubt, but all the rest of the *French*, except some very few, would follow his example and authority; so that he was convinced; if they hoped to carry on their designs with success, that it was necessary to proceed slowly, and with care and deliberation, and not to throw every thing into confusion, and create terror and suspicion in the *French*, by such furious and precipitate measures.

To this effect he wrote into *Spain*, and gave the same advice to the *Spanish* Ministers in *France*, though they were of a different opinion in both places, particularly in the Council of *Spain*, where they thought by sending small supplies into several provinces, they should gain themselves many dependants, and alienate them from the Duke of *Mayenne*; by which means the war would be kept alive, and prolonged with less expence, and more advantage to them. With this view, they had sent a supply of forces to the Duke *De Joyeuse*, in *Gascony*, to carry on the war on that side near the *Pirenes*: they had likewise furnished the Duke of *Savoy* with three thousand foot, and three hundred thousand ducats, to support himself in *Provence* and *Dauphiné*: and for the same purpose, they had ordered *Aquila's* division to march into *Bretagne*, to gain the friendship of the Duke of *Mercur*; who, made such a progress by their assistance, that he had almost driven the Prince of *Dombes* out of the confines of that province, in the beginning of this year. But at the arrival
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1591. of the *English*, who landed at *Brest* without any opposition, their strength was pretty nearly balanced again; so that after many petty encounters, which were not of much importance in the main, the two armies at last came to face each other.

The Duke of *Mercaeur* had a powerful body of light horse, commanded by the Marquis *De Belle-isle*, son to the Marshal *De Retz*, and was now strong in foot by the addition of the *Spanish* forces, most of whom were not only inured to arms, but to all other sorts of labour. On the other hand, the Prince was attended by a great number of the Noblesse, and consequently had a considerable body of horse; but his foot were not to be compared to those of the League, as the *English* were chiefly raw, new raised men, and the *French* all musketers. For this reason, though they were within half a mile of each other, the Duke kept himself intrenched in such mountainous and woody places, as were most advantageous for foot: and the Prince had drawn out his forces into the plain, where his squadrons of cavalry might extend themselves at their pleasure: yet neither of them being willing to give up their advantage of ground, after they had obstinately continued in this situation three days, during which there happened many skirmishes, they both resolved to retire, and marched away, with a design to besiege different places.

But the King having sent the Sieur *De la Noüe*, about this time, with eight hundred *Germans*, to assist the Prince, as his Lieutenant, in conducting the war, they resolved, now they were so strong in foot, to turn back again upon the enemy's army, to see if they could find some opportunity of engaging it. But that was no easy matter: for the Duke of *Mercaeur*, who was an experienced and circumspect Commander, would not put all that he had got in that province (which was very considerable) into the power of fortune: but endeavoured to tire out the enemy, by the money and assistance of his Catholick Majesty: and on the other side, *La Noüe*, wisely moderating the Prince's eagerness to engage, would not suffer him to hazard a battle without manifest advantage. Wherefore, after various skirmishes and attempts to annoy each other, they both filed off, the Duke to make an attack upon *St. Maximin*, and the Prince to invest *Lambale*: and having battered that place with his artillery, till he made a sufficient breach in the wall, the Sieur *De la Noüe* going personally to view it and the rest of the fortifications, received a shot in the head from a musket, of which he died a few days after; losing his life (as it often happens) in an inconsiderable action, after he had bravely exposed it in so many more dangerous and glorious enterprises. Upon his death, the King sent the Sieur *De Lavardine* into *Bretagne* to supply his place; and as he proceeded with the same caution, they never came to a general engagement, though there were frequent skirmishes in all parts of the province,

province, with various fortune: For the Prince thought it sufficient to keep up his own reputation, and support his party, in so large a province, and where his interest and strength were inferior to those of the enemy. 1591.

Such was the state of the war in *Bretagne*. In *Dauphinè* the King's affairs had a much better aspect; for though the Duke of *Savoy* was exceeding active in those parts, and exerted his utmost endeavours to oppose him with a large body of his own forces, and powerful supplies from *Spain*: yet the main strength of the province being on the King's side, under a vigilant, experienced, and brave Commander; who often effected that by policy which could not so easily be obtained by force, the League was almost driven out of *Dauphinè*, after the defeat at *Ponte Chiavra*, and the war was carried into the Duke of *Savoy's* own dominions.

On the other hand, the *Savoyards* had the advantage in *Provence*: for having *Marseilles* (which, if not wholly subject to the Duke, was at least very partial to the League) together with *Aix*, *Arles*, and many other of the most principal cities at their devotion: after *Berre* was taken, they had struck a terror into the province, as Monsieur *De Valette* had not forces sufficient to make head against them: so that Count *Francisco Martinengo*, after he had taken many towns and castles there, without much opposition, over-ran all that part that extends itself along the sea-coast. But having at last laid siege to *Vinon*, which he battered with great fury, Monsieur *De la Valette* resolved to shew his courage, though he had not much strength, and rather trust the affairs of the province to the arbitrement of fortune, than to waste his forces insensibly, by continually retreating before the enemy in all places. For this purpose, he advanced that way with seven hundred horse, and not more than twelve hundred foot, and having drawn them up in four divisions, one of which was commanded by the Viscount *De Governette*, and placed in the rear, as a reserve and reinforcement to the rest, he marched directly, without any other advantage, to attack the enemy; who having risen from the siege, and passed a rivulet that was betwixt them, came resolutely on to meet him. The action was such as might have been expected from the valour of the Commanders: for the victory was obstinately disputed on both sides with equal courage for many hours, till the Viscount entering fresh into the battle, with the squadron of horse that was reserved as their last hope in case of necessity, the *Savoyards*, already wearied with so long an engagement, began to give ground to an enemy that was fresh and full of spirits: upon which *La Valette's* other squadrons recovering their vigour, charged them so warmly, that they drove them upon a gallop over the water again, and might have pursued them with great execution, if the loss which they likewise had sustained themselves, had not induced them to desist.

1591. defist. But in the heat of the action, the garrison that was in *Vinon* sallied boldly out of their fortifications, attacked the party that was posted to guard the *Savoyards* artillery, and having routed them, and nailed up some of their heavy pieces, set fire to a great quantity of ammunition, and did them much other damage. This defeat checked the Duke's proceedings, and for some time secured the King's affairs in *Provence*.

The war was carried on with no less vigour in the territories of *Geneva*: for the *Sieur De Saucy*, who was gone to *Basil*, to raise a body of *Swiss* in that canton, having received intelligence, that an hundred thousand ducats were then upon the road from *Milan*, to make levies in *Germany*, and that they were under a very weak convoy, he laid an ambush for them in the forest of *Basil* with so good success, that he took all the money, and coming with it to *Geneva*, in a few days hired a regiment of *Swiss* in the canton of *Bern*; where being also joined by three hundred horse, raised in the state of *Venice* by *Monsieur De Metz*, the King's Ambassador to that Republick, under the command of *Pausania Brazzoduro* and Count *Mutio Portio*, both of *Vicenza*, and Captain *Niccolò Nasi*, a *Florentine*, he had in a short time recovered the territory of *Geneva*, and was advanced to attack the places that were held by the *Savoyards*. During the siege of *Borignes*, however, which was one of them, some companies of *Neapolitans* and *Milanese*, sent thither by his Catholick Majesty to assist the Duke of *Savoy*, marched up to dislodge them: but being furiously charged by the *Italian* cavalry, who were desirous to signalize themselves by some gallant action, they were routed and dispersed, and *Borignes* surrendered to the discretion of the enemy.

In the mean time, *Don Amadeo* having rallied his forces, advanced to stop the incursions of the enemy, who upon his approach, sent back their heavy cannon to *Geneva*, and encamped themselves in an advantageous situation, taking up the top of a hill with the body of their army, and a wood that was at the bottom of it, with their vanguard. *Don Amadeo*, therefore, having observed how they were posted, ordered his vanguard to advance to make themselves masters of the wood: from whence, they of the King's party, after a faint resistance, retired in disorder to the rest of their army, which stood in battalia upon the roads of the hill: but the *Italian* cavalry going down to the plain, fell furiously upon the enemy's vanguard, and repulsed it with considerable slaughter: so that they also, in their turn, retired half routed to their main body. But as the Duke of *Savoy* was aware, that his forces could make very little progress in those narrow defiles, with which the territories of *Geneva* abound, and would be exposed at the same time to much danger: whilst these forces were thus engaged with those of that state, he ordered *Don Amadeo* to retire,

retire, and only to defend what he was already possessed of, till these supplies should either be divided, or called away to other places, as he was in hopes they soon would be. Nor was he disappointed in that expectation: for the Sieur * *De Guitry*, who commanded the *French* forces, and the *Italian* cavalry, seeing the *Savoyards* retreated to defend their own possessions, resolved to go to the assistance of the Marshal *D'Aumont* in *Bourbonnois*, where he found it very difficult to make head against the Duke of *Nemours*, a Prince, who by his courage and activity kept all those places that lay near his forces in great terror and alarm. But the war was carried on in a feeble manner on that side also: for the Marshal having laid siege to *Autun*, a strong and well garrisoned town, which infested all the country round about, after many efforts and assaults, was forced to retire from it by the Duke of *Nemours*, with no inconsiderable loss.

About the same time that the Duke of *Mayenne* was busied in the affairs of *Paris*, there was a battle in the country near *Cabors*, where the Marquis *De Villers*, who was chief of the League in those parts, and the Duke of *Vendadour* Commander for the King, happened to meet each other, with a great number of the Noblesse, and a large body of foot on both sides: in which engagement, after it had continued full two hours with much obstinacy, the King's party at last had the advantage; and having killed six hundred of the enemy, amongst whom were many Gentlemen of great reputation, became masters of the field, and of their baggage: and afterwards took *Cadenet*, an exceeding strong town, and many other smaller places. In which actions Captain *Vivans*, and the Sieur *De Temines* distinguished themselves in such a manner, that the chief merit of the victory, and of so happy a progress, was attributed to their valour.

Whilst these things were thus carrying on with various success in different parts of the kingdom, the King marched with his whole army towards *Normandy*, with a resolution to besiege *Rouën*, not only on account of the promises by which he stood engaged, either to give the Queen of *England* some jurisdiction in that city, or to assign her some other place upon the sea-coasts, but out of a desire to reduce all that large and exceeding rich province to his devotion: for except *Rouën* and *Havre de Grace*, there was no place of moment that did not adhere to his party: and by making himself entirely master of it, besides the immense sums of money that would accrue to him from the imposts and revenues of it, he would be in possession of a large country, full of great towns and castles, abounding in Gentry, very well peopled, plentiful in provisions,

* The French say *De Vitry*.

1591. and so situated, that on one side it was open to the sea, and consequently lay very commodiously for receiving speedy supplies at any time from *England*: and on the other, it extended itself almost to *Paris*, and afforded many opportunities of cutting off the passage of the river *Seine*, which was of the utmost consequence to the support of that city. Being wholly intent therefore upon this expedition, he had given orders to the Marshal *De Biron* (whom he left behind him with part of the army in those parts, when he went into *Lorraine*) to endeavour to possess himself of all the places about it, and to get together as great a quantity of provisions, ammunition, and other things necessary for that siege, as he possibly could. *Biron*, after the taking of *Louviers*, where he found a vast quantity of corn, which he caused to be very carefully laid up, had assaulted and taken *Gournay*; and then penetrating further into the country of *Caux*, had also reduced *Caudebec*, situated upon the river *Seine*, betwixt *Havre de Grace* and *Roüen*, and possessed himself of the castle of *Eu*, which stands upon the main road to *Picardy*. After which acquisitions, being absolute master of the field, he began with the utmost diligence to gather provisions together, laying up corn at *Eureux*, and *Ponteau de Mer*, but chiefly at *Pont de l'Arche*, because it was the nearest place to *Roüen*. At *Caën* he had a great number of tents and cloaths made for the use of the soldiers. At *Dieppe* he lodged plenty of ammunition, and of such iron instruments as were necessary for the intended siege: and proceeded with wonderful order and expedition in every thing, but with as little noise or bustle as possible.

But, notwithstanding all his precaution, it was generally known to the other party, that preparations were making to besiege *Roüen*: and the Duke of *Mayenne* being thoroughly convinced that it was the King's intention, was no less active in taking such measures as were proper for the defence of it: and to add life to his proceedings, he sent his son *Henry* thither, that he might give such orders as he saw convenient, and at the same time, to encourage the inhabitants, and to assure them, that they should not be left destitute of relief. The care of the military operations, and the chief part of the defence, he committed to the *Sieur De Villers*, a Cavalier, not only of great courage and resolution, but absolutely dependent upon his name and authority; who going first to *Havre de Grace*, a fortress abundantly furnished by former Kings, and leaving the government of it to the *Sieur Guijon* (a *Provençal* by birth) returned to *Roüen* with two and thirty pieces of cannon of different sizes, and every thing else necessary for their service, all which he caused to be carried up the river in great boats. He also brought thither six hundred horse, raised in that country, and twelve hundred of those *Provençal* foot that had long served under his command in those parts: and as he was a man of letters, and
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grown so wise by the experience of many years, that he well knew the advantage that results from good order in military enterprizes, and was desirous that all things should be conducted in a regular manner by proper managers, that so every one might know, and execute his own duty without confusion; he called together all the heads of the Clergy, the principal Counsellors of the Parliament, with the leading men of the people, and chief Officers of the soldiery, and distributed to every man his province, and the part that he was to act in their future defence. He appointed the *Sieur De la Londe*, an old soldier, who had lived in the city many years, and was well known in it, to be Serjeant Major: for the defence of *St. Catherine's* mount and its forts, which was a place of the utmost importance, he made choice of the *Chevalier Piccard*, with his regiment, and two hundred other musketers, commanded by the *Sieur De Jellan*. The care of the old palace, which stands betwixt the *Porte de Caux* and the river *Seine* on the north side, he committed to the *Sieur De Bauquemare*, First President of the Parliament, with an hundred *Swiss* and three hundred *French*: the old castle, with the part adjoining, towards the north west, he assigned to his brother, the *Chevalier D'Oyle*, with the regiments of Colonel *Boniface* and the *Commendatory Grillon*: and the west side towards the *Fauxbourg De St. Sever*, beyond the river, to Captain *Giacopo Argenti* of *Ferrara*, with his own regiment. *Carlo Sigismondi*, a *Neapolitan* engineer of great experience, commanded the artillery: Captain *Babin* the fireworks, of which a very large quantity was made: and at every gate, one of the Presidents and one of the oldest Counsellors of the Parliament assisted, as well for the honour as security of the city. The citizens were divided into ten companies, under ten Commanders chosen by themselves: eight of which were to guard eight bastions or towers, lined with earth, that were in the circuit of the walls: and the other two had the main guard in the great square: and in the palace of *Justice* were lodged two hundred *Swiss*, and as many *French* firelocks, to be ready to assist where occasion should require. The Governor also caused some little barks to be armed, with light pieces of artillery, and manned with twenty soldiers in each, both on the upper and lower parts of the *Seine*: which were to scour the river, under the command of their Admiral the *Sieur D'Anquetil*, to make prizes of such vessels as they should meet with, and to take in cattle and other provisions along the banks, that the city might be furnished with plenty of victuals. Two Counsellors of the Parliament, and two Deputies of the city, were employed to distribute the bread: and the old *Sieur De Corsi* had the charge of delivering out the ammunition. With this order, well disposed and carefully executed by the diligence of the Governor, and the experience of those to whom it was entrusted, things were carried on with such regularity and success, that during the

1591. whole time of the siege, there neither happened any disorder, nor did any one suffer for want of victuals, as the price of them was not much above the common rate.

Against these provisions, the Marshal *De Biron*, after he was joined by three thousand *English* foot, which landed at *Boulogne*, under the command of the Earl of *Essex*, had with him betwixt nine and ten thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse. And, that he might make a beginning of the siege, he advanced with his army to a place called *Darnetal*, within sight of the city, upon the 11th of *November*. The same day his cavalry over-ran all the plain to the very walls of the city, and of *St. Catherine's*: upon which, Captain *Borofay*, an officer of great valour, with two hundred horse, and Colonel *Boniface* with five hundred foot, sallied out of the *Porte Cauchoise*, and first charged the cavalry, and then the regiments of *English*, maintaining a hot skirmish with them for many hours, though at last both sides were so tired, that they were glad to retreat, without much advantage gained on either; yet the besieged thought they had some reason to boast of a happy beginning, from the death of the Earl of *Essex's* brother, who having courageously pushed into the thickest of the battle, was slain by *Borofay* with a pistol shot in the throat. In the mean time Captain *Padriel*, with two hundred horse, and Captain *Bafin*, with four hundred foot, likewise made a sally at the *Porte de Martinville*, and having skirmished a considerable time with the *French* light horse, conducted by *Francis Orfin* Sieur *De la Chapelle*, were obliged to retire, though they did not sustain any great damage, as they were covered in their retreat by the cannon of the nearest fortifications.

But the Marshal, having soon thrown up a trench round *Darnetal*, to secure his army from the sallies of the garrison, which he saw so active and alert, employed himself for some days following, without advancing any nearer the city, in diverting the course of the *Robec*, a little rivulet that ran through the adjacent fields into the town, and turned eleven mills near *St. Hilary's* gate, to the great conveniency of the inhabitants: nor was it very difficult to turn the stream another way, which would have exceedingly incommoded the town, if *Villers* had not foreseen the danger, and wisely provided against it, by causing a number of hand-mills to be made, which were kept continually going by the peasants, a great many of whom had fled into the town, to avoid the fury of the enemy. Whilst they were thus busied in altering the course of the water, the Marshal, having recourse to art as well as force, had begun a correspondence with one Captain *Graveron* in the city, in hopes of prevailing upon him to deliver up the *Porte de Beauvais*, of which he had the charge, into his hands: and this was carried on by one of the Marshal's servants, who was related to the Captain, and had often gone into the city in disguise
for

for that purpose, before the siege began. But *Graveron* having discovered these practices to the Governor, and received instructions how to draw the enemy into an ambush by night, did not, however, conduct the matter so well as to prevent its being discovered; which put an end to the treaty with little damage on either side. The next day the Chevalier *Piccard* falling out of *St. Catherine's* to skirmish, and the Earl of *Essex*, with the *English*, coming out of the wood of *Turinge* to meet him, they had a sharp contest both in blows and words: for *Piccard* upbraiding the *English*, that they had not courage enough to revenge the death of the Earl's brother in an open and generous manner, but endeavoured to promote their designs by mean practices and underhand dealings, they came to ill language, and gave each other the lie, for which, as soon as the skirmish was over, there came an *English* trumpet from the Earl of *Essex*, to challenge the Governor to a single combat. But the Chevalier *Piccard* (who had spoke the words) taking upon himself to answer it, they did not come to a duel: for the Earl said, he would not equal himself with any other person but the Governor: and the Governor, though he did not refuse the challenge, yet referred their meeting to another time, by saying, he could not accept of it at present, as he was entrusted with the charge of defending the town, which was a publick concern, and ought to be preferred to any private quarrel whatsoever.

All the month of *November* was spent in continual skirmishes and encounters, the Marshal in the mean time being taken up in fortifying his quarters, drawing artillery and ammunition together, and causing provisions to be brought in, expecting to be joined by the King with the rest of the army: at whose arrival in the camp on the 3d of *December*, they sent a herald to summon the city to surrender: but having received a resolute answer from the Governor, they broke ground the next day, in order to make their approaches to the wall. The King lay at *Darnetal*, with the Marshal *De Biron*, and the greatest of the Nobility that followed him, having the *Swiss*, flanked with a regiment of his guards, for the defence of his own quarters. The Viscount *De Turenne* (now Duke of *Bouillon*, in right of his wife) was quartered on the right hand, with the cavalry, and the *German* infantry, which extended themselves a long way through the neighbouring villages, upon the road that leads toward *Dieppe*. The *French* infantry, now they had lost their old Commander, the Sieur *De Cbastillon*, who died a while before of a natural death, was commanded by several officers of great reputation, and lay close by the *Germans*, but on the right of the King's quarters, towards the *Porte Cauchoise*, and the *Porte de Beauvais*. The *English* foot were on the left of the King, and the *Swiss* entrenched under the wood of *Turenge*, over against the *Porte de St. Hilaire* and *St. Catherine's* mount. On the left

1591. of these, the Baron *De Givry* and the *Sieur De la Chapelle*, with the light horse, spread themselves upon the high road that leads to *De l'Arche*, and from thence to *Paris*. And the Count *De Soissons*, with Captain *Raulet*, were quartered on the other side of the *Seine*, over which there was a passage made by pontoons, opposite to the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Sever*.

When the town was thus invested on every side, without the advantage or disadvantage of the suburbs, which the Governor had burnt down upon the arrival of the army, the King ordered Colonel *St. Dennis* to take possession of the church of *St. Andrew*, which being built of stone, was the only edifice that escaped the flames, though the besieged had endeavoured to demolish it: but he soon perceived that *Villers* had foreseen the damage which he might receive from thence, and had provided an effectual remedy: for he had mounted two very large culverines upon a cavalier, that was raised within the town, which played so furiously upon the church, that the *French* had no sooner possessed themselves of it, but they were forced to abandon it. This attempt being frustrated, the King gave orders to have two trenches thrown up, one to make his approaches towards *St. Catherine's* mount, which was drawn from the wood of *Turinge*, and carried on by the *English*: and the other, to the end just over against *St. Hilary's* gate, at which the *French* infantry wrought by turns. But the *Sieur De Villers*, besides other works which were thrown up day and night by a great number of labourers (who in a short time had lined *St. Hilary's* gate with earth) having raised a very high cavalier close by it, filled the foss with casemates, and fortified the counterscarp with small ravelines, and had also made a breast-work of eighteen or twenty feet thick (before the forts of *St. Catherine's*, where the main stress of the siege was pointed) flanked with two ravelines, to be manned with musketeers only, as it had neither shoulders, nor * orillons, nor retreats, but a trench of thirty feet wide, and ten deep, in the front of it, which he thought sufficient to sustain the first attacks of the assailants. After this disposition for the defence of the town, he resolved to harass the enemy with frequent sallies, and endeavour to hinder their approaches, as it was full of people, and had a garrison of five thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, besides the common inhabitants, and a vast number of peasants, who were very active upon all occasions, and ready to undergo any sort of duty. This plan he thought most likely, not only to retard the progress of the besiegers, but to gain him reputation and applause, even if they should succeed in their attempt, as it shewed great courage and resolution: so that the two trenches were hardly began, when five companies of foot, supported by *Borofay*, with an hundred and twenty

* An orillon is a mass of earth faced with stone, built upon the shoulders of a bastion, which has casemates to cover the cannon of the retired flank.

horse, sallied out of the *Porte de Cauchoise*; and on the other side of the town, three hundred *Provençals*, armed with corslets, halberds, and broad swords, flanked by an hundred *French* firelocks, came down from *St. Catherine's*, and made a furious attack upon those that were at work in the redoubts. On one hand, the *English*, and on the other, Colonel *St. Dennis*, *La Lusérne*, and *Parabiere*, ran together to oppose this sally: so that the skirmish grew so hot on both sides, that it lasted above three hours with great slaughter, till the Baron *De Biron* came up with a body of four thousand *Germans* and two troops of horse and repulsed the salliers, amongst whom the *Sieur De St. Sulpice* was slain, with above forty private men, though there were more than two hundred killed on the King's side.

The pioneers were discouraged at this attack, and so retarded in their work, first by excessive rains, and then by a very deep snow and hard frost, that the approaches went on but slowly; whilst the besieged, who had the convenience of lying under cover, were not prevented by these difficulties from going on with the fortifications which they had begun, but raised new cavaliers and ravelines, and threw up fresh trenches and casemates every day, and made such vigorous and effectual sallies, that they kept the whole army almost continually under arms. In which the *Sieur De Villers* highly distinguished his valour and military skill; for though he could not stir up and down without great difficulty, as he was lame of one foot, yet he would be personally in all actions, mounted sometimes upon a pad, sometimes upon a charger, surveying the works, giving necessary orders, and animating his men with his own presence. The most courageous of the salliers, and who were afterwards well known, whenever they came out, by all the King's army, were Captain *Borélay*, Captain *Bassin*, and one *Goville*, a priest, who being much fitter for a military life than the ecclesiastical profession, and so bold upon every occasion, that he despised the greatest dangers, was constantly one of the first in all sallies, in which, as often as he happened to encounter a single man only, he always got the better of him, with infinite applause from his party.

The approaches, however, that had been carrying on before *St. Catherine's*, were at last finished, though they were very strait and had only three redoubts; but they were flanked on the right hand by a long battery of fourteen cannon, and on the left by seven more, though planted at such a distance, that the gunners had not filled their gabions: yet under the shelter of these batteries the works were so far advanced, that they reached the counterescarp of the fortification that was newly made, which being something high, and the trench of the besiegers carried on too much in a right line at that end, through the ignorance of the *English* engineer,

1591. gineer, a great number of men were killed by the vollies of musket-shot, which were continually poured upon them by those that were behind the parapet of the same counterscarp. Wherefore, as it was necessary to drive them away from thence, and that could not be done by day-light, on account of the shelter which they received from the curtain, from whence they kept a regular and constant fire with their small arms; the King coming personally into the trench, with three hundred Gentlemen and four hundred resolute musketeers, made a furious assault upon that place in the darkest time of the night, which the guards not being able to sustain, were obliged to quit the counterscarp, and filing off to the right and left, retired under the cover of their fortifications into the fofs. Upon this, Colonel *Roger Williams*, a brave officer, immediately entered with eight hundred *English*, and having caused a great number of gabions to be brought in, he worked all the rest of the night with the utmost diligence, to cover himself, upon the very edge of the fofs. But the night following, the *Sieur De Villers* (having placed a thousand musketeers upon the curtain, who kept an incessant fire, even in the dark, against the angle of the counterscarp) sent the Chevalier *Piccard* and Captain *Basin* with four hundred *Provençals*, and sixty Gentlemen at the head of them, compleatly armed and furnished with targets, who advancing to the attack by the same way that they had retired the night before, bravely regained that post and dislodged the *English*, who being fired upon by continual vollies of the musketry, durst not stand up to handle their pikes: but being not a little picqued at the disgrace they had undergone, they made all necessary preparations the two following days, and on the 3d at night assaulted the counterscarp once more, in the King's presence, with so much fury, that they drove the enemy out of it a second time, and not only got possession of it again, but fell to work with so much diligence and expedition, that they had presently covered and fortified themselves in a sufficient manner.

The end of the trench was thrown open into the fofs upon the 30th of *December*, and the next day two batteries were raised; one of fourteen pieces of cannon, which plaid upon the old fortifications; and the other of seven, planted against the new works. And though they never ceased firing all that day and the following night, that the besieged might not have time to repair their damages, yet they made no considerable progress, as the forts were all of good earth and newly covered with turfs and clods, and the artillery being planted much lower than they were, had but little effect. They began, therefore, on the second day of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-two, to make a platform in the midway betwixt the two batteries, that they might proceed with greater vigour against the forts. The besieged likewise were resolved not to pass that

that night in doing nothing, but came down betwixt the hill and the city, 1592. and made an assault upon the trenches that were at the counterscarp of the old works: and having put the guards into disorder, not only killed above sixty of them, but carried away many of their working tools, and would have destroyed all their labours, if *Roger Williams* himself, seconded by a few others, had not opposed them at the gorge of the first redoubt, and there sustained the fury of the enemy some time: for laying hold of a pike, and two Captains, an Ensign, and a Serjeant doing the same, they made so resolute a stand against the efforts of the enemy, that it gave time to some few other soldiers, who were at work a little behind them, to make a breach in the redoubt, by which they let in fresh men, who ran to the assistance of their friends at the first report of the action: so that they sustained the heat of the attack, till other detachments from the army coming up one after another, those of the city were at last obliged to desist from that attempt, and retreated, though with much gallantry and reputation: but their endeavours to annoy the enemy did not cease upon their retreat, for they were continually at work to disturb and interrupt the progress of the battery with their artillery, musketoons, fireworks, and many other ways.

At the other trench, which was thrown up against *St. Hilary's* gate, and finished on the 3d of *January*, there was a battery raised of four pieces of cannon and two culverines, which made but an inconsiderable progress, as the gate was very well lined with earth; so that it was proposed to quit that place and open fresh works against the port *De Beautais*, which stood lower: a proposal that was much approved of by the *French* officers, because the place was more convenient for them, and near the quarter where they were posted. But in the mean time, whilst the commanders were engaged in this consultation, which proved something long, on account of the different opinions amongst them, the Chevalier *D'Oyle* sallying out at the *Porte Cauchoise*, attacked that very trench, and made a great slaughter of Colonel *St. Dennis's* men, who upon this emergency were destitute of the presence and conduct of their commander: for, as it was then in debate, whether the post should be abandoned or not, he was gone to the consultation, and to receive the Marshal *De Biron's* orders upon that point. The next day they began to work at a place that was something lower, where the *French*, vying with the *English* foot, whom they saw upon the counterscarp of *St. Catherine's*, proceeded with such diligence, that the trench was finished in a few days: which being done, and the gate battered with seven pieces of cannon, Colonel *St. Dennis* bravely advanced to the assault, without staying till the breach was sufficiently wide: and at the same time Colonel *Piles*, with his regiment, rushing out of the same trench, raised several

1592. scaling-ladders against the curtain that joined to the gate. The assault was fierce, and no less resolutely sustained; but the breach in the wall being narrow, and at a considerable height from the ground, and great quantities of fireworks, stones, and scalding water being thrown down from the curtain, the assailants were forced to retire with the loss of above seventy of their men: this action happened on the 14th of *January*.

Whilst they were warmly engaged on this side, the forces that lay beyond the river, over-against the *Fauxbourg de St. Severe*, having no orders to attempt any thing further than to prevent supplies of men and provisions from being thrown into the town, were chiefly employed in fainter and less bloody skirmishes: in one of which the besiegers having taken Lieutenant *Landon* of the Commendatory *Grillon's* regiment, endeavoured to corrupt him, and prevail upon him to make them a promise, that, as soon as it should be his turn to have the guard of the fort at the bridge over the *Seine*, he would let them into it. *Landon*, pretending to consent to it, because he had formerly served under Captain *Raulet* and received some kindnesses from him, was set at liberty: and seeming to keep his promise, on the 18th of *January* at night, when it was his guard, he made the signal that had been agreed upon; which being observed by those without, Captain *Raulet* advanced to be let into the fort, with twenty Gentlemen on foot completely armed, and thirty firelocks, the Count *De Soissons* standing with the rest of his forces drawn up under arms and ready to support him. But *Landon*, having discovered the whole to the Governor, sallied out of the fort with sixty choice men, at the approach of the enemy, and fell so fiercely upon them, that both the Gentlemen and private soldiers being terrified at so unexpected an attack, immediately ran away: Captain *Raulet*, who stood his ground, was taken prisoner by him; and the Count *De Soissons*, advancing to disengage him, could not come soon enough to effect it. About the same time there were other practices of this kind on foot with the *Sieur De la Fontaine*, in which there was more sincerity on his side; but these being also discovered by one *Mauciere*, an Advocate, who lived in the town, all the accomplices were apprehended and condemned to the gallows.

They now carried on their works in many places with more expedition than usual; for the soldiers of different nations vying with each other for honour, and having set their hearts upon taking the place, exerted themselves with greater alacrity: to increase which, the King, having taken possession of a new post betwixt *St. Catherine's* and *Martinville*, lodged three thousand *German* foot there, who were no less active than the rest in making their approaches with a trench to the counterſcarp of the foss. On the other hand, the besieged, being animated by the happy success

success they had met with in their sallies, were unanimous amongst themselves in whatsoever related to their defence: to which the example of the Governor did not a little contribute, who was present and assisted at all undertakings. And being likewise spurred up by *La Londe*, who was continually going round the city with unwearied vigilance, and providing against every exigency, they laboured without intermission; sometimes in repairing the works which the artillery had demolished, sometimes in raising new forts and making fresh casemates, and sometimes in putting their warlike instruments and fireworks in order. But above all, they were remarkably alert in making sallies, to which not only the soldiers, but even the companies of townsmen also, often ran, with wonderful eagerness: so that, on the 21st, they issued out of the *Porte Cauchoise* on one side, and the *Porte de Martinville* on the other, and began a very furious engagement: but the King having caused some field-pieces to be secretly planted on the flank of his posts, they were repulsed by a hot fire from them with great loss, leaving a Lieutenant of the Governor's guards, two of the city Captains, and above thirty soldiers dead upon the spot. But the action was attended with much more danger that happened on the 23d, at which time three hundred horse and a thousand foot, rallying out of the same gate, divided themselves and took different ways: for the cavalry went towards the field that leads directly to *Darnetal*, to attack the regiment of guards in their quarters: and the foot, that their design might be the more private, marched along a dry channel of the *Robec*, and came to the wood of *Turinge*, where the *English* lay. The engagement began about noon, and was not very fierce at the first, because *Grillon*, Colonel of the guards, was hardly able to get an hundred of his men together, and the *English* firing but slowly, and at a distance, did not seem inclined to close with the enemy: but afterwards, when the other commanders came up, it grew so hot, that it looked like a general battle. For the Baron *De Biron* and *Francis de Montmerancy* *Sieur Du Hullot*, assisted at both places, with two squadrons of valiant Gentlemen; and the Baron *De Givry* and *La Chapelle* ran to reinforce their party with the light horse. On the other side, *Villers*, seeing the danger of his men, who were so far advanced, came out himself to bring them off, with *Borofay's* and *Pardriel's* horse, followed by the *Sieur De la Londe*, with *Giacopo Argenti's* regiment and three companies of townsmen: so that the action became not only general, in a manner, but very hot and bloody, as fresh and numerous supplies arrived from all sides to support their respective parties. But the King having left his post near the battery of *Martinville*, had advanced with great danger (as he was attended only by a few horse) over a little bank that was raised to stop the course of the *Robec*, to the place of action; and hearing that the

1592. *Sieur Du Hallot* was wounded in the thigh with a musket-ball and carried to the next quarters, and that the *Baron De Biron* had been hurt in the face, though but slightly, and was in great danger of being taken or killed, he presently sent the *Duke De Rouillon* with a squadron of Reiters to his relief, who charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that *Villers* having his horse killed under him, and seeing many of those that were round him thrown to the ground, and himself wounded, though not dangerously, in one of his hands, with very great difficulty retired under the artillery of the walls. In this engagement *Captain Laurier*, the *Sieur De Plumetot*, a Gentleman of the county of *Caux*, *Bois-Pulain*, Captain of horse, the Captain of the Governor's guard, the *Sieurs De Molart* and *Brebion*, with above an hundred soldiers, were killed: and on the King's side were slain above an hundred and fifty, and many more wounded; amongst whom *Grillon*, Colonel of the guards, received so grievous a wound with a brace of balls below his elbow, that he continued a long time disabled for action.

The same night, the *Chevalier De Varneville*, of the order of *Jerusalem*, died in the city, of the wounds that he had received some time before: and the *Cavalier Piccard*, having had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball in the late action, survived him but a few days. This loss was increased by the death of *Captain Basin*, after he had distinguished himself with so much bravery upon all occasions; for as he was looking out of one of the * embrasures, to take a survey of the works that were carrying on at the foss, he received a musket-ball in his forehead, and lay dead a good while before any body perceived it. *Goville* the priest was likewise killed the next day; for having strained his foot in climbing up one of the trenches, and being obliged to retire very slowly, he was overtaken by the enemy, and after an obstinate defence, lost his life by a musket-shot in the throat. The strength of the besieged being very much reduced by these misfortunes, they were forced to abate the vigour of their sallies, whilst the approaches of the enemy were still carried on with such diligence, that they had not only fortified themselves in many places upon the counterscarps, and near the old fort of *St. Catherine's* and under the curtain of *Martinville*, but had also passed the foss and were working mines under the walls, besides which, they had likewise sprung a mine, at the *Porte de Beauvais*, though with no great success. The pioneers being constantly animated in these labours by the *Marshal De Biron*, exerted themselves with so much ardour, that they had advanced their sap till they were got under the rampart of the old fort, and having supported the whole of it with piles, the commanders were of opinion

* Embrasures are those apertures in the wall of a fortification, through which the cannon are run out.

that it would immediately fall of itself, without any blast, as soon as those supports were destroyed. In expectation of this, the piles were set on fire, and two parties drawn up ready to march on to the assault; but the soil upon which the foundation was built being naturally firm, and well tempered by labour, sunk down so gently, that, without cracking or dividing, the rampart only fell to a lower level, though it was still entire on every side: so that the forces which were destined to the assault returned to their trenches without making any further attempt in those circumstances. The design upon that fort, however, was not given up, for they immediately began to sink a mine in the same place, to try if they could effect that by dint of powder, which they had failed in before, and in the mean time the *Germans* also wrought under the curtain of *Martinville*: from which place *La Fontaine Martel*, and *Aqueville*, a young Gentleman of that country, prompted by the emulation that subsisted betwixt them, sallied out at one of the embrasures of the next rampart, each with ten firelocks, and twenty other men armed with corslets, and boldly assaulted the principal avenue of the trench: but being overpowered by numbers, and there being no means of assisting them from the walls, as the out-works were in a great measure demolished, they with much difficulty at last got themselves drawn up again at the same embrasure. The mine at the old fort being now finished, was to be sprung the next morning; but Colonel *Boniface* going his rounds to visit the guards in the dead of the night, heard the sound of the workmens tools in that place, and having caused several fireworks to be thrown into the foss, to discover what the enemy were about, those fires running up and down, and scattering themselves into different places, accidentally fell into the mouth of the mine, and set fire to it before the time designed, in such a manner, that the blast not only threw down one part of the rampart, but burnt many, and buried the rest of the out-guard, and wounded several of those that were preparing against the next morning to give the assault: yet the breach was so large, and the point of the rampart so demolished, by the sinking of the earth, that it might easily have been carried, if that sudden accident, and the death of so many of their friends, had not terrified the assailants: so that the Baron *De Biron*, who was to give the signal for the assault, not being in the trench, and the foot that were to advance, not drawn up in readinets, the Earl of *Essex*, and Colonel *Williams*, who were at that post, sent in all haste for instructions how to proceed, and in the mean time, the besieged laboured with the utmost diligence to repair the breach with fascines and sacks full of earth, as they soon did.

The siege of *Rouën* was of such importance, that from the very beginning, it had given great uneasiness to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who having left *Paris*, and returned to the army, had dispatched the Sieur *De Rhodé* to *Landrecy*.

1592. *Landrecy*, where the Duke of *Parma* then was, to sollicite his coming, or at least to know his resolution. The Duke *De Monte Marciano*, and Commissary *Matteucci*, had also sent *Antonio Maria Pallavicino*, to let him know, that if he did not enter the confines of *France* with his army by the middle of *December*, they had orders from *Rome* to disband their forces. *Diego d'Ivarra* was likewise gone himself, not only to acquaint him with the whole of what had happened at *Paris*, but to represent to him the dangerous consequences of suffering the King to make himself master of *Rouen*, which he had already invested. The Duke, therefore, in pursuance of the instructions that were sent him from *Spain*, and on his own design, never to let the King's party grow so strong as to suppress the League: and perceiving, that he ought no longer to delay the assistance he had promised the Duke of *Mayenne*, resolved to succour him immediately, but still persevered in his former determination, not to show any interested view, but merely a desire of supporting the Catholick religion, lest he should throw things into confusion, and create an unreasonable jealousy in the *French* of that party. *D'Ivarra* was of another opinion, and said it was not only his own judgment, but that of the other *Spanish* Ministers, who were in *France*, that so urgent a necessity afforded them an opportunity of compelling the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other *French* Lords, to assemble the States General of the kingdom, and to cause the Infanta *Isabella* to be declared Queen, who should afterwards take such a husband as was approved of by the confederate Princes: after which it would be proper to act with the utmost vigour, and to attack the King with all their forces, and never to desist till he was totally vanquished and suppressed. But the Duke, though he knew this was the ultimate intention of his Catholick Majesty, and the *Spanish* Council, did not think the present a convenient juncture to proceed in such a manner, not only because the *French* Nobility, when they saw themselves deceived, and that the *Spaniards* took the advantage of their distress to put a yoke upon their necks, would throw themselves, in despair, upon the King's clemency, who left no arts untried to reconcile them to him: but also because there was not time to conduct that design with such patience and address as it required, now *Rouen* was besieged, and the necessity of relieving it admitted of no delay. Upon which the *Spaniards*, and particularly *D'Ivarra*, who was naturally of a fiery disposition, and did not use to express himself in the mildest terms, replied, "That as the Duke of *Parma* was an *Italian*, his own private interest, and that of the other *Italian* Princes, made them jealous of the *Spanish* monarchy growing too powerful, which was the reason that he took no less pains than the *French* Lords themselves to raise new difficulties and delays upon all occasions." But the events that afterwards happened, sufficiently evinced the wisdom

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and expedience of the Duke of *Parma's* advice ; who, being still determined to assist the confederates in a time of so great need, was come to *Guise*, where he met the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Monte Marciano*, and having appointed Count *Mansfelt* Governor of the *Low Countries*, he ordered his son, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, to draw the army together, and conduct it towards the confines of *France*.

The Duke, however, thought himself obliged to remind the Duke of *Mayenne* and his friends, of what King *Philip* himself had told President *Jeanne*, namely, that it was necessary, for the future, not to proceed at random and without any determinate end, but to assemble the States, and to acquaint them with his Catholick Majesty's intention, which he would signify to them by new Ambassadors, that they might concert a proper plan of operation, and not always go on upon the same uncertain bottom : and when he perceived, that the Duke of *Mayenne* answered very coldly to that particular, he caused it to be repeated to him afterwards by President *Richardet*, one of his Counsellors. Upon which, though the Duke did not absolutely refuse to convene the States, yet, he said, it was necessary to defer it till another time ; that he must first consult the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Nemours*, and *Mercœur*, and that the measures which they should unanimously agree upon, should be steddily pursued, that they might not indeed act at random, as he said, nor cause a division amongst the confederates. Which objections being thought reasonable by the Duke of *Parma* himself, who observed, that all the *French* Lords were likewise staggered at this proposal, and Madam *De Guise* (who was present) no less than they, he seemed to be satisfied, and said no more of that matter, but contented himself with only demanding *La Fere* for a place of safety, where he might lodge all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of his army ; as it was not fit they should lie open and exposed to the attacks of the King's forces, and that when he was advanced into the middle of an enemy's country, he should not have so much as one town whither he might retire upon occasion. Yet it was not an easy matter to obtain even this ; for the Duke of *Mayenne* peremptorily refused to alienate any place from the Crown : but having discovered that the Vice-Seneschal *De Montelimar*, Governor of that fortress, held a correspondence with the *Spaniards*, and being apprehensive that they would get possession of it by some other means whether he would or not, he at last consented, that the Duke should bring his artillery and military stores thither, and that he should leave a garrison there of five hundred *Wallcons*, paid by his Catholick Majesty : but insisted, that the town should still continue under the protection of the Crown, and that the same *French* Magistrates should reside in it to administer justice : and not thinking this sufficient, he also demanded a security under the Duke of *Parma's* own hand, that he

would

1592. would leave it free to him again, whensoever he should draw out his artillery and other provisions.

About the same time the Duke of *Parma* did a very prudent and generous thing, with which the confederates were wonderfully pleased: for some Deputies being come to him from *Orleans*, to let him know, that their principals (not having money to pay the soldiers of the garrison, who had many months arrears due to them, and seeing the Duke of *Mayenne* did not give himself much trouble about their affairs) were desirous to put themselves under the protection of his Catholick Majesty, and ready to admit any garrison that he should think proper to send them: he was so far from accepting their offer, that he gave them a severe rebuke for endeavouring to throw off their obedience to the Lieutenant of the Crown; and when *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Diego d'Ivarra* earnestly persuaded him to listen to their proposals, he only answered, "That if they thought to get possession of the Crown of *France* by reducing the cities one by one, the world would be at an end before they had accomplished their design, and that it was necessary to strike at the root, not to throw away their time in lopping off the branches."

The *French* Lords being soothed in this manner, it was necessary also to secure the favour of the Ministers of *Rome*: for after the death of *Gregory* the fourteenth, *Giovanni Antonio Fackinotto* being elected Pope, by the name of *Innocent* the ninth, did not seem to attend to the affairs of the League with the same zeal that his predecessors had done, and plainly told both the *French* and *Spanish* Agents, that he would not concern himself about sending any succours into *France*, till an independent Catholick King, and such a one as was generally approved of, should be chosen: by which declaration he seemed to point at a Prince of the Blood, as *Scipio Balbani* had communicated the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* pretensions to many, and engaged them in his favour. Nor was the Pope himself much averse to this new design; for being earnestly solicited to assist the League, at a time when they were so much distressed, and not to desert the cause of religion, he answered, "That he could not make the print of the foot longer than the foot itself; that the expences which his predecessors had been at upon their account, exceeded the abilities of the Apostolick See, and that he would contribute fifteen thousand ducats a month till things were adjusted; after which, he would exert himself as far as ever the strength of his treasury would bear." This answer being reported by many, in their letters to *France*, not only gave the *French* Lords great uneasiness, but also made the Duke *De Monte Marciano* and Commissary *Mattucci* doubtful how to behave themselves. Nevertheless, his Holiness created the Bishop of *Piacenza* Cardinal, and appointed him his Legate in *France*, as an experienced man, and one who was already well acquainted with

with the affairs of that nation, knowing that new Ministers too often embarrass things before they have had sufficient time to apprehend and understand the nature and circumstances of them. As soon as he had fixed upon a Legate, he wrote into *France*, that if the Duke of *Parma* came into the kingdom by the 15th of *December* at the furthest, the forces of the Apostolick See should then follow his camp, but if he did not enter it before that term was expired, they should certainly be disbanded: a declaration that did not at all please the *Spanish* Ministers, who saw from thence, that the Pope was not much inclined to concur in their measures; but much less the Duke of *Mayenne*, when he found that he had no room to expect such aid as was necessary to accomplish his designs. But his death, which happened in the second month of his Pontificate, so perplexed the Legate, and all the rest of them, that the Duke of *Parma* was obliged to make use not only of entreaties, but all his authority likewise, to make them continue with him upon so urgent an occasion, and to promise the *Swiss*, that he would pay them with his own money, if the next Pope should refuse to do it.

Things being thus settled, and the forces drawn together from all parts, the two armies joined, and advanced by easy marches towards *Nesle*. At their arrival there, on the 4th of *January*, the Duke of *Parma* thought fit to make a general review of his forces, which he mustered, and gave them a week's pay. The Duke of *Mayenne*, the Count *De Vaudemont*, and the Duke *De Monte Marciano* likewise reviewed their respective forces; for which purpose, and to stay till the artillery and ammunition came up, which moved more slowly, they lay there twelve days. On the 16th in the morning, they proceeded in their march directly towards *Roiien*, by the way of *Amiens*, which, though round about, is yet a much better road, and more abundant in provisions. When they had passed *Amiens*, and left the river *Somme* behind them, the Duke of *Parma* drew up his army in battalia, and made them constantly march in that manner; for as he had entered an enemy's country, which was also very rough and full of woods and rivulets, he was determined not to expose himself to the danger of being suddenly attacked by the King, when he was not ready to receive him, of whose activity and resolution he had before had sufficient experience. There were in this army about six thousand horse: eight hundred Reiters, under the command of the Baron of *Swartzenbourg*: two thousand light horse, commanded, in the absence of the Duke of *Pastrana*, by *Georgio Basti*, Commissary of the cavalry: four hundred *Flemish* lances, under the Prince of *Chimay*: one hundred *Italian* lances, belonging to the General of the church, conducted by his Lieutenant *Ludovico Melzi*: seven hundred *Lorrain* lances and cuirassiers, led by the Count *De Vaudemont*: and two thousand horse, consisting of *French*.

1592. Noblesse, that followed the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise*, and the other Princes and Lords of that party. The infantry amounted to twenty-four thousand; of which two thousand were *Swiss*, being all that were left of those that had been raised by the church: three *Spanish* divisions, under *Antonio Zuniga*, *Ludovico Velasco*, and *Alonso Idiaques*: two of *German*, under the conduct of the Counts of *Barlemont* and *Arenbergh*: four of *Walloons*, under Monsieur *Du Vert*, *Ostavo* Count of *Mansfelt*, the Count *De Bossu*, and Colonel *Claude de la Berlotte*: two divisions of *Italians*, namely, *Camillo Capizucchi's*, and part of that which formerly was *Pietro Caetano's*, led by his Serjeant Major: and four thousand *French*, under the Sieurs *De Bois Dauphine* and *Balagny*, and Colonel *St. Paul*. The whole was divided into three parts: the vanguard, led by the Duke of *Guise*, with the Sieurs *De Vitry* and *De la Chastre*: the main battle, in which were the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne*, the Count *De Vandermont*, and the Duke of *Monte Marciaro*: and the rear guard, commanded by the Duke of *Aumale* and the Count *De Chaligny*, with many other Lords. The first body of foot was led by *Camillo Capizucchi*, in which were all the *Italians*: the *Swiss* guarded the artillery, under the command of the Sieurs *De la Motte* and *Bassompierre*: *Georgio Nasti*, with a considerable squadron of carbineers and light horse, marched before the main army, to scour and secure the roads; and the Sieur *De Rely* had the post of Serjeant Major General.

When the King was informed that this army was approaching, he maturely considered what was to be done, and remembring what had happened to him at the siege of *Paris*, resolved to leave the Marshal *De Biron*, with all the infantry, and part of the cavalry, before *Rouen*, to continue the siege, and to go himself, with the other part of the horse, to meet the enemy: not with a design to engage them in the open field, but to harraß them at passes, to retard and interrupt their march, and to take the advantage of such opportunities, as the nature of situations and the motions of the confederates might afford him. What induced him to take this resolution was, that he found himself very strong in horse: for the Duke of *Nevers*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *De St. Paul*, and many other Lords, being lately come to the camp, he had in all, above ten thousand horse, and almost eight and twenty thousand foot: so powerful an army, encouraged him to leave the greater part of the *German* cavalry, which were very ungovernable, and some of the *French* also, in the camp before *Rouen*: and he himself set out on the 29th of *January*, to seek the enemy, with two thousand cuirassiers, five hundred light horse, a thousand Reiters, commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and two thousand harquebusiers on horseback.

Upon his arrival at *Folleville*, a little town on the frontiers of *Picardy*,
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he received intelligence, that the enemy continued their course directly towards *Roüen*, and were passing by, a little lower, at that very time, to gain a large plain, that lay on both sides of the high-road. Wherefore, having sent the *Sieur De Arambures* before, with fifteen light horse, to reconnoitre them, he drew out the Grand Escuyer with forty Gentlemen, whom he placed on his right hand, and the *Sieur De Lavardine* with thirty more, on his left, betwixt which two little troops, he himself advanced with sixscore horse, that he might distinctly observe what order the army of the League kept in their march. When they had advanced almost three miles in this manner, *Lavardine* discovered some *Spanish* foot, who were resting themselves under a tree, and had set up their pikes round about it, and being resolved to attack them, he rode forwards till he came pretty near the tree, when the troop on the right hand perceived two large bodies of horse (which had been on guard at the end of a high road) already moving towards him: of which they immediately gave him notice, by calling out to him, that *the fruit was sour*. But he boldly faced about with his men, and made a fierce attack upon the enemy, who killed his horse under him at the first encounter, and warmly beset him on all sides: though the skirmish did not continue long; for, upon the King's coming up with his troop, the horse of the League retired to their main body, which lay in sight upon the plain; but there was so strict a guard kept in every quarter, that the King found he could not come any nearer to them, and therefore, after he had joined the rest of his men, he retired that night to *Berteville*.

From thence, in pursuance of his design, he came on the 4th of *February* to *Aumale*, a castle situated upon a river, that divides the confines of *Picardy* from *Upper Normandy*, where he quartered his men in the Bourg: and the next morning, being desirous to see what order the enemy's army observed, he advanced in person, with the archers of his guard, two hundred other light horse, and three hundred chosen Gentlemen, along the road where the army of the League was marching, leaving the command of the other troops that were at *Aumale* to the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Longueville*. But as he was often led into sudden and very great dangers by his courage, and the desire he had of being at the head of the first parties, to take a view of things with his own eyes: so it happened that day. For having traversed a country exceeding full of vineyards, that extends itself from *Aumale* beyond the river, to the foot of a high hill, he had no sooner gained the top of it, where there is a spacious plain, but he fell in with the *avant-coureurs* of the League, though he thought they had yet been some miles from him. And as the hill, which was betwixt them, had hindered each party from discovering the other before, the encounter was so sudden, that, not having time either to retire,

1592. or to form themselves, they were obliged to fall on as they could, without any order or disposition. The King himself was at the head of his troops, with the Baron *De Biron*, the Count *De St. Paul*, the Sieurs *De Marivaux*, *De Chaseron*, *De Pralin*, *D'Aubigny*, *D'Arambures*, *De Champlivaut*, and many other brave officers: so that there was no doubt but the *avant-coureurs* of the League, who were much inferior both in number and courage, must give way to their valour and conduct, as indeed they soon did, and saved themselves by flight.

The Duke of *Parma's* army then appeared in sight, drawn up in order of battle, and marching along the same plain. The form of their main body was quadrangular, and had an open in the front, through which the middle ranks might advance to engage: there were also two intervals at the angles of the rear: that in the front being almost closed by a flying squadron before it, and those in the rear, by two squadrons of horse, which were to begin the action if the attack was on that side. The flanks were defended by the common carriages, which kept up with them in very good order, and without straggling: these were guarded by foot of different nations drawn up in their several divisions. On the outside, and at some distance from this large square body, all the light horse and carbineers, divided into many squadrons, filled up the whole extent of the plain: and in the middle of the main battle, the Duke himself was carried in an open chair, giving orders and instructions, and regulating every thing that was amiss. But the King had hardly made a stand upon the plain, to take a hasty view of this admirable disposition, when *Georgio Basta* (being informed by the *avant-coureurs* of what had happened to them) came up with the enemy's light horse and carbines, to attack him: upon which, seeing himself entangled betwixt two large bodies of harquebusiers on horseback, who poured their volleys upon him on both sides like hail, he was forced, though very late, to think of some means of retiring. Almost all the Gentlemen that followed him were without their head-pieces: because they had neither had time to put them on, in such a sudden and unexpected encounter, nor to draw up in a regular manner: so that they were in great confusion and disorder, and were only restrained by mere courage and a sense of honour, and the King's presence, from turning their backs, which, however, was very necessary in their circumstances, as there was no other way of saving their lives. But great numbers of them being killed on every side, since even the best of their armour was not proof against balls fired from pieces of so large a bore, and the first body of infantry, which had heard the report of the harquebusses, coming up likewise very fast to fall upon them, the King ordered his men to wheel about, but not to return to the charge, and retired on a round trot towards the descent of the hill,

to meet his light horse and harquebusiers, who had followed him at no very great distance, under the command of the Baron *De Givry* and the *Sieur De Lavardine*. But the enemy was presently close at his heels again, and the Commanders of light horse took great pains to cut off his retreat on every side: for, as he was known by his countenance, his plume, and other marks of distinction, every one cried out to his companion, *That it was the King of Navarre*, and mutually encouraging each other in the pursuit, used their utmost endeavours to get him into their hands. In so precipitate a retreat down hill, many of their horses stumbled and fell, which so much retarded it, and put them into such disorder, that the King himself thought it necessary to stay with the hindmost of his men, to check the fury of the enemy, though the peril was imminent, and a storm of shot was poured upon him from all quarters, one of which at last pierced through the peak of his saddle, and wounded him, though not dangerously, a little below the reins. As this misfortune obliged him to retire as fast as he could, to save himself, so it likewise occasioned the utter rout of his men, who being come into the fields below, were entangled in such a manner amongst the stakes and fences of the vines, and the great number of enclosures, that both they and their horses fell down at every step, and were left exposed to the fury of the enemy, who made a terrible slaughter amongst them with their carbines; for besides a great many of the Gentlemen, the archers of the King's guard were almost all killed upon the place. But his light horse, which had already advanced into the middle of a small plain that lay betwixt the Bourg and the field of battle, being met by those that ran away, and brought the news of the King being wounded, and almost dead, broke their ranks without ever coming to any engagement, and fled back like the rest, towards *Aumale*. The Baron *De Givry*, however, with thirty other Officers, who had been at the head of them, advanced with a resolution to relieve the King, if possible, in a time of so great distress, and not only threw his own cloak about his shoulders, but supported him himself, till he was got out of the reach of the enemy. At the same time, the *Sieur De Lavardine* advanced with sixty of his harquebutiers on horseback (for all the rest of them had likewise deserted him) and planting himself behind the bank of a ditch by the road-side, endeavoured to stop the career of the enemy. But he being wounded himself at their first volley, *Givry's* horse killed under him, which crushed his left leg and knee very dangerously in the fall, the *Sieur D'Aubigny* dismounted, *Chaseron* wounded, *D'Arambures* all over blood and bruises, not one of them would have escaped, if the Duke of *Nevers* had not advanced to disengage them, with a strong squadron of horse, in which were the Counts of *Torigny* and *Montgomery*, the *Sieur De Montigny*, and the

1592. Grand Escuyer. The Duke, as soon as he heard of the skirmish, and that the King was defeated, had very wisely posted that division of the harquebusiers on horseback which stayed with him, along the bank of the river, to secure the ford, and favour the passage of those that were retreating: whilst he himself passed the river with the main body of the cavalry, all well armed and in excellent order, to relieve and support his men, who he saw, from a distance, were overpowered and hard pressed by the enemy; and indeed his arrival was very seasonable: for if he had not come up when he did, both the King himself and all the rest that were in the plain, must inevitably either have been killed or taken prisoners. He proceeded, therefore, till he came to a place where, the river having overflowed its banks, he was forced to pass along a narrow causeway, and there seeing not only the *Spanish* carbineers animated with success, and in close pursuit of those that fled, but also the *Sieur De Vitry*, the *Baron De la Chastre*, and the *Count De Chaligny*, who had left the main body and were come to reinforce their party, he resolved to retire without passing any further, for fear the Gentlemen that were with him should be destroyed to no purpose, if they were exposed at so great a disadvantage to the whole army of the League, which was every minute expected to charge them. So that after he had brought those off that had lost their horses, and could not otherwise have got clear of the enemy, especially *Givry* and *Lavardine*, who were both very much hurt, and having picked up many other Gentlemen that were scattered about the field, he wheeled off and returned, often facing about till he came back to the river, which he passed again in good order, under the cover of the harquebusiers whom he had posted along the bank, and having drawn up his men, immediately followed the King, who had retired with the utmost speed towards a wood for greater security.

It is most certain, that if the main army of the League had advanced on the right-hand and on the left with the same expedition that the carbineers did (which they easily might have done, as there was nothing at all that could hinder their march to the very banks of the river) the King and all his men must have been surrounded on every side and taken prisoners by the enemy, before the Duke of *Nevers* could come up: for even though they did not advance, he had both great difficulty and exceeding good fortune to make his escape as he did. But when a confused account was brought, that the enemy was at hand, that the King himself was amongst them, that they had been engaged and were running away; the Duke of *Parma* not much trusting to common reports, and thinking it impossible that the King should rashly have ventured himself amongst the *avant-coureurs*, except it was to favour some stratagem, began to suspect that an ambuscade might be laid for him in a country where he was not
much

much acquainted. He therefore caused his army to make a halt, and having countermanded the flying squadron which was already advancing, he resolved not to proceed any further, till he had more particularly informed himself of these things, for fear of being caught in a snare: which circumspection, though prudent and necessary, gave the King an opportunity of escaping. For though the Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had earnestly, but in vain, desired that the whole army might advance, had set out with a body of horse, on a round trot, to follow him, yet, as it was already night when they entered the Bourg of *Aumale*, he despaired of overtaking him, and resolved to go no further.

The King caused his wound to be hastily dressed in a wood, about half a league from *Aumale*, and having found that it was not very deep (as the ball was damped by passing through the saddle, and struck but a little way into his flesh) he pursued his journey with the utmost expedition, and did not stop till he came within the walls of *Neuf-châtel*; where the Duke of *Nevers* also arrived in a short time with all his men entire and safe, after he had so well acted the part of a brave and prudent commander. It was apprehended, that the Duke of *Parma* would continue his march the next day and hasten directly to *Rouën*, where the report of the King being hurt and wounded, might occasion terror and confusion in the army before it, and perhaps their utter defeat and dispersion. Nor did there appear any other expedient to retard his march, but to make a defence of *Neuf-châtel*, which they thought he would attempt to make himself master of, and not leave it upon his back, as it stood upon the road; especially, if it was strongly garrisoned, lest it might be a means of obstructing the highways, and hinder the conveyance of provisions, which must of necessity all pass through those parts. But the town being weak, and the exigency requiring a speedy resolution, the Baron *De Griery* offered to stay there himself, though his foot was grievously hurt, and to defend it so long, that the enemy might not come suddenly upon *Rouën*: but that the King's army, when the first terror was over, might have time to recover its spirits, and the King get so well of his wound (which they hoped he would in a few days) as to be able to appear on horseback again, and animate them with his presence, that being the only way to support his affairs. Three hundred cuirassiers and four hundred harquebusiers on horseback being left, therefore, at *Neuf-châtel* with *Griery*, the King and the Baron *De Biron* went to *Dieppe* to have their wounds taken better care of, and the Duke of *Nevers* returned to *Rouën* with the rest of the troops to reinforce the army.

The Duke of *Parma* quartered the next day at *Aumale*, where the French Lords began to murmur, and said, "That if he had advanced that day, an end might easily have been put to the war:" but he told them,

1592. them, "That if it were to be done again, he should act in the same manner, as he had proceeded according to the dictates of reason and prudence, having till then been persuaded, that he had a Captain-General of an army to deal with, and not a mere Captain of light horse, as he now perceived the King of *Navarre* was." This event, however, created great differences amongst the Chiefs of the League: for the *Spaniards* and *Italians* commended the Duke of *Parma's* circumspection and cautious manner of proceeding; whilst the *French* extolled the ardour and magnanimity of their own countrymen, and proposed the vigour and celerity of the King in all his actions, as an example worthy of imitation. But the situation and circumstances of one were very different from those of the other: for the King being General of a volunteer army, was necessitated to expose his own person, and to be amongst the foremost of his men in all dangers: but the Duke of *Parma*, coming only to assist the confederates, was not willing to stake both his hopes in *France* and the possession of *Flanders* upon one throw, without a great probability of gaining such an advantage by a victory, as might justify him in running so considerable a risque: and therefore he wisely resolved, as he had done at the siege of *Paris*, neither absolutely to conquer, nor to suffer himself to be conquered. Whatsoever might be the cause, it is certain that, from this time, differences and disputes began to arise betwixt him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, which afterwards grew higher and higher every day.

The army of the League advancing in the same order by easy marches, sat down before *Neuf-châtel*, which was so weak, that they did not expect it would have made any resistance. But the Duke of *Parma*, provoked at the obstinacy of those within it, and the delay that it occasioned in his progress, caused his artillery to be planted with as much expedition as possible, and began to batter the part of the wall that stood next to his camp, which being old and not lined with earth, a breach was soon made in it large enough to be assaulted: so that Monsieur *De Givry* thought fit to capitulate; and though the Duke was at first highly incensed at the resistance he made, yet being appeased by the intercession of Monsieur *De la Chastre*, *Givry's* father-in-law, and admiring the valour of that Cavalier, who had voluntarily exposed himself to so great danger, only to give his party time to recover breath, he granted him honourable terms, though there was some dispute about the performance of them. For Monsieur *De Rebours*, a Colonel of the *French* infantry, who had shut himself up in the town with *Givry*, not having been particularly mentioned in the capitulation, the Duke of *Parma* insisted that, as he had not been named, he ought not to enjoy the benefit of the articles, but to be detained prisoner: and Monsieur *De Givry* argued, that as he had made a composition for himself and all his soldiers, tho'

Rebours was not specified indeed with the other officers, because he had not his men there with him, he was nevertheless comprehended and ought to go free with all the rest: which being disputed awhile, the Duke of *Parma* generously referred the matter to the King's own decision, who best knew whether he had left *Rebours* with command, or without command, for the defence of the place. Upon which, the King, having called a council of war, and heard every one's opinion, gave judgment, that *Rebours* was to be understood as included in the conditions of the capitulation.

But the delay that was occasioned by the siege of *Neuf-châtel* was of great service to the King's affairs, though it had held out no longer than four days: for during that time, which was very precious in his circumstances, most of the victuals being consumed that were brought along with the army of the League, it became necessary to stay there awhile to make new provisions, as the country all round about *Rouën*, which was thoroughly ravaged during a siege of so many months in the sterility of the winter, did not afford any thing, and the victuals that were to be brought from *Picardy* could not be expected to come safely to their hands, except they were under strong convoys, and escorted by large bodies of cavalry, because the King and the Baron *De Biron*, one of whom lay at *Dieppe*, the other at *Arques*, caused all the roads to be secured with their horse. Here they stayed ten days, which raised great discontent and murmurings amongst the *French*: for the Duke was resolved not to engage himself too far in an enemy's country that was all ruined and laid waste, without provisions abundantly sufficient to supply his camp, not being used to leave the event of his enterprises to chance. In this interval there happened many fierce encounters: for the King being well again, would not suffer the enemy to rest without danger or alarm: but the success of them was almost equal, the skirmishes being chiefly betwixt the cavalry, in which the number of Gentlemen on each side, the boldness of their attempts, their valour, expedition, and resolution were pretty well balanced.

It happened one day, that the King having advanced to the top of a hill that lay on the right-hand of the great road, along which the enemy's army continued their march, ordered the *Sieur De Montigny* with a Squadron of light horse, and the *Sieur De Pralin* with another of cuirassiers, to fall suddenly upon the quarters of the Duke of *Amale* (who brought up the rear) just as he was encamping: but after a short skirmish rather than a battle, being charged in their retreat by the Count *De Chaligny* and the *Sieur De Rbofne*, there ensued a warm engagement in the adjoining plain: to which the *Sieur De Fervaques* and the Count *De Torigny*, son to the Marshal *De Matignon*, coming up with the troops of

1592. *Normandy*, they fought with singular bravery on both sides above two hours. But when the party that belonged to the army of the League would have retired, they found themselves attacked by the Baron *De Biron*, who had fallen upon their flank with another troop: so that they were obliged to turn their backs and run away as fast as they could, to save themselves: which the Count *De Chaligny* disdainng to do, and still fighting gallantly in the midst of the enemy, was taken prisoner by *Chicot* the King's jester, but a stout and hardy fellow, who, in taking him, received such a wound in his head, that he died of it not many days after. The Count being introduced into the King's presence, and seeming much ashamed of having been taken by a fellow of so base a profession, the King, to comfort him, told him, "*Chicot* was a brave fellow, and that he ought rather to lay the blame upon himself for having advanced so far:" to which the Count answering, "That a desire of seeing and learning had made him so forward:" the King replied, with his usual pleasantry, "That those of his own party knew not how to teach him, and that if he had a mind to learn the art of war, he must fight under his standard and near his person." The money that he paid for his ransom was given by his Majesty to the Duchess of *Longueville* and her daughters, who having been taken at *Corbie*, after many months imprisonment, were obliged to buy their liberty with thirty thousand ducats.

The next day, just as the army of the League was coming out of their quarters upon the plain, the Baron *De Biron* attacked the first troops of them, led by the Sieurs *De Vitry* and *De la Chastre*; upon which an exceeding hot and obstinate skirmish ensued. But as the whole army still continued advancing that way in battalia, the Baron thought fit to retire amongst the hills, which being very woody on all sides, gave the King an opportunity of annoying the enemy with his flying squadrons, and of retiring with security when occasion required. These dangerous attacks, which were repeated day and night, obliged the Duke of *Parma* to march with his army always drawn up in good order; so that he advanced but slowly, and would not move at all till the day was very clear, and he had first reconnoitred the country round: besides which precautions, he constantly took up his quarters so early in the afternoon, that he might have sufficient time to fortify and intrench his camp.

But he now drew near *Rouen*, and it was necessary to resolve upon some method, either to raise the siege or relieve the place: for which purpose, *Georgio Basta* offered himself to march away in the night with a body of light horse and two squadrons of lances, and attempt to force his way through the King's quarters into the town. *Camillo Capizucchi* offered to do the same, with his division and a certain number of horse.

But

But the Duke did not think that sufficient in the present exigency, as the town ought not only to be relieved, but totally delivered and secured from the enemy; considering likewise how dangerous it would be to hazard so small a body, though of good men, against the whole strength of a royal army. He therefore determined, after mature deliberation, to attempt the deliverance of the town with all his forces together. The King at that time was posted, with the greater part of his cavalry, five or six leagues from *Roüen*, about the middle of the way, and on the right hand of the road that leads to *Dieppe*, through the country of *Caux*, to scour the roads and obstruct the army of the League in their march, and had divided his men into separate parties, at a little distance from each other. The Baron *De Biron*, with the remainder of the horse, was quartered at *Dieppe* and *Arques*, to stop the progress of the enemy on that side, and to cut off their provisions, by making excursions in their rear. The Marshal *De Biron*, with the infantry only, continued before *Roüen*. Things being thus circumstanced, the Duke of *Parma* resolved to move in the afternoon from the place where he was then quartered, and to bend his course to the left, along the road that leads directly to *Pont de l'Arche*, and after he had taken a circuit round the wood of *Bellancoble*, to turn to the right, and march all night, that he might arrive at *Roüen* by break of day, and fall unexpectedly upon the Marshal *De Biron's* infantry in their posts: which he made no doubt of routing, and totally dissipating (especially if the besieged sallied out of the town at the same time with their usual vigour) before the King could possibly come up to their assistance with his cavalry, as he would hardly be able to guess, upon the first intelligence of their moving, what should be the meaning of so extraordinary a march.

With this intention he suddenly decamped on the 26th of *February* (a day that was very favourable, considering the time of the year) and took the left hand road towards *Bellancoble*. But the vigilance and bravery of the *Sieur De Villers*, had in a great measure already made this attempt unnecessary. For seeing the King had left his camp with all the cavalry, and that the infantry were divided from each other at several different posts; and being unwilling that any other person should have the glory of raising the siege, if he could do it himself, he determined to try whether it was not possible to throw the enemy into confusion by a vigorous sally from the town. And being informed by an *Irishman*, who had deserted from the camp, that since the departure of the King and the principal Lords of his party, the guards were not so strictly visited in their posts as they had been before, because the Marshal *De Biron* could not attend at every place, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the High Chancellor, and the Lords of the Council, who were left at *Darnetal*, had no

1592. experience in military affairs, he determined to make a sally, on the 25th, from four different places, and to fall upon all their posts at the same time. For this purpose, he caused the townsmen to be drawn up in their several companies, to defend the walls, under the command of the *Sieur De la Londe*, whilst he himself went out to the attack, which was to be made in the following manner. Colonel *Boniface* was to sally from *St. Catherine's* with his regiment of foot, and two hundred Gentlemen and Officers at the head of it, supported by the Chevalier *D'Oyse*, with two troops of horse, who were to sally from *Martinville* to attack the post of *Turinge*. *Pericard* with his regiment, seconded by Captain *Borofay* and the *Sieur De Quitry*, had orders to assault the batteries planted against the old fort. Captain *Giacopo Argenti*, with his division of infantry, followed by the *Sieur De Cannonville's* horse, was to sally out at the *Porte Cambrifse*, and march towards the convent of the *Carthusians*, to make head against the main body at *Darnetal*, in case they should move to succour their men in the trenches. The Governor himself, with a select body of Gentlemen and soldiers, supported by Captain *Perdriel*, were to sally out of the *Porte de Beauvais*, and make an attack upon the battery newly raised by the *French* regiments. This disposition being made, and the signal given at day-break by a cannon, they rushed out with so much courage and impetuosity, that they presently made themselves masters of all the avenues to the trenches, both before and behind the enemy's works, and surrounded the guards in such a manner, that they not only made a terrible slaughter amongst them at every post, but took their cannon, some of which they nailed up, and drew the rest into the foss: they likewise either demolished, or carried off all their engines and instruments of war, gave vent to their mines, blew up their ammunition, and filled every place with terror and destruction: so that the whole body of the infantry, after making but a very feeble resistance, fled in the utmost disorder towards *Darnetal*. Upon the first intelligence of this sally, the Marshal *De Biron* immediately advanced with four thousand *Swiss* and *Germans*, and all the Noblesse that were left in the camp, to succour his men in the trenches; but Captain *Perdriel*, who had followed the Governor out of the *Porte de Beauvais* with three troops of horse, over-ran the whole plain, and by wheeling about, and often returning to the skirmish, endeavoured to keep him warmly engaged: the Chevaliers *D'Oyse*, *Borofay*, *Quitry*, and *Cannonville* did the same, till their men had fully performed what was intended in the trenches. After which, those four squadrons likewise advanced to meet the Marshal *De Biron*, and had a very bloody engagement with him, betwixt *Darnetal* and the trenches: and though the *Sieur De l'Archant*, a brave Cavalier, and Captain of the King's guards, was killed, and the Marshal himself grievously wounded in the thigh by

a musket ball, yet, the *Germans* coming up, and the *English* and *French* 1592: infantry rallying on all sides, the garrison was repulsed, though not without much difficulty, and driven back again to their very gates. But as the ammunition was blown up, the artillery taken, and every thing turned upside down, the loss was very great, and not to be repaired in a short time. On the King's side, above eight hundred men were slain in the trenches, amongst whom were two *French* Colonels, and fourteen Captains of different nations: and of the garrison not above fifty.

As soon as the action was over, the Governor immediately dispatched the sieur *De Franqueville* through the woods, to acquaint the Duke of *Mayenne* with his success, and to let him know there was no occasion to precipitate matters for the relief of the city, as it would be many days before the enemy could be in a condition to do them any further damage. Upon this intelligence, which the Duke received on the 26th in the evening, whilst the army of the League was continuing its march, they made a halt, and the chief Commanders were called to a council of war. The Duke of *Parma* was of opinion, that it would be the best way to pursue their first design; for, the infantry being dismayed by the blow that had been given them the day before, it would be much more easy to rout them, and make themselves masters of their quarters, by which the siege would be utterly raised, and the end accomplished for which they had advanced so far. But the Duke of *Mayenne* said, that what they had intended to do, was already done, the mines and trenches destroyed, the artillery taken, the ammunition blown up, and that there remained nothing further to be done but to drive the infantry out of their quarters at *Darnetzel*, whither they had all retired; but as they were very strongly fortified, that undertaking must necessarily be attended with some difficulty, and perhaps might find them employment for many hours, during which, the King would come up with all his cavalry, whom they must be obliged to engage, when their own men were fatigued with their march, and their ardour damped by the first action: that since the city was not in such circumstances as required them to hurry on with so much precipitation, it would be better to proceed with the same precaution and circumspection that they had constantly done till that time. His opinion was approved of and assented to; though many of the *Spaniards* thought he gave this advice, that the Duke of *Parma* might not reap the glory of having relieved *Rouen*.

The army, therefore, faced about, and returned in the same order to their last quarters: where they entered into a consultation what further measures were proper to be taken. The Duke of *Mayenne's* opinion, in which the other *French* Lords concurred, was, that the siege of *Rouen* could

1592. could not be effectually raised without coming to a battle, the event of which he thought very precarious, on account of the great number of the Nobility that followed the King at that time; so that, as *Rouën* was in no danger of being much distressed for many weeks, he advised, that only six or seven hundred foot should be thrown into the city, for a reinforcement, and to repair the loss of those that had been killed: and that the rest of the army should take a different rout, since they were now no longer under any apprehension from the siege, and ought to employ themselves in other undertakings: he added, that the Nobility that attended the King, being tired out with the hardships and expences of a whole winter, would presently retire to their own houses, with their usual haste, and that many others would follow their example, and leave his camp, when they saw there was no likelihood of any engagement for a long time, and that the enemy was at a distance from them: upon which, the army of the League might speedily return to *Rouën*, from whence the King would be obliged to draw off his forces, or, if he came to an engagement, must certainly be defeated. The *Spaniards* and *Italians*, however, being loath that others should, who were jealous, reap the fruit and honour of their labours, persuaded the Duke of *Parma* to proceed in his first design, and since they had already made such a progress, were desirous to go through with their undertaking: this advice was supported by Prince *Ramuccio*, who was still more eager and ambitious of glory than any of the rest. But the Duke of *Parma* chose to follow the advice of the *French*; and having sent eight hundred *Wallons* to *Rouën*, drawn out of the regiments of the Count *De Bossu* and *De la Berlote*, which entered by night without opposition, he immediately decamped, and passing the river *Somme*, marched away with the rest of his army to besiege *St. Esprit de Rue*, an exceeding strong place, situated near the confines.

- After the army of the League had retired, though the King could not guess at the meaning of it, he resolved nevertheless to carry on the siege of *Rouën* with more vigour than ever. And as the men of war were arrived, which the States of *Holland* sent to his assistance, under the command of *Philip*, one of the Counts of *Nassau*, with many pieces of cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, and above three thousand foot on board, he caused the artillery and ammunition to be immediately landed, of which they stood in very great need, since the capture and destruction that had been made of their own in the last sally; and gave orders, that the men of war should not only scour the river to prevent the conveyance of provisions and other necessaries from *Havre de Grace* to *Rouën*, but also, that they should come up close to the city to annoy it still more by battering

battering the old palace and other places near the river. He likewise had 1592. several barks manned on the upper part of the river toward *Pont de l'Arche*, commanded by Monsieur *De l'Hospital*, High Chancellor of *Navarre*, to scour it on that side, and block it up more closely. These barks were met at their very first setting out, by Monsieur *D'Anquetil*, with whom they had a sharp engagement, in which one of the vessels belonging to the town was burnt, and another sunk, and the rest retired under the protection of the walls, tho' the King's also received much damage. The *Holland* ships drew near at the same time on the lower side, and fired a vast number of shot into the town, which, however, did very little execution: but the Governor having caused three culverines to be planted upon a cavalier, which had been formerly raised by the river side; after the *Hollanders* saw one of their ships pierced through and through in many places, and the main mast of another carried away by them, they drew off again, to attend more diligently to the blocking up of the river, and landed two thousand foot to reinforce the army.

The King, in the mean time, employed himself in throwing up new trenches, and raising redoubts on all sides, hastening the works by his own presence, and that of the Princes and Lords, who assisted by turns; and as they wrought at them day and night, they were finished in a few days. The first, being drawn from *Turinge*, was carried on with more expedition than the rest, to try if they could recover their cannon, which had been thrown into the fols on that side. But the besieged perceiving their design, raised an engine to draw them up into the town: and though there were many skirmishes, and the garrison were much annoyed by the artillery and fireworks on every side, yet they drew them up to the top of the rampart of the old fort: and having brought them into the city with great joy and triumph, they lodged them up in the court of the Archbishop's palace, where the Governor resided, because it stood at an equal distance from the places which the enemy were then battering. The works nevertheless went briskly on every where, and the Count *De Soissons* having passed over into the Fauxbourg of *St. Severe*, had also begun to raise a battery on that side, to divide the forces of the besieged, and to distress them in all parts. But *Villers*, to shew that he was neither in fear nor distress, caused a number of cavaliers to go out to a place betwixt the gate *De Martinville* and that of *St. Hilary*, to entertain themselves with a tournament, and running at the ring, and other such diversions, whilst he seemed to be perfectly at ease, and unconcerned, in the midst of so great and such continual toil and fatigue. The King did not impute this to vanity (which *Villers* was very far from) but to weakness, and thought

1592. thought he endeavoured in that manner to disguise the extreme necessity he was reduced to, and therefore pursued his batteries and mines in every place with redoubled assiduity. The besieged likewise continued their sallies with various fortune, though their number was now so diminished, that they were forced to abate much of their vigour; the Sieur *De Tranquerville* having been slain in one of them, and Serjeant Major *De Lende*, with many other Officers, wounded. And yet they made so brisk a one from the side toward *St. Sever*, that the Count *De Seiffins* himself ran into the trenches to support and encourage his men: and part of the garrison having seized upon a redoubt, advanced into the plain, and began a very fierce and bloody skirmish with the Baron *De Giery*, whom they met there with some troops of light horse: in which *Giery* himself was so grievously wounded in his shoulder, that his life was despaired of. At the news of this accident the King was so affected, that he said, with a deep sigh, "He had now no-body left to whom he could commit so important a trust, as the command of the light horse." A speech that gave great offence to many, particularly the Sieurs *De Montigny* and *De La Chapelle*, who both aspired to that post. *Montigny*, however, continued to serve his Majesty with singular valour, and in course of time succeeded in his pretensions: *La Chapelle*, on the contrary, exceedingly disgusted, and become desperate by such a declaration, soon after went over to the enemy: though *Giery's* wound, after all, proved to be neither mortal nor dangerous, and the garrison were repulsed with the loss of many men.

To increase their misfortunes, on the 24th of *March*, about seventy yards of the wall fell down of itself, betwixt the *Porte Camboise* and the monastery of *St. Dominick*; and whilst the besieged were labouring to repair the breach, with earth, woolpacks, fascines, and other materials, the King having caused some small pieces of artillery to be hastily drawn to that side, did them more damage than they had received during the whole siege. Upon which, *Villers*, now distressed on all sides, having but few men left, and not able to hold out any longer against such furious and obstinate attacks, was obliged to write to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that if he was not relieved by the 20th of *April* at furthest, he must be forced to capitulate. But in the mean time, as the Duke of *Mayenne* had truly foretold, the Nobility tired out with the hardships of a whole winter, having spent their money, worn out their equipages, and jaded their horses, now there no longer appeared any prospect of the two armies coming to an engagement, had left the camp, as they always used to do, and were gone to their own houses again: by which the army was so diminished, that, out of almost ten thousand, there remained not many more than
five

five thousand horse: and they, now the country all round was utterly laid waste, and exhausted by their long continuance there, at a season when the old crop was consumed, and the new one not yet grown up, were reduced to such difficulties to support themselves, that they were forced to divide, and lie widely separated in many different quarters.

The Marshal *De Biron* and the Duke *De Bouillon* had foreseen this evil, and used their utmost endeavours to prevail upon them to keep all together, and have patience for fifteen or twenty days longer, in which time they would certainly see the final event of this undertaking. But so urgent were the necessities of many, and so headstrong the resolution of the voluntiers, that they could not by any means be detained, as several, even of the commanders, were firmly persuaded, that the Duke of *Parma* had given up all hopes of relieving *Rouën*; and had in good earnest undertaken the siege of *St. Esprit de Rue*, to try what effect such a diversion might have; that therefore there was no reason to fear his return, and that the infantry, with the new supplies from *Holland*, were sufficient to reduce *Rouën*. Which conceit was become so general in the camp (as the *French* are naturally apt to have too high an opinion of themselves) that the King himself was possessed with it, and made so little account of the Duke of *Parma* and his army, that he thought he should not have much farther occasion for his cavalry at that time. On the other hand, the foot, which had passed all the winter in the trenches, were half drowned with heavy and incessant rains that fell after a deep snow, and worn out with continual duty and watching; so that they were in no better condition than the horse, but had more need of rest, than of being employed in any new and dangerous undertaking. The distempers likewise which spread, as usual, amongst the *Germans*, and much more amongst the *English*, had exceedingly diminished those forces; and the *French* infantry, not being able to endure any further hardships, began to desert every hour. Nor was it in the King's power to furnish his camp with sufficient plenty of provisions, after so great a consumption as had been occasioned by continuing five months in the same place, though he used his utmost endeavours to do it, when he at last perceived how much his army was reduced and dispirited. The Duke of *Parma*, and more particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, being well informed of these things, had deferred their return till the arrival of the last letters from the Governor of *Rouën*, that the King's army might be so much the more diminished. But as soon as they received them, they suddenly decamped from before *Rue*, where they had rather made a shew of employing themselves, than taken any effectual pains to

1592. reduce the town: and being well supplied with provisions, passed the river *Somme* at a place called *Blanquetaque*, where it is not only much wider and shallower, but less rapid, and in six days arrived very near *Roüen*; having proceeded with so much expedition, that they performed the same march, in so short a time, which before had taken them up no less than thirty days.

The King having intelligence of the unexpected approach of the enemy, immediately caused them that were in the Fauxbourg of *St. Sever* to come back again over the river, to join the rest of the army; and sent in all haste to call in what cavalry he had left, to the quarters at *Darnetal*, with a resolution to meet and oppose the Duke. But having made a strict muster of his forces, and finding them so much decreased both in number and vigour, that they were by no means fit to cope with the numerous army of the League, he determined to raise the siege, and defer the renewal of it to a better opportunity, as he was certain the greater part of the Nobility would join him again in a few days. But that the army of the League, which was advancing so fast, and without any opposition, might not be able to disturb the order of his retreat, he sent out the Duke *De Bouillon* with the *German* horse, and some *French* light horse and cuirassiers, upon the great road that leads toward *Neufchâtel*, to harass and retard the enemy in their march. The country through which the confederates were marching was all open, and not embarrassed either with hills or woods, which was a great disadvantage to the Duke *De Bouillon*, whose intention was, to make his handful of men appear like the whole army: and yet he found means to attack the Duke of *Guise* with the vanguard so opportunely, before the rest of the army had moved out of their quarters, that he put the advanced troops of it into some disorder, and took one of their Cornets in the first fury of the charge. But *Rhesne*, *Bessompierre*, and the whole vanguard coming up, and soon after, the Duke of *Parma* himself with the main body, he could do nothing further than now and then begin a faint skirmish with them, when he found any advantageous opportunity. For the Duke of *Parma*, sending out many troops of horse every way, to reconnoitre his wings and rear, endeavoured to find out whether the King's whole army was there or not; and the Duke *De Bouillon* perceiving his design, made as many fronts as he sent out parties, and extending himself as much as possible, would not suffer them to effect their intent: so that the whole day was spent in such petty encounters, and the King had time to decamp from before *Roüen* without confusion. The artillery was drawn off whilst the army was forming, and sent forwards with the carriages to *Pont de l'Arche*, toward which place the King designed to retire.

tire. Having made a stand therefore, about half an hour, before the city, he raised the siege on the 20th of *April*; whilst the Baron *De Biron* made good his retreat, and followed him the same way, without any impediment or molestation. 1592.

The Duke of *Parma* arrived the same day with his army in battalia at *Rouën*; and having sent *Georgio Basta* to follow the King's rear, and observe what course they took, he entered the city with the Duke of *Mayenne*: from whence, after he had highly extolled the gallantry of the *Sieur De Villers*, and the rest that had assisted him in so bravely sustaining the siege, he retired that night to quarter his army in the neighbouring towns.

The End of the Twelfth Book.

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H I S T O R Y
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C I V I L W A R S
O F
F R A N C E.

B O O K XIII.

A R G U M E N T.

The resolution of the confederates to invest Caudebec, in order to open the passage of the river, and set the city of Rouën entirely free. They lay siege to it, and the Duke of Parma is wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, whilst he is viewing the works. The town is taken: but things are carried on so slowly, that the King has time to get his army together again. After which, he makes himself master of all the passes, and besieges the army of the League in the peninsula of Caux. Many actions of importance ensue. The Duke of Parma falls into a fever, occasioned by his wound, and being in great want of provisions, resolves to attempt the passage of the Seine, to disengage himself from the danger in which he found himself involved. He conducts his design so well, that he passes that river, and retires without sustaining any

any loss: after which he marches away with great expedition, repasses the river at St. Cloud, and returns into Flanders, having left supplies; though not very powerful, under the *Sieur De Rbosnè*. The Duke of Mayenne is highly offended, and resolves not to follow him. He takes *Ponteau de Mer*, and falling out with the Pope's Commissary, enters into a treaty of agreement with the King; who being vexed at the unexpected escape of the confederate army, reduces his own, and pursues the enemy with a flying camp. He lays siege to *Espernay* in Champagne, which had been taken not long before by the *Sieur De Rbosnè*. The Marshal *De Biron* is killed there by a cannon ball. *Espernay* is taken, and other neighbouring garrisons surrender. The King raises a fort upon the *Seine*, to cut off the conveyance of provisions to Paris, whilst the Duke of Mayenne attempts to occasion a diversion, but to no purpose. A third party, formed by the Princes of the Blood, is raised against the King: by which, various machinations are set on foot. A new Pope is elected, by the name of *Clement the eighth*, who applies himself, but with great moderation, to the affairs of France. The Duke of Mayenne, at the solicitation of the Pope and the King of Spain, resolves to assemble the States General to elect another King: which occasions many fresh machinations and practices. King Philip sends new Ambassadors to acquaint the States with his resolutions. The States meet, and disagree with the Duke of Mayenne, but at last accommodate matters, for their own private interests. The King endeavours to dissolve the States: and causes the Catholics of his Council to hold a conference with the confederates, which by the Duke of Mayenne's consent is opened at *Surenne*. The Duke takes *Noyon*, which the King, being suddenly called into *Poitou*, cannot relieve. His Catholick Majesty's Ambassadors propose the Infanta of Spain to be elected Queen of France. The proposal is ill relished by the States, and gives rise to divers machinations. The King takes *Dreux*, and being hard pressed by the importunities of the Catholics in his army, who threaten to desert him, resolves to change his religion. He removes to *St. Denis*, and goes publickly to mass. He appoints the Duke of *Nevers* his Ambassador to the Pope, to desire absolution. The States of the League are perplexed at this step. The Duke of Mayenne, finding he was not able to obtain the Crown for himself, nor his posterity, consents that a truce should be treated of. The Deputies at *Surenne* agree upon one till the end of October: which is freely accepted, and the States are dismissed at Paris.

THE relief of *Rouen*, effected in so easy a manner, and without 1592.
any effusion of blood, by the Duke of *Parma's* excellent conduct, in sometimes moving but slowly, sometimes with the utmost expedition, according as occasion required, gained him the highest reputation and applause, and gave a considerable check to the prosperous courle

1592. course of the King's fortune. But the events that ensued, though they still more clearly manifested the Duke's valour and prudence, in a short time gave the King an opportunity of retrieving his affairs.

After the Council of the League saw that the King had raised his camp, they began to debate what measures were fittest to be taken. The *Spanish* and *Italian* Commanders were of opinion, that they ought to pursue him, and endeavour to suppress him entirely, now he was so weak, and his men tired out with hard duty, and whilst an opportunity offered, which made it reasonable to expect, that it might be effected. But the *French* Lords, whose advice had great weight, on account of their thorough knowledge of the country, and the situation of places, objected, that, if he passed the *Seine* at *Pont de l'Arche*, and marched into *Lower Normandy*, he would not only reduce them to a necessity of returning to *Roüen*, to pass the river there, but also make it very difficult for them to follow him through a country, that was wholly at the enemy's devotion, far from supplies, without provisions or places of security, to which they might retire upon occasion: whereas he, with the assistance of the Nobility, who were sure to assemble again as soon as they heard of the danger he was in, would grow stronger every hour, and when he had refreshed his men, in a part of the kingdom that was so fertile, and abundant in all manner of necessaries, would soon be able to face their army, and perhaps force them to an engagement at a manifest disadvantage, when he had them hemmed in on every side, in a country so thoroughly attached to him. They thought it much more advisable, therefore, to make an attempt upon *Caudebac*, which was the only place that obstructed the passage of the *Seine*, in order to clear the river, and set *Roüen* at full liberty: for when that was once done, and the intention answered for which they had come thither, they might afterwards have time to consider, what further undertakings would be most advantageous to their common interests. The Duke of *Parma*, who was very solicitous to set *Roüen* entirely free, and then, in pursuance of his first designs, to return to the superintendence of affairs in *Flanders*, willingly came into this proposal. But being in a great measure unacquainted with the country, he was not aware, that if he shut himself up in the peninsula of *Caux* (which is bounded on one side by the river *Seine*, and on the other two by the sea) and the King should possess himself of the passage out of it, which is a very narrow one, he might enclose him, as it were in a net, and soon destroy his army by famine in so strait a country, only by cutting off his supplies of provisions. But the *French* Commanders either did not imagine, that the King could so soon be in a condition to follow them, or else expected to make themselves masters of *Caudebac* in a few hours, and be able to retire before he could come up with them: and the Duke of *Parma* suffered himself

himself to be ruled by those that he thought knew the situation and quality of the country much better than he did, by the apparent necessity of absolutely disengaging the city of *Roüen*, which being deprived of the convenience of the river, would still remain in a great measure besieged, except they reduced *Caudebec*: wherefore, having demolished the King's forts and trenches, the army of the League came before that town on the 24th of *April*.

Caudebec lies behind some hills, not very high nor steep, but fertile in pasturage and covered with plantations, on a large plain upon the bank of the river *Seine*, surrounded with very thick walls, but without ramparts or any other sort of fortifications. Monsieur *De la Garde*, a Colonel of the *French* infantry, was in the town with *Pausania Braccioduro*, who was the sole commander of the *Italian* light horse, since the decease of *Nicolo Niffi*, who had lately died in the camp of a natural death. And that they might not be wanting in the duty of good officers, they marched out of the town, and placed themselves betwixt two hills in a passage that led from them into the plain, with a design to keep the enemy as far as they possibly could from the walls. The *Walloons*, under the command of the Count *De Bessü* and Monsieur *De Vert*, were sent to drive them from that post: with whom they maintained a long skirmish to gain time, but being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to leave that pass open to the army of the League. As it marched down into the plain, however, the *Holland* men of war, which were drawn up close to the bank of the river, played furiously upon it with their cannon, and did very great and unexpected damage to the first squadrons. The Duke, therefore, having ordered the army to make a halt, caused the artillery to be drawn in excellent order, and with no less expedition, to the side of a hill, from whence they fired with equal fury upon the ships: so that the cannon, which were planted upon the land and pointed with more certainty than those upon the water, having almost sunk the Admiral, and disabled many of their best ships, they drew off from the shore, and fell down with the stream to *Quillebeuf*, a place that stands something lower, but upon the same bank, and for their further security began to fortify that town, which, on account of its convenience in respect of navigation and securing the passage of the river, was turned into a fortress, and afterwards deemed of very great importance. When the ships were thus driven off and that obstacle removed, the Duke drew up his army and advanced towards the walls, near which he encamped, and the next day went in person with Prince *Ramacio*, the *Sieur De la Motte*, and Count *Nicolo Cefis*, to reconnoitre the place. But whilst he was employed in taking a careful survey of every part, and marking out the ground where the batteries were to be erected, with his own hand,

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1592. because he would not trust that to any one else, he was wounded in his right arm by a musket-ball, which being fired from one of the towers of the wall, hit him under the elbow, and passing betwixt the two bones, pierced almost down to his hand, and there lodged itself. Yet he never changed countenance nor left off giving directions, but concealed his wound till it was discovered by the standers by, who saw the blood run down from under his cloke: and even then he could not be prevailed upon to leave his station till he had thoroughly instructed them in the nature of his designs: after which he was carried to his quarters, where his wound was examined by the surgeons and found not mortal, though it was exceeding painful: and so much the more, because they were obliged to make three incisions, to discover the course of the ball and to extract it, which brought a fever upon him that at last forced him to keep his bed. After this accident, the chief command of the army was left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the care of his Catholick Majesty's forces to Prince *Ranuccio*, who, nevertheless, took no step without his father's consent and approbation: The next day the cannon were planted, and having battered and made a great breach in the wall, Monsieur *De la Garde* began to treat of surrendring, though against the inclination of *Braccio Duro*, and, after some debate, obtained the terms that he demanded: for as the Duke of *Parma* was so much indisposed, his army in general were very desirous to have things brought to a conclusion as soon as possible. So that the day following the town was delivered up to the confederates, who stayed there three days after it was taken, to repose their men, and to refresh them with the plenty of provisions which they found in it.

In the mean time, the Noblesse of the neighbouring provinces, which had been summoned from the very first intelligence of the enemy's return, were come to join the King again: amongst whom were the Sieur *D'Humieres* with two hundred horse, from *Picardy*; the Sieur *De Sourdis*, from *Chartres*, with an hundred and fifty; the Sieur *De Hertrè*, Governor of *Alençon*, with two hundred; the Count of *Montgomery* and the Sieur *De Colombiere*, with three hundred; Monsieur *De Canisi*, son-in-law to *Matignon*, with an hundred; *Qdet*, son to the late Sieur *De la Noüe*, with as many, and Colonel *St. Dennis* with six hundred harquebusiers on horseback. Monsieur *De Souvray* and the Count *De Lude* also arrived with three hundred Gentlemen, who had not been in the camp before: and last of all the Duke of *Montpensier*, who had been long expected, and the Sieur *De la Verune*, Governor of *Caën*, came up with eight hundred Gentlemen, two hundred light horse, and four hundred harquebusiers on horseback.

The Duke of *Montpensier's* delay had been occasioned by his earnest desire

desire of making himself master of *Avranches*, a town in lower *Normandy*, 1592. which was the only one, on the confines towards *Bretagne*, that adhered to the party of the League. For after he had laid siege to it, at the latter end of the year before, in hopes of taking it in a very few days, the undertaking proved much more difficult than he expected, as Monsieur *De Vic*, a gallant old officer, had come from *Pont-Orson* to shut himself up in the town, and bravely maintained the suburbs for many days, till the walls and other fortifications were made defensible. But the suburbs being taken at last, and the approaches begun, there fell such a quantity of snow, that it not only filled all the trenches already thrown up, but obliged the army to lie idle many days, whilst they were at the same time so incommoded by the rigour of the season, that if it had not been for the ruins of the suburbs, the houses of which were pulled down, and the wood burnt to warm the soldiers, they must have desisted from the undertaking. After the snow was gone, there was so much ice left, and the ground continued so hard frozen, that their pick-axes could not penetrate it without the utmost difficulty: and yet they at last, by incessant toil, erected two batteries upon a platform, and planted the artillery that was brought from *Caën* and *Falaise* upon them, particularly one culverine, of a prodigious size, which they called *Le grand Robin*. So that the walls being battered in two places, and many of the houses beaten down, the town was furiously assaulted on the 2d of *February*; and though it was resolutely defended by the besieged, yet so many of them were killed, that it made them despair of holding out any longer, and obliged the *Sieur De Vic* to surrender to the Duke upon terms: after which, he put his forces in order again, and marched with the rest of the Nobility that he had assembled, to join the King, who had sent frequent and very pressing messages to hasten his arrival.

The King's army being now so much increased in a very few days, that there were betwixt seven and eight thousand horse, and about seventeen thousand foot in it (for besides the *Hollanders* of the fleet, he had made draughts out of all the neighbouring garrisons) and being aware of the oversight which the confederates were guilty of, in running themselves so inconsiderately into a pound, where they must suffer many and great hardships before they could get out again, he resolved to cut off their retreat, and keep them close shut up on all sides, by which he was sure to reduce them to extreme distress and want of provisions, without exposing himself to any danger at all: for one part of the entrance into the peninsula being commanded by the towns of *Eu*, *Arques*, and *Dieppe*, which were strongly garrisoned, sufficiently prevented their coming out that way: and the *Seine* being blocked up by the fortress of *Quillebeuf* and the *Holland* fleet, there was nothing more to be done but to secure

1592. the other part of the pass towards the river *Somme*, which led from the peninsula into the provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, and was the only outlet that was left open. The King, therefore, suddenly departed from *Pont de l'Arche*, and marched without ever halting, though with his army in battalia, till he came, on the last of *April*, within sight of the enemy's camp, which had left *Caudebec* the same day, and was gone to *Bevetot*, a large town, for the greater conveniency of quarters.

It was worthy of notice, that the King also exposed himself to manifest danger of being defeated, by not attending, with sufficient care, to the nature of the country through which he was marching: for those parts being chiefly inhabited by Lords and Gentlemen of large estates, abounds with parks made for their pleasure and convenience, and encompassed with strong walls as high as a man on horseback, some of which are three or four miles in circumference. Now whilst the King was traversing this country towards the camp of the League, it was necessary, if he kept the common road, to pass betwixt two very large parks, one of which lay on the right-hand and the other on the left, with the highway in the middle. Both the cavalry and infantry, therefore, being obliged to march with but few in front, the King's army was in such a situation that the vanguard had past the parks, the main battle was shut up betwixt the two walls, and the rear had not yet entered them: so that, if it had been attacked, the vanguard must have engaged and been defeated, and neither the rear nor main battle could have been able to assist it. The Duke of *Montpensier* was aware of this when he had passed the parks, and discovered the enemy's army encamped on the side of a hill: but not having it in his power to do any thing else, he formed his squadrons as they came up, and sent one messenger after another, to desire the King would advance as fast as he possibly could with the main body. The enemy likewise perceived this error, and Count *Alessandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great experience and knowledge in military affairs, ran himself, as he has often told me since, to acquaint the Duke with it, and to represent to him, with how much ease a victory might be obtained, now the enemy was so entangled. But the Duke, who was confined to his bed by a fever, and in great anguish from his wound, could not come to an immediate resolution, and told the Count, "That the King of *Navarre* was a soldier that must be opposed by living men, and not by such a bloodless and half-dead carcass as he found himself." Yet after he had called the Duke of *Mayenne*, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other commanders together, and ordered them, if it was not too late, to fall upon the enemy, he caused himself to be put in a litter and carried to a place, where he saw the King's army advancing betwixt the two parks: but at a time, when, by the care and diligence of the Duke
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of *Montpensier*, the vanguard had already formed, and the main battle was almost clear of the walls; so that, before the forces of the League, which had not been many hours in their quarters, could possibly be drawn up in due order, the King's whole army had passed and were formed again, and the enemy lost so great and manifest an advantage by the indisposition of their General. 1592.

The two armies were now encamped within less than a mile of each other, with a thick wood betwixt them on the right-hand, which occasioned many brisk encounters for several days. For that of the League threw up a trench the same night, at the entrance of the wood next to the enemy, to secure the possession of it to themselves, and placed the Count *De Bossi's* division, consisting of two thousand *Walloons*, to defend it. On the 11th of *May* there happened three very hot skirmishes, whilst the King was endeavouring to reconnoitre that post: the first, betwixt the Baron *De Biron* and the Duke of *Guise*; the second, betwixt the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Sieur *De Rhosné*; and the third, which lasted till night, betwixt the Sieur *De Montigny* and the Baron *De La Chastre*: yet it was not possible for the King to discover what works the enemy had raised at the entrance of the wood; for, besides the opposition that the cavalry made, there were such furious and incessant volleys of musket-shot from that place, that nobody could approach it. But the next day the skirmish being renewed, the Baron *De Biron* pushed on so far, though many of his men were killed upon the spot, that he perceived there was nothing more than a single line there, without any cannon or the defence of flankers or redoubts: upon which, the King, having drawn out three battalions of foot, one of *Germans*, one of *English*, and another of *French*, sent them at day-break, on the 3d of *May*, to attack and endeavour to make themselves masters of the trench: who marching with the utmost expedition over the plain that lay betwixt them, not only fell suddenly upon the *Walloons*, and drove them away from their post, but took all their baggage (which they left behind them in so hasty a retreat) and immediately began to fortify themselves in the trench. But the Duke of *Mexence* and Prince *Ranuccio*, without giving them time to do that effectually, having drawn out a large body of carbines and light horse on the right and left, to take possession of the road, immediately ordered *Camillo Capizucchi* with his division, supported by that of *Alphonso Idiaques*, to attempt the recovery of that post. *Camillo*, out of his natural ardour and the emulation that subsisted betwixt the *Italian* and *Walloon* infantry, boldly rushing on to attack the trench, entered it with so much impetuosity, that the King's forces were obliged to quit the place after a short resistance, and being surrounded in their retreat by the light horse and carbineers, would have found it a very difficult matter to get safe back

1592. again to their camp, if the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Newsers*, and the Count *De St. Paul*, had not advanced with three several squadrons of Gentlemen to disengage them. The *Italians* being in possession of the whole highway, and having raised a large redoubt with flankers and trenches on every side, they planted four pieces of cannon upon it; so that the King was deprived of all hopes of being able to drive them from thence any more, and the army of the League remained masters of the wood, which served them with the convenience of shelter and secured their quarters, and also supplied them not only with fuel and timber for other uses, but with daily food for the carbineers horses, which were accustomed to live upon whatsoever they found in the fields.

But the King, though he had already secured the passage out of the peninsula, being desirous to confine the enemy in a still more narrow compass, that he might the sooner accomplish his design, turned to the right by the wood-side, and possessed himself of a hill, from whence he could batter *Viretot*, where the Duke of *Guise* lay with the vanguard: and having planted seven pieces of cannon behind a trench, which was finished in a very few hours, he began to fire upon the enemy in the flank in such a manner, that the Duke of *Guise* was forced to quit the place, and retire to the quarters of the main body. In his retreat, the Duke of *Bouillon*, with the Reiters, and the Baron *De Biron*, with a strong party of *French* cavalry, followed him in the rear, but as he brought up the last ranks himself, and sometimes bravely faced about, he retired with his baggage safe and entire, and his men in good order, though some were taken prisoners in the skirmish: amongst whom were the Barons of *Coutenan* and *De la Maison*. But the King, not only out of a desire to distress the enemy, but to keep the *French* Noblesse alert and in spirits by continual action, and the hourly expectation of coming to an engagement, did not give them so much as a minute's rest; and on the 12th of *May*, resolved to try if he could not shut them up more closely, by possessing himself of a hill that stood beyond the fortifications of the wood, and about the distance of cannon shot from the camp of the League, where three companies of *Walloons* were posted, under *Ostasio de Mansfelt*, and three more of *Spaniards*, under *Ludovico Velasco*. For this purpose, he sent out Count *Philip* of *Nassau*, with his troops, about break of day; who having marched with great silence and privacy to the wood side, and then leaving it on the right hand, fell upon the enemy so unexpectedly, that they were driven from their post in half an hour; and the Count having begun to intrench himself there, made a signal for the cannon to be brought up. But the Commanders of the League, considering how much they were likely to be annoyed from thence, immediately sent the *Italian* and *Walloon* infantry to recover it: whilst the *Swiss*, with the
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French and *Spanish* foot, were drawn up in battalia, to maintain the field, 1592. and the cavalry likewise stood ready under arms, on the outside of their trenches, to support the foot. The King, on the other hand, had drawn his whole army out of their quarters, in very good order, and caused his light horse to scour the plain, to prevent the *Hollanders*, who had gained that post, from being surrounded: for which purpose, the Duke of *Montpensier* also, with eight hundred horse, on one side, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, with a thousand Reiters, on the other, stood ready, on the right and left of the main battle, to reinforce them. Upon which there ensued a very sharp and bloody skirmish, that continued for the space of two hours; but the *Italians* having surmounted all obstacles, at last regained the hill, and drove away the *Hollanders*, with great slaughter; and as the cavalry of both armies advanced, on one side to pursue, and on the other to support them, it was thought they would come to a general engagement. But the Duke of *Moyenne* was not willing to run so great a risque, without the presence and consent of the Duke of *Parma*; and the King did not desire it, because he was very well assured he should be able to reduce the enemy by famine in a few days. Yet the skirmish continued, with vigorous and redoubled efforts on both sides, for ten hours: the cannon playing from all parts, and the Commanders themselves being engaged more than once; particularly Prince *Ranuccio*, who, having his horse killed under him, was in great danger of being taken prisoner by the *English*; and the Duke of *Parma* causing himself to be lifted out of his bed, and to be set on horseback, advanced to the front of his army, in expectation, that either opportunity or necessity might draw them to a battle. Night, however, put an end to these skirmishes. But the next day the King, who was resolved neither to give the enemy any rest, nor to take any himself, having intelligence, that the light horse of the League were lodged in quarters very easy to be attacked, and at such a distance from the rest of the army, that they might be routed before any relief could come up (an error that is always fatal) took a large circuit, and went himself upon that undertaking: and finding them in no very good order (as *Georgio Bassi*, who was ill of a flux, had left them, and was retired to *Caudebec* to recover his health) he threw them into such confusion, that they abandoned their post, with the loss of two Captains and all their carriages, and with much difficulty got back to the main body of their army, which was making ready with all possible haste to relieve them: but the action had been so sudden, and was so soon over, that the King had sufficient time, after he had routed and driven the enemy from their quarters, to retire in safety to his own.

In the mean time the Duke of *Parma* was so reduced by his illness, that he often fell into long and dangerous swoons, and had great occasion

1592. for repose : and having already begun to think of some means of getting out of the perilous situation in which he found himself, he resolved to draw off his army, and march along the banks of the river, till he came near the walls of *Caudebec*, for the convenience of lodging in the town, and that his army might escape sickness by such a change of quarters, and be more able and ready to execute his design. With this resolution he decamped, without sound of trumpet or beat of drum, at day-break on the 16th of *May* ; at which time there was a very thick mist, that afterwards turned into heavy rain : and having sent all the cannon and baggage before him, he marched with his army to quarter in a place half a league from the town, betwixt two hills, before which there was a large plain. And to prevent the King from discovering his motions (besides the advantage of the mist, and the silence and order which his men observed in their march) Prince *Ranuccio* advanced as far as the entrance of the wood, without any interruption, and fell upon the King's outguards, seeming as if he wanted to enlarge himself, and with that view had attempted to force their posts. So that, whilst the King's forces were thus busily employed, whilst their attention was wholly engaged here, and continual discharges of fire-arms were made on every side, the noise of decamping was not at all heard ; and the Prince, after a skirmish that lasted three hours without cessation, drawing off his squadrons by degrees, and sending them one by one, to join the rear guard, which was brought up by the Duke of *Aumale*, at last followed the rest of the camp himself also, on a round trot, with only two hundred horse, leaving the King in astonishment, when, after the day was cleared up, he saw how masterly a retreat the army of the League had made. But the Prince being arrived at the place, where the Duke's forces had been encamped, and finding three pieces of cannon left there, either by the negligence or fear of those that had the charge of drawing them off, was obliged to recall his flying squadron to disengage and bring them off safe, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands to the prejudice of his reputation ; which indeed was done with wonderful expedition, but might have spoiled and frustrated so fine a retreat, if the King had been prepared to follow them : so liable are the greatest undertakings to be sometimes defeated by the least error, or defect in military discipline.

But the King being come that night to the place which the army of the League had quitted, advanced the next day to find out where they were gone to : and having considered the situation of the country as thoroughly as they seemed to have done, he marched to the opposite hills, and after he had made a very good disposition of his army in their quarters there, still continued to distress and confine them, as his design had been from the beginning. The Duke of *Montpensier*, with the vanguard, being very strong in horse, lay upon the right, and extended himself so far toward

ward *Dieppe*, that the garrisons of those places which blocked up the passes, reached and joined his parties that were scouring the country. The King with the main battle, in which was the chief strength of the infantry, lay encamped at the foot of the hills, upon the great road to *Picardy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* with the rear, in which were the Reiters, lay on the left, in the pass that leads from the country of *Caux* towards *Roien*: so that all the avenues and roads were entirely shut up. The army being thus encamped in its several posts, the King, contrary to his usual manner of proceeding, endeavoured to secure himself, that the enemy might not compel him to a battle: he therefore not only strengthened and fortified every part of his camp, but spoiled and blocked up all the passages to it, and took the utmost pains to prevent the enemy from being able to force his quarters by some vigorous attempt.

The camp of the League was already reduced to such a want of victuals, that it could not support itself any longer: for the passage of the river being obstructed by the *Holland* fleet, was not able to furnish it with provisions, nor did the country round afford any, now the corn was consumed, which they found at the taking of *Caudebec*, the adjacent parts laid waste, and that which they had been able to gather together with the utmost diligence, totally exhausted. There was likewise a great scarcity of water: for that of the river being spoiled by the flowing in of the sea, was not only very brackish and ill tasted, but also exceedingly unwholesome. Besides these inconveniencies, their horses likewise suffered very much for want of provender, and being obliged to live in the open field, were so starved with the incessant rains which fell at that season, that they died every hour in great numbers: and the foot being ill paid, and without money to relieve themselves in their present necessity, was worn out and wasted away with so long and continual hardships. On the other hand, the King having *Dieppe* and *St. Valery* near him, and the way open behind him into the fertile provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, though he was no better furnished with money than the enemy, had yet greater plenty of provisions; and his soldiers ranging about, far and near to forage, supplied their want of pay by plundering the country.

The Duke of *Parma*, therefore, seeing himself reduced to these extremities, thought there was no other remedy, but to pass the *Seine*, in order to get out of the peninsula, and remove his camp into the spacious plains of *Lower Normandy*; by which he might entirely disengage himself from the King, who imagined he had him now safe in a net. But as this was the only expedient left to save his army, so it was most difficult to be put in execution: for it was not to be doubted, but the King might easily defeat him whilst he was crossing the river, if he was aware of it; and they lay so near together, that he could not reasonably hope to

1592. to conceal his passage. This design he communicated to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the *Sieur De la Motte*: but it seemed to them not only dangerous, but impossible to be effected, as they knew how difficult it was to pass any little inconsiderable rivulet, when opposed by an enemy: much less could they expect so large an army, incumbered with artillery, ammunition, and a vast quantity of baggage, to succeed in passing a very deep and broad river, swelled in that place also by the salt waters, and with a powerful enemy at their heels: yet the necessity was urgent, and there were no other possible means of escaping. Upon which considerations, the Duke resolved with himself to try if he could not effect his design by stratagem. For this purpose, having caused eight companies of *Berlotte's* regiment to cross the river, by a few at a time, in some small boats that he had got together, he ordered a fort to be raised on the opposite side, in the form of a spur, with three angles towards the river, to command and secure it: and another to be thrown up over-against it, on the side where his army lay, with a redoubt towards the river, and its front, towards the part from whence he expected the enemy would appear: in which he placed the Count *De Bossu* with a thousand foot, consisting chiefly of musketeers, and four pieces of cannon to scour the country at a distance. At the same time, many large barks were preparing at *Roüen* with the utmost secrecy, of which there were great numbers employed at that place to carry on their commerce upon the river: besides which, they made several bridges of pieces of timber and planks fastened together, such as are commonly used in passing great rivers. Other little boats were likewise got ready, to assist and tow the larger: and some floating rafts also, made of exceeding thick beams, strong enough to bear the artillery. These barks falling down the stream from *Roüen*, with the advantage of the ebb of the tide, arrived in a few hours at the place appointed, on the 20th of *May* in the evening: and the same night, which was a very clear one, the *French* infantry and cavalry, without losing a moment of time, passed over first with the Duke of *Aumale*: the artillery and all the baggage were sent next; then followed the *Swiss*, and after them the *Walloon*, *Spanish*, and *Italian* foot, about break of day; Prince *Ranuccio* still continuing on the bank of the river that was next the King, with *Appio Conti*, who (as the Duke *De Monte Marciano* was returned into *Italy*) commanded the forces of the church. With these were also left a thousand of *Capizucchi's Italian* foot, and two hundred horse, which facing about towards the enemy, seemed as if they designed to skirmish with them in the plain.

The King perceiving a small number of men upon the hills, which yet did not offer to move, though his light horse over-ran the whole plain, began to suspect, that the enemy were changing their quarters again,

again, but did not at all dream, that they would attempt to pass the river, which is so much enlarged there by the tide, that it looks more like a sea than a river. To be at a certainty, however, he sent out the Baron *De Biron* to discover what they were about, who having got up to the top of a hill, upon which no-body appeared, returned upon a gallop with intelligence, that the army of the League was passing the river: at which news, the King immediately advanced with all the cavalry, and left the foot to follow him. But the cavalry could not by any means prevent the passage of the enemy, except the Count *De Bossu's* fort was first taken, which scoured the plain on every side with cannon and musket shot, and effectually covered those that were crossing the river: which the King at last perceiving, and finding that would be a work of too much time and difficulty, possessed himself of another hill that commanded the river, and gave orders, that the artillery should be brought thither with all possible expedition to fire upon the boats that were passing. But whilst they were drawing thither in great confusion, the whole army had got over: upon which, the King almost transported with despair, and not able to do any thing further, rode as fast as he could to charge Prince *Ramucio*, who retiring last of all by little and little, had sheltered himself under the protection of the fort. The King, nevertheless, precipitately advanced further than he ought to have done, within reach of the cannon, and even of the musket shot, but was quickly obliged to retire with some loss, and without being able to effect any thing material: so that the Count *De Bossu's* regiment and *Capizucchi's* thousand foot also, passed the river, one after another, and the cannon that were in the fort being drawn off, piece by piece, were put upon one of the great floating bridges. Last of all, Prince *Ramucio* embarked with his horse, at which time the King's artillery were brought up to the top of the hill, and began to fire upon the boats that were ferrying over, and likewise upon the fort *De la Berlotte*; but the balls striking mostly into the earth, had little or no effect.

Much greater was the danger from the King's men of war, which appeared at that very time upon the river from *Quillebauf*, and were beginning to fire upon the raft that carried the artillery, which was last drawn out of the fort; for as it was but slenderly guarded, it was feared it would inevitably fall into the enemy's hands. But Prince *Ramucio*, who gained the highest applause by his admirable conduct, through the whole course of this affair, not being able to bear that the artillery should be taken before his face, in the preservation of which, the glory of that retreat chiefly consisted, got out of the bark in which he was, into a little boat, and went himself with the utmost haste to their relief: as did also the *Sieur De la Motte*, *Camillo Capizucchi*, Colonel *St. Paul*, and several

1592. other Gentlemen and Officers in other boats: and the fort *De la Berlotte* playing very briskly across the river, the ships were forced to draw off again, and the artillery at last coming safe to the shore, were landed in an instant, by two divisions of *Spaniards*, who were sent to receive and attend them, though the King's artillery played very warmly upon that place all the while. The whole army, with all the artillery and baggage, having passed in this manner, without leaving any thing of moment behind them, Prince *Ranuccio* would not stir from the bank till all the barks and floats were burnt, to prevent the King from passing over to pursue them, and having entirely perfected his design, without the least disorder or confusion, he came up in the evening to the rest of the army, which had marched away from the river.

But the Duke of *Parma*, even after he had so happily passed the river without sustaining any loss at all, was far from being at ease in his mind, as he was apprehensive, that the King would also pass over with his army at *Pont de l'Arche* and follow him: for if that should happen, whilst his forces were so fatigued, and he was in such want of money to support them, he must of necessity be involved in new dangers and troubles. Wherefore, after he had taken *Neubourg*, which place was likewise sacked and burnt by his army, he marched with so much haste towards *Paris*, that he arrived at *St. Cloud* in four days: and not caring to pass through the city, lest his forces should disband, he caused a bridge of boats to be made, and having repassed the *Seine*, proceeded with the same expedition, till he came to the walls of *Chateau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, at a great distance from the enemy, and in his direct road to *Flanders*.

In the mean time, the King, who had fallen from the sanguine hopes which he conceived of utterly suppressing his enemies, and found, on the contrary, that he had not only thrown away all the pains and expences which he had been at in the course of so many months, but wasted his own blood and that of his subjects to no purpose, seeing the city of *Rouen* now relieved, and the army of the League got safe away to another quarter, his Nobility tired out, the *Germans* diminished in number, and almost harassed to death with their late hardships, after he had been two days in great vexation of mind, and distracted in his resolutions, at last determined to lessen his army, as he had done after the siege of *Paris*, that he might exonerate himself, and draw off his party from so continual expence and trouble, and to follow the army of the League with a flying camp, to see what resolution their Commanders would take. The Gentlemen therefore being dismissed, and the Nobility returned to their several governments, the King, after he had mustered the *Germans*, and reduced their companies one into another, pursued the enemy to the confines of *Picardy*

Picardy and *Champagne*, with three thousand horse, and betwixt five and six thousand foot. 1592.

But the hardships of a whole winter's campaign occasioned such a grievous sickness amongst those that had been in his army, that a vast number of Gentlemen and brave Commanders either died or lay ill a long time : amongst whom, *Francis de Bourbon*, Duke of *Montpensier*, being taken with a violent fever, as he was returning to his government of *Normandy*, was forced to stop at *Lisieux*, where he departed this life on the 3d of *June*. A Prince of exceeding great courage, and wonderful goodness of heart, which would have rendered him worthy of the highest command, if nature had endowed him with a little more vivacity, and a quicker understanding. About the same time died also Monsieur *De Givry*, at a place not far from *Beauvais*, a man of approved valour, and who by his abilities and long experience, had acquired a very great reputation amongst the *Hugonots*, which party (next to the Duke of *Bouillon*) had placed their chief confidence and hopes in him and Monsieur *De la Nöüe*.

After the army of the League had left the banks of the *Seine*, the discords and animosities betwixt the Generals began to shew themselves more plainly than ever. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was displeased at drawing off so soon from the King, and leaving every thing again in a great measure to his arbitrement, publickly assumed to himself the honour of having relieved *Rouen* without striking a blow, and of obliging the King's army to disperse of themselves without hazarding the whole fortune of his own party upon the uncertain event of a battle : he said likewise, that as the reduction of *Caudebac* was necessary to clear the passage of the *Seine*, it had been proposed and effected by him : that afterwards, if the Duke of *Parma*, without consulting any other person, would wilfully, and without necessity, expose himself to danger, at a place, and upon an occasion, that was not answerable to the risque, and if his wound had given the King time to recruit, and to shut them up in a corner, from whence they had luckily found means to disengage themselves and retire, it was not to be imputed to his advice, which had always been wholesome and expedient, but to a defect in the execution of it, which had not been committed to him : that his good conduct in passing the *Seine* was certainly worthy of praise : but if he had employed himself in throwing a bridge over that river, it would have opened a free communication with the adjacent country, and furnished them with provisions from that side ; by which means the King, whose money was exhausted, and his army wasted and tired out, would have been forced to leave the field open to them, to pursue such measures as might be most for their honour and advantage : but as the *Spaniards* were so sparing of their money and supplies, and yet pretended to rule and direct every thing in

1592. their own way, matters were now brought to such a pass, that all their past labours were entirely thrown away, and the King would grow so strong again, that he would soon become superior to them both in forces and reputation.

On the other hand the Duke of *Parma* made no scruple of saying in publick, that he had twice happily delivered the League out of their distress, and redeemed the two principal cities in *France* out of the enemy's power, by the arms of his Catholick Majesty alone: that he had snatched the glory of victory out of the King of *Navarre's* hands, who, whilst he was bearing down the *French* in every place, had been so opportunely checked, merely by his army: that even now, though the Count *De Vaudemont* with the forces of *Lorrain* had deserted him, and the *French* chiefs who were most nearly concerned, had come but slowly in to join him, he should have utterly suppressed the King's party, if they could have agreed to follow him, and if by inconsiderately running themselves into a pound shut up on every side, they had not deprived him of a victory and lost the opportunity of putting an end to the war with so much reputation: that the King of *Spain* had profusely squandered away the blood and treasure of his kingdoms for their service only; whilst they, on the contrary, had no other view but to enrich themselves and promote their own private interests, without any regard for the publick good or the preservation of the Crown: finally, that he would not stay to throw away his time in idleness, and to no purpose at *Rouen*, whilst not only the affairs of *Flanders* suffered by his absence, but those of *France* were falling headlong into inevitable ruin.

The actions of each party corresponded with their declarations. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, pretending to be indisposed, resolved to stay at *Rouen*, and not to follow the army that was now marching away. And the Duke of *Parma*, not a little mortified that he refused to go along with him, determined to leave him no supplies at all; but took the Duke of *Guise* with him, and gave out, that he designed to entrust him with the command of those forces that he should leave behind him in *France*; which exceedingly exasperated the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, since the departure of the Cardinal Legate also from the army, was left in a manner destitute and alone, and with great difficulty prevailed with the Pope's Swiss and Commissary *Matteucci* to stay with him at *Rouen*. And yet even this was much against their inclination: for *Matteucci*, who was a man of rough behaviour, and exceedingly obstinate in his opinions, soon after resolved to disband the *Swiss*, either because he had received such instructions from the court of *Rome*, or wanted money to pay them. Nor was it possible by any kind of arguments, intreaties, or even menaces, to alter his determination: for though the Duke of *Mayenne* earnestly desired

desired him to keep them a month longer, and offered to gratify them himself, if he would not continue them in his own pay, yet it was all to no purpose. This, together with the ill treatment that he met with from his other allies, incensed him to such a degree, that he gave orders to have the person of *Matteucci* seized upon, which indeed was not actually done, because the Duke, when the first transports of his passion were over, did not care to have his orders put in execution, and afterwards *Matteucci* disguised himself in soldier's cloaths, and went away with the *Swiss*. The Legate, however, made heavy complaints of it, and the thing gave great offence at *Rome*: so that the Duke being thoroughly disgusted, and meeting with so much vexation on every side, began afresh to lend an ear to a treaty of peace, which Monsieur *De Villeroy* had never totally dropped, out of a desire of coming to an agreement with the King, and of delivering himself, as he said, from the plague of foreign forces.

Monsieur *De Villeroy* had kept the treaty alive, sometimes with one, sometimes with another of the King's party, and as either side had the advantage, the terms varied accordingly: for when the King found himself distressed by the enemy, he began to think of giving satisfaction to the party of the League, to free himself from all further danger and trouble: and when the Duke thought himself either ill treated, or but faintly supported by the confederates, he also inclined to an accommodation. But as the King refused to change his religion at the instances of his enemies, and the Duke resolved not to come to any agreement, except he first turned Catholick; these difficulties could not be got over, but continually prevented the success of this negotiation, and made it almost despaired of. Not long before, however, *Villeroy* having had a free conference about this matter with Monsieur *De Lomenie*, one of the King's Secretaries of State, who had been taken prisoner, and then resided at *Ponaise*: this Minister, after he was set at liberty, reported their conversation to the King, just at a time when he was in great danger and distress by the Duke of *Parma's* approach. Upon which consideration, he ordered the *Sieur Du Plessis Mornay* (a man in whom he put great confidence on account of his wisdom and learning, and who had formerly been employed in this negotiation) to make fresh overtures to Monsieur *Villeroy*, who wrote several times concerning it to the Duke of *Mayenne* and President *Jeannine* with so much earnestness, that the Duke, though he never before had descended to particulars, then declared by *Villeroy*, that if the King would give security for his conversion, and proper satisfaction to him and the other Lords of his party, he would agree to acknowledge and submit to him. Upon this, *Du Plessis* and *Villeroy* entered into a treaty, with promises of secrecy on both sides: but no expedient could be found

1592. to secure the party of the League, that the King would ever change his religion hereafter, if he did not do it at that time, since they alledged, that he had promised those Catholicks that followed him, so to do from the very beginning, and yet had never performed his engagement, so that there was no reason to expect he would do it at the importunity of his enemies: besides, they supposed he would make that promise in general and ambiguous terms, and with a reservation of being taught and instructed, which might afford sufficient matter of prevarication and excuse for what measures soever he should afterwards pursue, and would not by any means content the Duke of *Mayenne*: nor did the terms, which the King at present proposed to the Duke and the other Princes and Lords of his party, seem altogether satisfactory. Wherefore, after much treating, and many letters and answers, President *Jeannine*, by the Duke's order, wrote to *Villeroy*, and gave him a commission to propose, as the last overtures he designed to make, That the manner of the King's conversion should be left to the Pope, to whom the King should send the Marquis *De Pisani* and Cardinal *Gondi*, to receive such directions in that matter, as the Apostolick See should think proper and necessary: that he himself also would send a person on purpose, with orders to his agents at *Rome* to forward these proceedings, and endeavour to remove all difficulties, that so his Holiness might be brought to some reasonable determination: that, as a security for the King's perseverance in the Catholick religion, and the conservation of the peace, all the several towns, cities, and fortresses, should continue, for the space of six years, in the hands of those persons that were in possession of them at present, but to be restored to the King's free disposal within that term, if they saw that he proceeded with sincerity: that the Government of *Burgundy*, with all the places in it that adhered to the King, should be left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and become hereditary in his male line, with authority of disposing of all offices, benefices, governments, and employments, which should become vacant in that province for the time to come: that the King should confer a dignity upon him under the Crown, superior to all others, as that of High Constable, or his Lieutenant General: that he should give him a sum of money, sufficient to discharge such debts as he had been obliged to contract upon the late occasions: that the government of *Lions*, and *Lionnois*, should be added to that of *Burgundy*: and that the King should provide another government for the Duke of *Nemours*, which should be equivalent to it: that the Duke of *Guise* should have the government of *Champagne*, and two fortresses for his security; the Duke of *Mercur*, that of *Bretagne*; the Duke of *Joyeuse*, that of *Languedoc*; the Duke of *Aumale*; that of *Picardy*, and the town of *St. Esprit de Rue*, for his further security: that all the Lords of the League should enjoy the same places, offices,

dignities, and governments, that they were in possession of before the beginning of the war: that his Catholick Majesty should be included in the peace, and have reasonable satisfaction made him for his pretensions: that an act of indemnity should be passed for every thing that had happened during the course of the war, and that the preamble to the articles of accommodation should be drawn up in such a manner, as to make it appear, that the Duke of *Mayenne* had not acknowledged the King till that time, on account of his religion, that he now did it upon his conversion, by the Pope's consent, and that he should be entirely cleared therein, from having had any hand in the death of his predecessor, the late King *Henry* the third. •

These conditions the *Sieur De Villeroy* communicated to Monsieur *Du Plessis*, and gave him an abstract of them, as they were set down at large, with the reasons of them in the President's letter. *Du Plessis*, at first, did not seem to approve of them at all: but *Villeroy* answered, that this was not an agreement made with *Hugonots*, who were obliged by all laws both human and divine to acknowledge their established King, but a contract, by which the Lords of the Union were contented to acknowledge, or rather, strictly speaking, to make a person King who had not a legal right to the kingdom: by which acknowledgment, the King would come into the possession of the Crown of *France*, and therefore the conditions ought not to seem strange to him: that the Lords of the League demanded every thing at present, that they thought necessary for their security, because when the acknowledgment was once made, they should then no longer be able to treat or insist upon any thing, but must be obliged, like common subjects, to petition and beseech their sovereign Lord: that it was no wonder they should demand much at one time, as they were very certain, they should never obtain any more during his reign, nor perhaps in that of his children: that the Duke of *Mayenne* had shewn himself so good a *Frenchman*, that he would rather acknowledge a King of the same nation, though an enemy, upon these conditions, than a foreigner, though a friend and ally, upon such as would have been much more advantageous to him: that the King had always declared he would both satisfy and secure the Lords of the house of *Lorraine* and all the others of their party, and lately, during the action before *Caudebec*, had repeated the same with his own mouth, to the Baron *De Luz*, with whom he had had a long conversation about it in the field, assuring him, that if the Lords of the Union would acknowledge and follow him, he would grant them any terms, and particularly, that he would give ample satisfaction to the Duke of *Mayenne*, as far as he was able, whom he knew to be a Prince of great worth and a true *Frenchman*: that the Marshal *D'Aumont* had, by the King's order, confirmed this declaration to
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1592. the same Nobleman; and therefore, that ought not to seem strange now, which he had offered of his own accord but a few days before. But the *Sieur Du Plessis* considering, that if the manner of the King's conversion was referred to the Pope, nothing generous could be expected from his Holiness, on account of the influence which the *Spaniards* had over him, replied, That it was not a thing to be hoped for from any other means, but the inspiration of God, after such instructions as should convince him that he was in an error: for otherwise it would be an unlawful thing to demand it, and much worse to grant it, as the salvation of the soul ought to be considered before all the interests of the world. And as for the other articles, which he went through one by one, he represented, that if all the offices and dignities, both civil and ecclesiastical, should be disposed of by the Lords of the Union, the King would have nothing left to gratify and reward those of his own party; and that it would be a monstrous thing to see all the provinces in the hands of one family alone, whilst the Princes of the Blood and so many other Lords were excluded, who had taken such pains, and so cheerfully exposed their lives, to support him in his kingdom. And yet, after he had repeated his promise of secrecy, which the Duke of *Mayenne* earnestly insisted upon, he said he would lay the matter before the King for his determination.

But when he came into the King's council at *Bussi*, where they resided at that time, he was so far from promoting the treaty of peace, or approving of the conditions proposed, or even observing the secrecy he had promised, that he openly, in the presence of all the Council, desired pardon for having till then kept his Majesty in the dark, not out of any evil intention, but because he had been deceived himself, since such terms had been proposed to him as he was ashamed of, and did not care to acquaint him with: he confessed he had been too credulous out of a desire of peace and zeal for the publick good, but that the conditions which had been offered were so unjust and dishonourable for the King, and would be so pernicious to the whole kingdom, that they plainly shewed the Duke of *Mayenne* and those of his party had no thoughts of peace, but only endeavoured to amuse the King and excite jealousy in the *Spaniards*, in order to draw more money and supplies from them: that the terms were such as did not deserve any answer, nor did he think them worthy of being heard by that Council. And yet, after this preamble, when he had reported what they were, neither the King himself, nor any of his Council, thought them so exorbitant as he had suggested; especially as they all knew that demands are commonly high at the beginning of a treaty, but afterwards fall lower and lower in the course of it. So that they were all offended at *Du Plessis*, and saw plainly, that his being a *Hugonot*, and one that abhorred the thoughts of the King's conversion,

conversion, was the reason that he was so far from desiring a peace, that he did all that he could to prevent it. The King being of the same opinion, sent to acquaint the Sieur *De Villeroy*, that he would be glad to treat with him personally. The Marshal *De Biron* and the Duke of *Bouillon* likewise desired to have a conference with him, though they were both but little inclined to peace: *Bouillon*, because he was a *Hugonot*, and *Biron*, because his fortune wholly depended upon the wars, by the continuation of which he hoped to advance himself to a more eminent degree of power and honour, as he thought those offices and dignities due to his own merit, which were demanded by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

Du Plessis, however, continuing in his resolution, and communicating his secret designs to those of his own principles, at last divulged the whole treaty, contrary to his faith given to *Villeroy*, and shewed copies of the articles to several persons: so that not only all the King's party knew of them, but even the Princesses, who were in *Paris*, had a sight of them, and gave credit to the affair: upon which, they made heavy complaints that the Duke should offer to make up a peace, without consulting either them or the other Lords of their party: and, which was still worse, they came also to the knowledge of the *Spanish* Ministers, who, though they did not think such a treaty could easily be concluded, were yet full of suspicion and apprehension. *Du Plessis* expected, that his proceeding in this manner would have two effects, and both for his advantage: as he hoped, in the first place, to prevent and totally break off all treaties of peace, now he found the King (as he thought) inclined to change his religion, in order to obtain one, which was an event that the *Hugonots* were more afraid of than of any other thing: and in the next, to make the Duke of *Mayenne* distrusted by his own party, and particularly by the *Spaniards*, which possibly might facilitate the ruin and disunion of the League. But as designs, in which private interest is too much concerned, have often (either by the will of God, who is displeased with them, or from their own deceitful bottom) very different events from what the projectors confidently promise themselves, so this publication of the treaty in hand produced an effect much contrary to *Du Plessis's* expectation; for it was of no prejudice to the party of the League, and occasioned very great disturbance and confusion in the King's affairs.

It did no hurt to the Duke of *Mayenne*, because the Pope was exceedingly pleased with his integrity; when he saw that he did not consider his own private advantage and emolument, but refused to accept of any dignity or employment whatsoever, except the King would change his religion, and that he referred the whole of that affair to the Apostolick See; and the *Spaniards*, beginning to grow apprehensive that a peace might be brought about by some means or other, resolved not to give the Duke of

1592. *Mayenne* any further cause of discontent. And for the Duke of *Parma*, as he was obliged to quit the kingdom on account of his health, and the care of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, he left some forces in *Champagne*, not under the command of the Duke of *Guise*, as he had intended, but of *Monsieur De Rhosne*, with the title of his Lieutenant-General, and orders to obey the Duke of *Mayenne* without contradiction. *Juan Baptista Tassis* likewise went to him, and endeavoured to sooth his resentment and make him forget his late dis gusts: whilst *Diego d'Ivarra* continued with the army, because he knew the Duke had a personal dislike to him. Besides, as the Duke, who had been forced into that treaty by the desperate situation of his affairs, now saw that he had already recovered his weight and authority, which he had in a great measure lost with the Pope's Ministers and the *Spaniards*, he was afterwards more shy in listening to terms of peace: but since he had been deceived by the publication of that secret, contrary to promise, he thought it afforded him not only an excuse, but a just handle to make his advantage also of the treaty, which he did by continuing it in such a manner, as served to keep sometimes one ally, sometimes another firm and steady in their attachment to him, as occasion required.

On the other hand, the Catholics of the King's party being alarmed with the rumour of this treaty, and highly offended that the peace should be negociated by a *Hugonot*, and that the King should make a promise to the League of changing his religion, which they had not been able to obtain from him by so many repeated importunities, began to think again of setting up a third party, and to assemble by themselves in different places more openly than before, where they consulted about leaving the King, or coming to an agreement with those of the League: in consequence of which, after the matter had been thoroughly canvassed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count *De Soissons*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *De St. Paul*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshal *D'Aumont*, *Monsieur D'O*, the *Sieur De Lavardine*, the Count *De Lude*, and many other Lords, they acquainted the Duke of *Mayenne* that it was necessary, for the publick safety and tranquillity, that all the Catholics should unite, and desire the King not only to change his religion, but to give security for the maintenance of that of the *Roman* church, in a certain prefixed and reasonable time: which, if he complied with, he should be acknowledged and established; and to let him know, that if he did not, they would unanimously concur in electing a Catholick King, who should be acknowledged and obeyed by them all. This negociation being now carried on very briskly, the King plainly saw that the event must be either a forced and dishonourable conversion, or the utter ruin of his affairs. He, therefore, earnestly solicited *Villeroy*, by *Monsieur De Fleury* his brother-

brother-in-law, to come in person to confer with him, and resolved to take proper measures of his own accord, to reconcile himself to the See of Rome. 1592.

After long struggles and debates in the Conclave, *Innocent* the ninth was succeeded in the Apostolick Chair by Cardinal *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, a man not debilitated with age, as he was not above six and fifty, but of mature wisdom and singular address in state affairs, which he had acquired by being continually conversant at court, and having conducted the most important negotiations of his time. As soon as he had assumed the name of *Clement* the eighth, though he had been favoured by the *Spaniards* in his election, and seemed to have a grateful remembrance of their services, he was resolved, however, not to suffer himself to be wholly governed by their counsels, nor to be dependent upon any other person; but after the interests of religion were properly secured, which was his first and chief consideration, he determined to use his endeavours to settle a general tranquillity upon a safe and just foundation. For this purpose he entered into a strict confidence with the Republick of *Venice*, and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, as he knew that State was not only the foundation-stone of the liberties of *Italy*, but a wise mediatrix in all differences and divisions that happened in *Christendom*: and that the Duke, as a Prince of great prudence, was governed by her example. He therefore renewed that friendship with the Senate, which his ancestors had formerly found the benefit of when they took refuge in that State in the days of their adversity. With the Grand Duke he also contracted a firm alliance (forgetting the inveteracy of those factions by which his father had, in times past, been banished out of the city of *Florence*) and was solely intent, by the advice and assistance of these allies, upon supporting the authority of the church, and applying it for the common benefit and safety of all *Christians*.

The first and most important concern that offered itself to his consideration, was the state of affairs in *France*: in which, if he chiefly regarded the security of religion, he was not a stranger, at the same time, to the private emulations, the ancient discords, and the present ambitious designs of the great men in that kingdom. And as time and opportunity were to bring about those overtures that were necessary for the peace and union of the people, he resolved with himself, in the mean time, to assist the League with such succours as he judged expedient, though not with the same interested zeal and profusion that his predecessors had done, being desirous that things might be conducted in such a manner as would tend, not to the division and destruction, but to the safety and re-establishment of peace in so great and powerful a kingdom: which he thought would naturally ensue, if a King should be elected and esta-

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blished, who was not only a Catholick and obedient to the Apostolick See, but also a *Frenchman*, and such a one as might be able to conciliate to himself the general good will and affections of the people. He therefore confirmed the Cardinal of *Piacenza* in his legation, whom he thought not only very well acquainted with the affairs of *France*, by his long residence there, but also a more proper person than any other to manage this undertaking. And though the Cardinal had shewn himself in times past very partial to the *Spaniards*, yet the Pope thought that, now he had changed his master, and his instructions were altered, he would endeavour, like a man of prudence and experience, rather to oblige him by executing his orders, than to be blindly subservient to the interests of *Spain*, which could not always run parallel with those of the Holy See. But after his Holiness had shewn by the confirmation of the Legate (as far as he thought sufficient) how favourably he was inclined to the League in other respects, he plainly told the confederates, he could not assist them with more than fifteen thousand ducats a month in the present incapacity of the Apostolick See: alledging, that the excessive sums formerly disbursed, to the great impoverishment of the treasury and the oppression of the people, had not by any means answered the design of such immense expences and preparations. He, therefore, insisted upon that remedy being applied, which was likely to be most effectual, and gave his Legate orders to procure, if possible, a free assembly of the States, that so, a King might be elected by general consent, an end put to all further machinations, all ambitious designs extinguished, and that they might make the security of religion and the restoration of peace in the kingdom, the ultimate end and visible object of their endeavours.

These designs, which both parties were acquainted with, gave the Duke of *Mayenne* good hopes, that the Pope was inclined to take proper notice of his merits and great labours, and to favour his undertakings; and at the same time were not disagreeable to the King, who seeing the temper and moderation of his Holiness, did not despair of finding some satisfactory means of bringing his affairs to a happy conclusion. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the importunities of the Catholicks, who were now in general determined to know his final resolution, he had a conference at *Vernon* with *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, in which he told him, that as he was desirous to find some way by which an overture might be made to the Pope concerning his affairs, he should be glad if the Republick, which he knew was in very strict amity with his Holiness, would assist his upright intentions, either by an Ambassador extraordinary, or by the canal of their ordinary resident at *Rome*, being determined to bring it about, that Cardinal *Gondi*, in whose prudence and integrity he put very great confidence, should go into *Italy* together with

the Marquis *De Pisani*, in the name of the Catholick Nobility of his party, to treat of the means of concluding a peace and reconciliation: but this negotiation seeming likely to be attended with much difficulty, both in regard to the politicks of the court of *Rome* and the prodigious influence of the *Spaniards* there, he thought the mediation, advice, authority and good offices of that Republick, would have great weight in so important a concern. With this the Ambassador readily complied, and knowing the good wishes of the Senate for the conservation of the kingdom of *France*, assured him he should have all manner of assistance that he could desire. He likewise caused the same to be moved to the Grand Duke by *Girolamo Gondi*, requesting him, not only to use his endeavours with the Pope (though he thought the power of the *Venetian* Senate more likely to succeed with his Holiness) but also to treat with the Cardinals in his favour, that when the affair came into the Consistory, it might meet with as little opposition as possible.

When this foundation was laid, he sent to hasten the coming of *Villeroy*; for he was desirous to adjust things with the Duke of *Mayenne* in such a manner, that he also might be induced to favour his proceedings at the court of *Rome*, as all religious scruples would be removed by his reconciliation to the Holy See, and the Duke might then with honour accept those large and advantageous offers which he designed to make him. But the Duke, who was grown very suspicious since the trick plaid him by *Du Plessis*, and now hoped to bring the *Spaniards* entirely into his measures, suffered the treaty to go on, that he might make his own use of it; but without the least design of coming to any conclusion, as those schemes and projects began to revive in his breast, which despair had before either totally destroyed, or very much disconcerted. And, though *Villeroy* went to him at *Roüen*, and afterwards had a conference with the King himself by night at *Gisors*, yet they did not descend to any conditions of agreement: but the Duke consented, that the King should send to *Rome*, and left the treaty to proceed, and be concluded when the affair was settled with the Pope. And the King, on his side, agreed, that the Duke should assemble the States of his party, to consult and treat with them concerning his present resolution.

The *Spaniards* had constantly insisted upon an Assembly of the States, in concert with the Cardinal Legate, both in publick and in private; and the Duke had as constantly raised new difficulties and delays, sometimes alledging the necessity of attending closely to the carrying on of the war, sometimes, that it was proper, in the first place, to consult and come to some conclusion with the Princes of their party, and sometimes representing the impossibility of assembling the Deputies in a time of such general confusion and distraction, which would make them very unwilling to leave

1592. leave their own houses and cities, and venture to take so long a journey, with the manifest peril of their lives. But his backwardness at last was imputed to inordinate ambition, and a desire of continuing himself in the power he then held: so that he could no longer refuse to call the Assembly, without giving further reason for these heavy complaints, nor without danger of occasioning discord and disunion. Being resolved, therefore, to remove the cause from which all the differences with the *Spanish* ministers had chiefly proceeded, he considered, that as it was not only a very disgustful thing to every one, but now very dangerous also to refuse such a convention, so the difficulties that would naturally arise, and those which he might artfully interpose, in case the States should actually assemble, would be so many, that they must of course dissolve and break up of themselves, without coming to any determination: and in the mean time, they might perhaps afford him a convenient opportunity, either of reviving his former authority, or of reconciling himself to the King, if he found he could not by any means secure the Crown to himself or his family. Wherefore, as the *Spaniards* now seemed desirous to give him all manner of satisfaction, and the Legate paid him great respect, by particular orders from the court of *Rome*, so he, to shew that he would grant that of his own free will, which he did not care to be compelled to by force or menaces, wrote to the Legate and the Duke of *Parma*, "That now it was a proper time to assemble the States, he would comply with the requests of the Princes, who had solicited it with so much earnestness, in order to come to a final resolution, concerning the affairs of *France*; exhorting them to be prepared with necessary commissions from their respective courts, as the Deputies would be convened in a few months." For which purpose, he dispatched letters into every province and bailliage, to have Deputies chosen to meet at a place that should be appointed for the holding of the States-General.

At the same time, the King had caused Cardinal *Gondi* to treat with the Catholics of his party concerning his journey into *Italy*, and required them to send an Ambassador to the Pope: which some opposed, by alledging that the Parliament had decreed, that, for the future, no one should send to *Rome* upon any occasion whatsoever. But the King answered, "That such a decree indeed had been made in the Pontificate of *Gregory* the fourteenth, but that he gave them leave to send to the present Pope." The Marquis *De Pisani*, therefore, was fixed upon for that embassy, and Cardinal *Gondi* consented to attend him, for the King's satisfaction, and to procure, if possible, the general repose of the kingdom.

This manner of proceeding, in a great measure, put a stop to the resolution of the Catholics, who waited to see the event of that embassy, being

being in some degree contented that the King had already begun to treat of reconciling himself to the Pope and the Apostolick See. The decree which the King made about this time, concerning the disposal of benefices in the kingdom, gave them still further satisfaction. For, after the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Châlons* had decreed, that no body should go any more to *Rome* for approbation and institution, or collation; and after a congregation of Prelates had made the same declaration in favour of the King, those benefices that became void, were given away to all sorts of persons without distinction, as a recompence for their labours and expences, or out of particular favour and affection, and the administration of spiritual affairs was assigned, by the Grand Council, to one of the priests of the diocese, with the title of *Spiritual Oeconome*, or, *Official*; which was not only contrary to all canons and decrees, but gave great offence, as it was dangerous and prejudicial to the good of the people, and much resembled the practice of the *Hugonots*. *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, a man of exceeding great learning and singular eloquence, had conceived hopes, that, as he had the title of *Patriarch*, which is usually given to the Archbishop of that city, it would be very easy, and no less reasonable, to confer the power of disposing of the benefices of the kingdom upon him, as *spiritual Superior of the Gallias*, and to invest him with the same authority in *France*, that the Pope had over all the rest of *Christendom*. And as he had long harboured this conceit in his breast, he had left no means unattempted that he thought might in any wise conduce to the accomplishment of his design. For this purpose, so little respect had been shewn to the Pope's bulls at his instigation: with this view, those that represented the Apostolick See had been so warmly proceeded against; and for the same end, the abuse in conferring benefices being now complained of, and the irregularity of those officials represented, who were chosen by the great council (a temporal jurisdiction that had no business to judge of spiritual sufficiency) it was endeavoured, in the present agitation of men's minds, that such a resolution might be taken, and that some Prelate might be appointed in the *Gallias*, superior to all the rest in power and dignity, to whom that election should be committed. But the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the rest of the Catholick Lords vehemently protesting against this proposal, as the sure way to alienate the kingdom from the Apostolick See, to reduce it to a state of schism, and for ever to cut off all hopes of accommodation: that they would never submit to it; that as soon as ever such a decree should be made, they would take some other course to secure themselves and their affairs: the King publicly declared, that he would not deprive the Holy See of the obedience due to it; and that if it had been decreed that no money should be carried to *Rome*, lest it might be employed to foment the

1592. the distractions of that time, and to make war upon the kingdom with its own blood and treasure, that had been established by way of provision only, as long as the Popes should continue to oppose the lawful heirs to the Crown: that he did not intend there should be any innovations, but to maintain the ecclesiastical rights, and the religion and privileges of the *Gallican* church, in the same state that he found them at his coming to the kingdom. After which, he ordered the Council to make a decree, that every Bishop should constitute the administrators of spiritual affairs in his own diocese; that when any bishoprick was vacant, that defect should be supplied by the metropolitan, and, for want of him, by the Bishop that was nearest the place; all which proceedings gave infinite satisfaction to the Catholics, and for some time put a stop to the resolutions they had taken.

In the mean time the war was carried on with no less vigour than the negociations and treaties of peace. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, having recovered from his late indisposition at *Roüen*, was come out with part of his forces to lay siege to *Ponteau de Mer*, a place, which lying near him, very much distressed the commerce of that city. And on the other hand, Monsieur *De Villers* was likewise gone to besiege the new fortress of *Quillebeuf*, the more effectually to lay open the passage and navigation of the *Seine*: for besides this inconvenience, he was not a little piqued to see the *English* and *Hollanders* settle themselves in a place so commodious for the reception of their ships, and situated in the midway betwixt his governments of *Havre de Grace* and *Roüen*, to the great prejudice and annoyance of them both.

The King, who was yet in the confines of *Normandy*, dispatched Colonel *Grillon* thither with fifteen hundred *French* foot, and the Sieur *De Bouquetot* with an hundred Gentlemen of that country, being no less desirous to keep possession of that place than the enemy was to drive him out of it. The fortifications were yet unfinished; for though the *Holland* fleet had wrought with great diligence at them, they had not had sufficient time to bring them to perfection; so that the ramparts were not faced with stone, and consisted only of earth not well settled: and the foss was not above a man's depth, though they were admirably designed, and drawn out by experienced engineers.

Villers, upon his arrival there, immediately planted five pieces of cannon to batter an half-moon which defended the gate that stood toward's the land: and having got together a great number of peasants that followed him voluntarily through the whole country, he made his approaches by a trench, and soon had proceeded so near to the half-moon, that it was an easy matter to assault it. The first attack was very fierce, but the besieged were so numerous, that it was sustained with equal resolution:

solution : and when the assault was renewed the next day, *Grillon*, who had left the defence of the place to Colonel *Rebours* and to the *Sieur De Bellebat*, Governor of it, made so furious a sally on the other side with *Bouquetot*, that, as he met with no opposition in the trench, he did the enemy a great deal of damage, destroyed part of their redoubts, nailed up two pieces of artillery, and if *Villers's* cavalry, with the Captains *Borofay* and *Perdriel*, had not dismounted and run to the danger, the trenches would have been taken, and the infantry in them entirely cut off. But *Grillon*, having got into the town again, after a skirmish that lasted many hours, and with much difficulty, *Villers*, who knew the weakness of his forces and despaired of success, raised the siege the next day and returned to *Rouen*. This miscarriage was principally to be imputed to *Matteucci* : for if he had not disbanded the *Swiss*, there would have been such an army before *Quillebauf*, that the siege would very likely have ended in another manner.

The Duke of *Mayenne* succeeded better at *Ponteau de Mer* ; for having laid siege to it, and fortified his trenches very well with redoubts at an equal distance from each other, he secured his men in such a manner, that, though they were but few, yet when the artillery was planted and began to batter, the Governor, who had not so much strength as there was at *Quillebauf*, resolved to surrender, provided the lives and properties of the besieged might be spared : so that the passage was open on that side for the conveyance of provisions to *Rouen*.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Parma*, who had not yet recovered of his wound, and laboured under another indisposition also that he was subject to, which seemed to be tending very fast to a dropsy, resolved to go to *Spa* in the *Low Countries* for the benefit of the waters, and to take back with him the greater part of his army, to provide for the safety of those parts, and particularly of *Friesland*, where the States of *Holland* made a further progress every day. He left, however, six hundred foot in *Paris* besides the usual garrison (contrary to the Duke of *Mayenne's* persuasion) at the intreaties of the Legate and the *Spanish* Ministers, and three thousand foot more, consisting of *Italians* and *Walloons*, with six hundred horse, which were to assist in the quarters near *Paris*, at *Soissons*, and in *Champagne*. And though the Duke of *Guise* aspired to the command of these forces, and solicited it with much earnestness, yet he gave it to the *Sieur De Rbofnè*, with the title of his Lieutenant-General, and orders to obey the Duke of *Mayenne* implicitly, being resolved at this juncture to give him all possible satisfaction, that he might keep him firm to the party, and averse to all thoughts of peace.

With these forces and those of the province, Monsieur *De Rbofnè* sat down before *Espernay*, a town seven leagues from *Châlons*, of a moderate

1592. circumference, but built in the old manner, and not in a condition at that time to make any long defence; imagining that if he could make himself master of it and fill it with men, he might be able to distress *Châlons* to a very great degree, where the Parliament, and a great many other persons of distinction then resided; especially as a great part of that town is situated upon the stream of the river *Marne*. The siege was but short; for as he battered it with great fury, and had soon made a considerable breach in the walls, which were very ancient, and fell without much trouble, the *Sieur De St. Estienne*, who had not a garrison sufficient to defend so weak a place, thought fit to surrender, without staying to undergo an assault.

The King was now come from *Normandy* to the confines of *Champagne*, though not soon enough to relieve *Espernay*: but when he heard it was taken he resolved to recover it, more to shew the regard that he had for the safety and convenience of the Parliament, than upon any other account. For which purpose, having sent for the Duke of *Nevers* and the Marshal *De Biron* beforehand, he over-ran all the neighbouring country, according to his custom, and came to the very walls of *Châlons*. The *Sieur De Rboisne* had repaired the walls that were demolished by the late battery with wonderful expedition, and had caused trenches and ravelines to be thrown up with great care, well knowing that the King would immediately take measures for the recovery of the place. There were then in the town six hundred *French* foot, as many *Walloons* of the Count *De Bossu's* division, and about sixty horse, many small pieces of artillery, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition: and the peasants of those parts being gathered together, laboured continually to strengthen the fortifications. The King's forces came before it on the twenty-sixth of *July*; and having presently encamped themselves, the Marshal *De Biron* advanced with twenty horse to reconnoitre the situation, and the works which the enemy had newly raised for their defence. But he was hardly got upon the highway that leads to the town, on the south side, when a cannon-ball, amongst many which the garrison fired at random, taking him, at the rebound, in the midst of his body, tore him to pieces in such a manner, that he instantly fell dead from his horse to the ground. The loss of this commander was irreparable; for the success of the King's affairs almost wholly depended upon his prudence, experience, good discipline and valour: and not only the charge of the army rested entirely upon his shoulders, but matters of government, Councils of State, treaties with Princes, and the particular concerns of the kingdom, were all regulated and conducted by his advice, in such a manner, that his friends attributed every thing that had succeeded prosperously, either in war or in other undertakings, to his care and endeavours; and those that flattered

tered him, did not scruple to call him publicly, *the King's foster-father*. And indeed it must be owned, by those that were intimately acquainted with all the events that happened from the King's coming to the Crown, to the time of *Biron's* death (which were not only the most arduous and of the greatest importance, but in a manner the very foundations of his fortune) that the life and spirit of all Councils, and of all actions and enterprises, consisted in the prudence and vigilance of this man. Yet those that envied him could not forbear throwing various aspersions upon his character, and accused him as the author of many troubles and calamities. They said in particular, that his own interest made him desirous to have wars and intestine discords continue, because whilst they lasted, he entirely governed the King and all the affairs of the kingdom; that he did not much trouble himself about religion, in which he had always been very indifferent from his youth, and therefore was the occasion that not only the civil wars had so long continued (almost to the utter destruction of the kingdom and the ruin of every individual) but that the King had till then deferred his conversion by artful evasions and promises, though so necessary and desirable. He died in the beginning of the sixty-fifth year of his age, whilst his intellectual faculties were yet sound and entire, his bodily strength but little impaired, still active and vigilant, and indefatigable in all the duties of a soldier.

After his death, the whole charge of the army devolving upon the Duke of *Nevers*, the siege of *Espernay* was begun: and the King having received news of what had happened, after he had spent some hours in tears and publick condolence, moved with all haste towards the camp. There were also at this very juncture three hundred *Walloon* foot of *Berlotte's* division; upon their march from *Rheims* to relieve the besieged, as the possession of that place seemed of the utmost importance to the Confederates. These forces being already near the town, were overtaken by the Baron *De Biron*, who had set out for the camp before all the rest, to revenge his father's death; and seeing so fair an opportunity of cutting off that body of foot, which were in the open field without any support of cavalry, he made a furious attack upon them. The foot, however, consisting of pikemen and musketers, were not at all dismayed: but getting into a hollow way, shut up on both sides by two high banks of earth, like ramparts, they made a halt, and facing about courageously, received the charge of the horse with their pikes, whilst those amongst them that carried muskets kept an incessant fire upon the enemy, who had two Captains of horse and many Gentlemen killed, and could not force them from that post. In the mean time Monsieur *De St. Luc* came up with another squadron of the King's cavalry which was marching towards the camp, and thinking it a shame that such a handful of foot

1592. should be suffered to keep the field, he rushed upon them with the same violence, and being received with the like resolution, was repulsed, as the others had been. Monsieur *De Givry*, who came up next with the light horse, was still more roughly handled, and having made his attack, was forced to retire with the loss of his own Lieutenant and above sixty private men, that were left dead upon the ground: so that the *Wallcons*, being no longer molested by the cavalry, came out of the hollow way, and marched up a hill that was full of vines, from whence, after a short stop, they were going to descend to the fofs towards the west corner of the town. But the King himself coming up in this interval with the rest of his forces, and seeing the rebuff which his cavalry had met with from so small a party of foot, galloped forwards to the very edge of the fofs, and though the town kept a continual fire upon him both with their artillery and small arms, yet he passed swiftly by, and advanced to charge the *Wallcons*, who had come down from the hill and were already got into the plain; by which, they were not only prevented from getting under the shelter of the walls, but surrounded on every side, and at last all cut to pieces after a long and brave resistance, though there were above two hundred men killed on the King's side, and above two hundred more wounded.

The same day he straitened the siege on all sides, and used his utmost endeavours to make himself master of the place as soon as possible. And as the besieged had been labouring for some days past to fill their fofs with water, that they might gain more time to finish their works, he made it his first care to draw off the water another way, which took up three days. But as soon as ever the passage was opened to drain the fofs, the Baron *De Biron*, not having patience to wait for the effect of the artillery, which, nevertheless, were planting with great diligence by Monsieur *De St. Luc*, gave a scalado to a large tower newly made defensible by the besieged, where both parties came to so close an action, that they only made use of their short weapons: and the assault was renewed two or three different times with such obstinacy, that he carried it at last with great slaughter on each side: but whilst his men were endeavouring to make a lodgment there, and throwing up earth to shelter themselves from the fire of the town, he was grievously wounded by a ball in the shoulder. That tower and the rest of the outworks being taken one after another, and the artillery having made a large breach in the old wall, the besieged were sensible they had not sufficient forces to sustain an assault, and therefore agreed to surrender the next day, and were allowed to march freely out of the place with their baggage, but not with the colours that belonged to the Count *De Bossu*, which, being *Spanish*, the King was very desirous of getting into his hands by any means, for the reputation of his arms.

arms. In consequence of this capitulation, the town was delivered up to the Duke of *Nevers*, Governor of that province, on the 9th of *August*. 1592.

From *Esspernay* the army marched to invest *Provins*, a city in the territory of *Brie*, which, on account of the unevenness of the situation and the largeness of its circumference, was not very defensible, being also full of gardens and vineyards, very thinly peopled, and weakly garrisoned; and yet they met with so many obstacles, and the siege was carried on so slowly, that it was not reduced till the 2d of *September*.

The next place that lay convenient for the army to besiege was *Meaux*; of which, as it was nearer *Paris*, and very commodious for distressing that city, not only the *Parisians* were exceedingly apprehensive, but even the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, who being come to *Beauvais*, dispatched the *Sieur De Vitry* thither with eight hundred foot and three hundred horse. The *Sieur De Rantilly*, Governor of the town, with the assistance of these forces and the ordinary garrison, laboured with such diligence, that it was made very defensible: which the King being informed of, and considering that it might be very difficult, and a work of much time to reduce it, resolved to pass by *Meaux*, along the bank of the river *Marne* which runs toward *Paris*, and to build a fort in the middle of the river, upon the isle of *Gournay*, which lies betwixt both places, in order to obstruct their commerce and the navigation of the river: that so, without losing any time in besieging *Meaux*, he might reap the same, or perhaps greater advantage. This advice was given him by the Duke of *Nevers*, who had the charge of putting it in execution, and applied himself to it with so much vigour, that the work was considerably advanced in a few days, a fortification being drawn in the form of a spur with five acute angles, and a high platform raised in the midst. The King, with his whole army, was encamped on the bank of the river, where he obliged all the peasants of that country, and his own foot soldiers, to work by companies in their turns, being desirous to have the fort perfected as soon as possible.

On the other hand, the *Parisians*, terrified at the thoughts of a blockade, that must necessarily increase the dearth under which the city already laboured, and at last reduce them to extreme want of provisions, never ceased importuning the Duke of *Mayenne* to use his utmost endeavours to oppose the raising of a fort, that would be so prejudicial to their common interests. Nor was the Duke less solicitous than they to prevent it; but he had so few forces with him, that he was obliged to proceed slowly. For it was necessary, in the first place, to stay till the neighbouring garrisons were drawn together: and after they were assembled, the Count *De Collalto's Germans*, who had long arrears of pay due to them,

1592. them, began to mutiny, and without them he could not possibly move with any hopes of success. The *Germans*, however, at last, were in some measure quieted, by a sum of money that was distributed amongst them; but in the mean while, so many days were spent, that the Duke of *Nevers* had sufficient time to put the fort in good a posture of defence, and all attempts to prevent the effect of it, became so much the more difficult. And yet the Duke advanced on the other side of the river, with an intention to fight the King's army, and in the first place to make himself master of an abbey that stood near the river, and would serve for a cavalier, from whence he might batter the fort: but the *Sieur Du Pralin* and the Count *De Brienne* being in it, with a great number both of horse and foot, he was forced to engage in many warm skirmishes with them, for the space of two whole days together, before he could lodge himself in a place fit for his purpose. And as soon as his artillery was planted, the King appeared, who had been some days indisposed at *St. Dennis*: at whose coming a bridge of boats being thrown over the river, the garrison in the abbey was so reinforced, that they not only made furious sallies every hour to skirmish with the army of the League, but threw up trenches and lodged themselves in the field; by the help of which, they soon got close to the Duke's redoubts, and even to the very post where his artillery was planted. So that, as it appeared not only difficult, but in a manner impossible, to get possession of the abbey, now it was defended by so numerous a garrison, which was relieved and supported from the King's camp by the conveniency of the bridge, the Duke determined to give up the undertaking, and retired to quarter in the village of *Conde*, with a resolution to stay there till the coming of the *Sieur De Rbofne* and Colonel *St. Paul*, whom he had sent for with the foreign forces and those of the province of *Champagne*, judging it impossible to oppose the King's army, if his own was not very much increased by the arrival of those supplies. But after he had waited for them in vain, from the sixteenth till the twenty-second of *September*, he at last retreated to *Meaux*, without being able to prevent the finishing of the fort. From which place, not to throw away his time to no purpose, but that he might have it in his power to give some relief to the *Parisians* in their distress, he marched away to lay siege to *Crespy*, a town in the county of *Valois*; and having taken it without much difficulty, he made the passage more open and secure for the conveyance of a moderate quantity of provisions at least into *Paris*, from the fertile country that lies round about it.

Whilst the heads of each party were thus employed, one endeavouring to distress the city, and the other to deliver it from a scarcity of provisions, the treaties of peace were carried on by both sides with more ardour

ardour than the operations of the war. The King was intent upon the success of his application to the court of *Rome*, having conceived great hopes, from the Pope's equity and moderation, that a reconciliation might be brought about with the church: but he wished to have it effected rather by means of composition and agreement than by way of pardon and humiliation, and therefore had desired that the *Venetian* Senate and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* would interpose as mediators to negotiate that sort of reconciliation with the Apostolic See. So that the treaty hanging thus in suspense, kept the Catholics quiet till they saw the event, and did not alienate the *Hugonots*, who were not yet sure that the agreement would take place, but rather full of hopes, that such a proposal would not meet with the expected success at *Rome*. Cardinal *Gondi*, therefore, after he had conferred with the King on the road, and had travelled through the places that adhered to him, by virtue of his passport, made some stay at *Florence*, in hopes of first gaining over some of the Cardinals to his interest by means of the Grand Duke.

The Marquis *De Pisani* set out at the same time: and having passed the *Alps* was come to *Defenzano*, upon the Lake of *Garda*, a place belonging to the Republick of *Venice*, to see if he could prevail upon the Senate to pave the way for the treaty with the Pope, by means of their Ambassador. But these attempts were yet unseasonable: for the measures that were still pursued in *France* by the King's Council and the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Châlons* (where they had nullified the Pope's bulls, the appointment of the Cardinal of *Piacanza* to be Legate, and many other commissions of that kind) shewed but little signs of the King's repentance and conversion, and had in a manner reduced the Pope to a necessity of protecting the League, and of resenting the contempt and disregard with which he had been treated, not only for the security of religion, but for the reputation of his own person. Nor could he yet be thoroughly assured that the King, who always till that time had been so obstinate in his opinions, could, all on a sudden, become a sincere Catholic; but looked upon it as a mere artifice to establish himself in the Kingdom; and therefore thought it his duty, to be fully satisfied of his inward conversion, by further time and more certain proof and conviction, that he might not himself be the means of completing the destruction of religion by too precipitate a determination, and such a one as little became the dignity of his person, and the high opinion that the world had conceived of him. The power of the *Spaniards* likewise, who influenced the greater part of the Cardinals, and the obligations that the Pope himself lay under to that party, which had exalted him to the Papacy, necessitated him to shew them great deference: and besides these considerations, the temper of the court of *Rome*, which can never brook any thing

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thing that seems in the least prejudicial to the ecclesiastical authority and the majesty of the church; and above all, the King's ill success before *Raism*, which was then fresh in every one's mind; and much exaggerated by common fame, made that juncture very improper and by no means convenient for such a treaty. And the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had given *Villeroy* some reason to make him persuade the King that he would promote his reconciliation with the Pope, thinking it as lawful for him to deceive his enemy, as it had been for his enemy to break his word with him, and to divulge the secret of that treaty which had been proposed in confidence of privacy; and being now in greater hopes than ever of succeeding in his first designs, did all that was in his power, both by word and deed, to frustrate the treaty that was to be proposed for such a reconciliation, by means of *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, his agents at that court. The Pope, therefore, being resolved not to give any occasion of scandal in the very beginning of his Pontificate, and finding things in such a situation that he could not lend an ear to what was proposed, consistently with the security of religion, and the honour of the Apostolick See, after he had given his reasons to the *Venitian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, immediately wrote to the Legate to order Cardinal *Gondi* not to stir out of *France*. But these orders did not arrive before he set out: so that, when his Holiness afterwards heard that he had already passed the mountains, he dispatched Father *Alessandro Franceschi* of the order of the *Predicants*, and one of his Chaplains, to meet him, and to forbid him, in his name, to proceed any further: for he was determined, as that Cardinal was suspected of favouring hereticks, neither to hear what he had to say, nor so much as to see him. He likewise ordered his Nuncio at *Venice* to tell the Marquis *De Pisani*, in a peremptory manner, that, as he was accused of heresy, and had not only followed, but borne arms and fought for an heretick, he must not, upon any account, presume to come into the territories of the church, for if he did, he should be forced to proceed against him in another manner. The Cardinal, who was then at *Ambrogiana*, a place near *Florence* belonging to the Grand Duke, was not at all intimidated by so resolute a prohibition from the Pope, but desired the Friar to give it him at large in writing, and dispatched his Secretary with him to *Rome*, to clear himself of those things that were laid to his charge. For which purpose, he represented to his Holiness, "That, from the beginning, he had not been willing to subscribe to the League, as he was solicited, because he both saw with his own eyes, and was fully convinced by long acquaintance with the affairs of *France*, that union was not set on foot out of any true zeal or sincere regard for religion, but for a cloak to the ambition of certain great men, and to cover some state views, to which it was by no means becoming

becoming him, as an ecclesiastick, to give his assent, nor to make himself a tool to other men's passions and private interests. That he had excused himself for such a manner of proceeding to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, who, being made acquainted with the truth of the matter, had looked upon his behaviour with a favourable eye. That if he had treated with the King of *Navarre* during the siege of *Paris*, to deliver that city from the extremity of famine, it was by the consent and approbation of the Apostolick Legate: and that if he had lately treated personally with the King himself, he had done it, that he might not expose himself to the danger of being made a prisoner in his journey, and of being afterwards compelled to meet and treat with him by force, to the great discredit and diminution of his dignity. That he had obeyed the orders which the Legate *Sega* had sent after him to the confines of *Lorraine*, by which he was given to understand, that if his business was to carry on any negotiation in favour of hereticks, or of the King of *Navarre*, he must not make his appearance at *Rome*: but, as he had no such intention, he had ventured to pursue his journey. That he could not help being surprized that his Holiness should deny him leave to come and prostrate himself at his feet, and to render him due obedience, where, if he was guilty, he might not only rebuke, but punish him. That he was ready to give a true and particular account of his actions, and if he should be found culpable, he would willingly submit to undergo such chastisement as he deserved. That his intention in coming to *Rome*, was to inform his Holiness of the miserable situation of affairs in *France*, which perhaps, had not been truly represented to him. That as a Prelate and Bishop of that kingdom, and as a Cardinal, he was come to let him know there were above forty Bishopricks vacant, the revenues of which were enjoyed by women, courtiers, soldiers, and other persons of different occupations; and that in the mean time the poor sheep were scattered and without a shepherd. That he thought it his duty to represent to his Holiness, that the Curates of parishes, Priests, and other Clergymen, having abandoned their proper function and the care of souls, had taken up the profession of arms, and dipped their hands in blood. That his conscience would reproach him, if he did not acquaint him with the danger that so noble and so large a kingdom was in of becoming totally schismatical, except proper measures were taken for the union and preservation of it. That he hoped this would shew him to be a good Christian, and a good Catholick, and neither an heretick, nor a favourer or promoter of heresy. That if his Holiness had been pleased to hear his opinion concerning the discords and calamities of *France*, he would freely have told it him, and submitted it entirely to his most wise and pious determination: but if he enjoined him silence, he would hold his

1592. tongue, since, for his part, when he had once discharged his conscience, he did not intend to proceed any further."

These representations, strongly enforced by the Secretary, after he had been introduced by the *Florentine* Ambassador, made so deep an impression upon the Pope, who saw clearer into many particulars from this information and the concurrent report of the *Venetian* Ambassador, that he was confirmed in his hopes, that he should either be able to raise some Catholick Prince of the Blood to the Crown by general consent, or, perhaps, that he should one day see the King of *Navarre* sincerely reconciled to the Church, and all the discords of *France*, by that means, composed, to the honour of the Apostolick See, and the re-establishment of all orders of the kingdom in peace and security. But as this prospect was yet dim and obscure, from the uncertainty of future events, and he did not think it prudent either to precipitate the natural course of things, or utterly to forsake the League (which, if it answered no other end, might at least serve as a necessary spur to quicken the King's conversion) he resolved to keep up the same appearance for a while that he had set out with at first, and in the mean time to promote his secret designs with all the patience and address that he was master of. And though he declared to the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, in a short instrument which was published in print, that he ardently desired to have a Catholick, and an enemy to heresy, elected King, and could not bear to think that a person, who still persevered in his errors, should be suffered to wear the Crown, and for that reason also seemed to wish for an assembly of the States to bring about so necessary an election: yet he dispatched his nephew the Prothonotary *Agucchi* to the Legate himself, with secret instructions to behave himself with the utmost caution and prudence, and, if such an Assembly should be convened, not to suffer the members either to be forced or corrupted, but to endeavour that every man's choice should be free and his vote disinterested. That he should not, by any means, concur in the election of a King who was more likely to enflame discords than to put an end to them. That he should try to prevent injustice from being done to any one: and that such a course might be taken, as seemed likely to produce peace in the most natural and secure manner, and with as little innovation as possible. That he should not be over scrupulous, but give way, as far as was consistent with his honour, to the times, and circumstances of affairs: and that, provided religion could be sufficiently secured, he should postpone many other considerations in the order and manner of treating. Wishing him, in the last place, to remember, that this was an affair of so great importance, that it could not be too maturely weighed, nor too carefully attended to: and that, therefore, he ought to beware of hasty determinations and specious counsels, and to make the salvation

salvation of souls, and the due service of God, his principal and indeed his only end. His Holiness, considering the prudence of the Legate, thought these instructions sufficient, without explaining himself any further, to induce him to promote moderation in the proceedings of the States, and to make him understand, that he would not have him concur with them in electing a King that was a foreigner, since longer and more destructive wars than had ever been before, must necessarily ensue about his establishment: but that it would be much more salutary and expedient, if he could either set up some other King of the house of *Bourbon*, or compose the differences with the King of *Navarre*, to the honour of the Apostolick See, and with security to religion. But the Legate, giving himself wholly up to the guidance of the *Spaniards*, by whom he hoped to be exalted to the Papal dignity (as he thought it was probable he might succeed to it by the favour and assistance of his Catholick Majesty, added to the weight of his own merits) and having already contracted a partiality to the League, and an aversion to the King, by his long residence in *France* and intimacy with the *Parisians*, was either so blinded by affection that he could not, or so determined by his own interests, that he would not, understand the Pope's meaning, and therefore endeavoured, with all his power, to advance the designs of the *Spaniards*.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having been in some measure informed of the nature of the Pope's instructions, by his Secretary *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, imagined his Holiness was inclined to favour him, and that the clause of causing a Catholick King to be elected, who should be a defender of the church, and an enemy to hereticks, but such a one as might be established with general approbation, and without occasioning further discords, to the utter subversion of the state, was pointed immediately at his person: and was, therefore, in great hopes that he should have the Pope's interest, and consequently that of the Legate, and that they would neither of them encourage the attempts of the *Spaniards*. So that he disengaged himself from all treaties of peace, and turned his thoughts wholly upon convening such an Assembly of the States as might effectually promote his interests and secure his establishment. For this purpose, he had taken the utmost pains to have such Deputies elected as were not corrupted with the gold or promises of the *Spanish* Ministers, but entirely dependent upon himself: and, where that could not be done, he prevailed that men of good understanding, at least, should be returned, who wished well to their country, and had the good of the publick at heart, in hopes that such men would hardly submit to a foreign King, and one that was not of the *French* blood. The place where this assembly should be held, still re-

1592. mained to be considered of: and the *Spaniards*, who designed, when it was convened, to recall the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, that he might be near at hand to controll the States, and to support his Catholick Majesty's pretensions, were very desirous to have it at the city of *Soissons*. The Duke of *Lorraine* proposed the city of *Rheims*, as nearest to him, which the *Spaniards* were not much averse to. But President *Jeannine* and the *Sieur De Villeroy* advised the Duke of *Mayenne* to call them together at *Paris*, without regard to the length of the journey, the danger of the Deputies, or to the scarcity and dearth of provisions, in order to gratify the *Parisians*, who were very earnest to have it so, and ought to be humoured and taken notice of, after so many calamities, to keep them steady and firm in their attachment to him: and likewise, to give greater dignity to the Assembly, and make it more respectable by the quality of the place, and not to expose the cities of *Rheims* or *Soissons* to danger. For they considered, that if the Duke of *Parma* came thither with a powerful army, as usual, he might easily force the States to a compliance with his will, and make himself master of those places: which he could not well do at *Paris*, on account of its strength, the number of the inhabitants, and because it was further from the frontiers, and surrounded on every side with fortresses strongly garrisoned, from whence forces might be speedily called together upon all occasions, to oppose any violence that should be offered either to the city or the States. Besides, the city was better affected to him than ever it had been before: for the pernicious power of the *Sixteen* being reduced, the government of it was lodged in the hands of the wonted magistrates, who had been elected with great care by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself: and now those incendiaries were curbed, the people were quiet, and no longer disposed to raise those insurrections which threw every thing into disorder, and had so much embarrassed his affairs: to all which arguments, they added, that the Parliament, residing at that city, might be of great service either in promoting or preventing many practices, as it suited his convenience.

This resolution was so disagreeable to the *Spanish* Ministers, that they vehemently opposed it at first, representing the necessity of the Duke of *Parma's* presence, who could not advance so far into the kingdom, nor withdraw himself to such a distance from the frontiers; and pretending that the great number of the Deputies would increase the dearth and sufferings of the *Parisians*. But the objection concerning the Duke of *Parma* was removed by his death; and the other, relating to the interests of the *Parisians*, was dropped: for they themselves desired the *Spaniards* not to raise any difficulties, as they thought it would be for their profit and advantage, and much more for their honour and reputation, that so august an Assembly should meet in their city, and that they should be admitted

mitted to assist at it. The Cardinal Legate also assented to it, not only to prevent the expence and inconveniency of a fresh journey, but because he thought he could oblige the States, by the ardour of the *Parisians*, to chuse such a King as should give the greatest satisfaction to the Apostolick See, and be most likely to advance the designs of his Catholick Majesty. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, having left the command of the army to the *Sieur De Rhosne*, whom he had created Marshal and Governor of the Isle of *France*, went directly to *Paris* with a small retinue, and there endeavoured to comfort the people in their scarcity of provisions, and the interruption of commerce in the city, by his presence and exhortations to patience; assuring them, that, within a few days, there should be proper measures taken by the Assembly to set the city at full liberty, and to relieve it in it's present distress; making large promises, and shewing great respect and kindness to every one, especially the Preachers and Magistrates of the city, to gain the good-will and affections of the people, which he was afraid he had totally lost by his late severity.

It was not without great reason that the Duke of *Mayenne* hoped at last to transfer the Crown upon himself and his posterity: for considering the present situation of affairs with due attention, it was evident, that neither the union of the Crowns, nor the election of the Infanta *Isabella* (points laboured by the *Spaniards*) would ever be borne by the *French*, who could never be prevailed upon, by any kind of interest or practices whatsoever, to submit to the dominion of their natural enemies. And though some particular men, who had been corrupted either with money, or the promises of honours and employments, should be content, yet the generality of the people, who had the greatest weight, would never be persuaded to it. So that, when these pretensions were quashed and fallen to the ground, he thought (and very reasonably too) that the King of *Spain* would more willingly consent to his election, than to that of any other person. For if either the Duke of *Lorraine* or the Duke of *Savoy* should be elected (as it was commonly given out they would be) by the party they should make, new States and fresh power would be added to the Crown of *France*, with which augmentation, it was not likely the King of *Spain* would be much pleased, but rather that he would desire it should decrease in strength and grandeur. He did not see that his Catholick Majesty could expect to reap greater advantage from his past labours and expences, than by chusing him, who, standing in need of his assistance to establish himself in the kingdom, must necessarily be obliged to gratify him, and condescend to many things, which the rest, perhaps, would not so easily submit to. He had the same opinion of the Pope; who being a very disinterested man, and a friend to moderation,

1592. ration, as he fully shewed, would be desirous to have him chosen rather than any other, as a recompence for his great labours, when he considered that he alone had supported the Catholick party and the cause of religion, which no body else had sufficient power or abilities to have done. He saw that the *French* in general were disposed to favour him, on account of his weight in the party, of which he had been so long the chief: and because there was no other difference but the title, betwixt the dignity and office that he now possessed, and the full power of a King, as he already had the whole administration of affairs, by being Lieutenant of the Crown: that not one of the rest of his family could pretend to compare with him, either for valour, merit, experience or authority; and that the shadow of his power alone was sufficient to terrify and put them in confusion. To this might be added, the care that had been taken to return such Deputies as were in his interest, the favour of the *Parisian* Parliament, lately restored by him to it's ancient power and authority, by the punishment of *the Sixteen*, the dependence of the Council of State upon him, and the necessary address in conducting this design, in all which requisites the rest of his competitors were manifestly inferior to him.

This was likewise the opinion of the Duke of *Parma*, who (after his advice of endeavouring to overcome all difficulties by patience and protracting the war, was no longer regarded at the court of *Spain*) thought the election of the Duke of *Mayenne* would be of more service to his Catholick Majesty's interests than that of any other man, as he might be established with greater facility, less expence, and upon more advantageous conditions, upon which account, he wrote with great freedom into *Spain* to propose it; and it appeared that he was inclined to have favoured his designs in the course of this affair, either because he thought it for the advantage of the King of *Spain*, as he demonstrated, or (as the other Ministers said) was jealous that the *Spanish* Monarchy would become so formidable, if the two Crowns were united, that there would not be any other power in *Christendom* able to balance or oppose it. But his death, which happened on the second of *December* at the city of *Arras*, after a long and painful illness, gave a new turn to affairs, much to the advantage of his Catholick Majesty (as the *Spaniards* then said) but in reality, as it soon appeared by the consequences, to his manifest prejudice. For the reputation of his arms now ceasing, which had kept the *French* in a sort of obedience, they paid but little regard to the other *Spanish* Commanders and Ministers. Nor were the Ministers themselves by any means equal to him either in prudence or authority: and as they had opinions and conceits of their own, very different from those wise maxims, by which he had till then so prosperously conducted the undertaking, they afterwards

afterwards proceeded with such precipitation, that they soon changed the face of his Catholick Majesty's affairs. The Duke of *Mayenne* also lost much of his hopes after the death of this commander: and seeing the other Ministers, particularly *Diego d'Ivarra*, utterly averse to his designs, he began to fear he should be obliged to take another course, and resolved to manage his affairs himself, and with more caution and reserve than he had done before. However, the assembling of the States was so far advanced, that it could be deferred no longer, and it was necessary to call them together, to prevent an absolute breach with the *Spaniards*, and to satisfy the Pope; but chiefly because the Deputies were already elected, and many of them upon their road to *Paris*.

Such were the principal events of the year 1592, during the course of which, many other occurrences also happened, with various success to both parties, in different parts of the kingdom. Monsieur *De la Valette*, Governor of *Provence*, had laid siege, in the beginning of the year, to *Rochebrune*, a town in that province held by the Duke of *Savoy*: and after he had battered it many days to no purpose, being resolved to remove his artillery and plant it in another place, where he found the walls were weaker, and it would be more easy to advance to the assault, he began to throw up new trenches and to plant his cannon there: but whilst he himself was labouring at the works to finish them with the greater expedition, he received a musket-ball in the head, and was carried into his tent, where he died in a few hours. A cavalier indeed, of excellent endowments of mind, approved valour, and an undaunted spirit, and who, with a handful of men, had, to his great reputation, made head against the whole power of the Duke of *Savoy*, without sustaining any loss. When he was dead, *Provence* being left without a Governor on behalf of the King, *Les Diguieres*, who was always very active upon such exigencies, left the care of *Dauphiné* to Colonel *Ornano*, and hastened thither himself with his usual diligence; and having joined his own forces with those of that province, made himself master of all the towns and castles upon the banks of the river *Var*, which divides *Italy* from *France*, with surprising rapidity. After which, he suddenly passed the river and demolished the fortifications which the Duke had raised on that side to prevent any incursions into his territories, and plundered all the country to the very walls of *Nice*, to the infinite terror of the inhabitants: and having repassed the river, began, with the same good fortune, to reduce the neighbouring fortresses. But he did not think proper to make any attempt upon *Aix*, *Marseilles*, or the principal cities, because he neither had a sufficient army, nor had made other necessary provisions for such undertakings.

In the mean time, whilst he was in *Provence*, the King's affairs suffered exceed-

1592. exceedingly in *Dauphinè*. For Monsieur *De Maugiron*, Governor of *Valence* (whatsoever might be the occasion) agreed to deliver that city into the hands of the Duke of *Nemours* and his brother the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, Governor for the League in those parts: which being executed without any interruption, the Duke of *Nemours*, resolved to pursue his good fortune, besieged and took *St. Marcellin*, and after that many other places, which being well fortified, had prevented the forces of the League from joining the Duke of *Savoy* on that side. *Les Diguieres*, therefore, being obliged, by this diversion, to quit *Provence*, left the field open to the Duke of *Savoy*, who having passed the *Var*, and recovered all the places that had been taken from him, advanced to lay siege to *Antibe*, a town upon the sea-coast, of great importance for the commodiousness of the port; which he took at last, though it cost him much time, and was attended with a great deal of difficulty.

But *Les Diguieres* returning out of *Dauphine*, drew him out of *Provence* by diversion, as he himself had been served before by the Duke of *Nemours*. For after he had got a body of forces together, rather well disciplined and experienced than numerous, he resolved to pass the *Alpes* and carry the war into *Piedmont*: and having crossed mount *Genevra*, the pass by which armies generally march to that side of the mountains, he extended himself along the valley of *Perouse* and the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, with so much devastation and terror to the people, that the Duke left the care of *Provence* to Count *Francisco Martinengo*, and was forced to come to prevent the destruction of his own country. The nature of the place, which was steep and mountainous, full of craggs and cliffs, and surrounded by the *Alpes*, at a season too when winter was already coming on in those parts (for it was about the end of *September*) prevented the progress of their arms, and would not suffer them to face each other with all their forces. And yet the *French* took *Perouse* and the tower of *Luserne*, and advanced as far as *Briqueras*; and having received intelligence that the Duke's commanders had assembled part of their army at *Vigone*, resolved to attack the camp before all their forces were drawn together. For which purpose, after they had marched all night, on the 4th of *October*, in the morning, they made a sudden assault upon the town; where, from the nature of the situation, and the obstinate resistance of those within it, the dispute was long and dangerous. But the *Savoyards* being few, and the place not very strong of itself, they were at last defeated, six hundred men slain, many commanders and ten pair of colours taken: and the *French* returning victorious to *Briqueras*, began to fortify that place with the utmost diligence, which being made defensible, by forcing all the men in the neighbouring country to work, they left a good garrison in it, and advanced toward *Saluzzo* (at a time when

the Duke was already come with his whole army to *Villa Franca*) and having no other enterprize of greater importance to go upon, they resolved to besiege *Cavors*, a place in the mountains, defended by a very strong tower just above it. But whilst they were endeavouring to make their approaches to it with great art and diligence, and to plant their artillery, the Duke took another road, and marched in the night to make an assault upon *Briqueras*, imagining, that, as the works could hardly be finished, it would be no difficult matter to take it from the enemy, and when that was done, they would be surrounded in such a manner, that they might easily be defeated in the narrow defiles of that valley. But he met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected: so that after a very fierce assault, which lasted four hours, he resolved to retire, as he knew the *French* were so near, that it could not be long before they would come to relieve their men; which indeed proved true: for Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, leaving the place besieged, which was but small, and might be blocked up by a few of his forces, went with the rest of the army whither he was guided by the report of the firing, which echoed through the vallies and mountains. But finding the Duke was gone from *Briqueras*, he resolved to pursue him as fast as he could: and having overtaken his rear guard near a village, as they were passing a rivulet, he attacked it with such violence, that he put the last squadrons of the cavalry in disorder. The rest of the army made a halt, and maintained a furious skirmish for many hours; till, being quite tired out and the night coming on, the Duke retreated to *Vigone*, and *Les Diguieres* returned to *Cavors*, where the tower and castle were so demolished by the battery, that it at last surrendered. After which, having over-run and plundered those vallies, and being hindered by the snow and the severity of the weather from proceeding to other enterprizes, he marched back into *Dauphiné* about the end of *December*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Espernon* was come into *Provence*, upon the news of his brother's death. For being desirous to keep the government of it (given him by King *Henry* the third) in which he had substituted the late Monsieur *De Valette*, he marched thither with all his forces, and without much difficulty recovered *Antibe*, and made himself master of all the towns as far as the *Var*, which were so weak, that they fell a prey sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. And though there were many in the province, even of those that were of the King's party, who did not follow him, yet he trusted to the forces which he had brought with him, and exerted his utmost endeavours to reduce all the towns to obey and acknowledge him as their lawful Governor.

The King's affairs succeeded very well also in the provinces of *Gascony*

1592. and *Languedoc*. For *Anthony Scipio*, Duke of *Joyeuse*, brother to *Anne*, who was slain in the battle of *Coutras*, and chief commander for the League in that province, having gained several victories, taken many places, and made his name formidable in those parts, had at last besieged *Villemur*, a fortress not far from *Montauban*, with a design, as soon as he had taken it and laid waste all the adjacent country, to straiten *Montauban* itself, the sure asylum, and, for many years past, the head quarters of the *Hugonots*. But the Duke of *Espernon* marching that way at the same time with his army to go into *Provence*, turned a little out of his way to relieve that place; upon which, *Joyeuse* knowing himself inferior in strength, quitted the siege, and resolved to take shelter in the towns that adhered to his party, till the Duke of *Espernon* should proceed in his march, when he thought he might venture to return to *Villemur*, and prosecute his design with more security.

There were only three hundred foot in *Villemur*, which was but a very weak garrison to sustain a vigorous siege. Monsieur *De Temines*, therefore, who was in *Montauban*, being determined not to suffer the besieged to perish without relief, went from thence with two hundred firelocks, an hundred and twenty cuirassiers, and a select number of Gentlemen, by a road that was not much frequented, and got through certain narrow and rugged defiles into the town, thinking it better, if possible, to prevent the taking of *Villemur*, than to be reduced, when it was lost, to the necessity of defending the walls of *Montauban*. But the Duke of *Joyeuse*, having taken the out-works and carried his approaches to the foss, planted eight pieces of cannon and began to batter the wall with great fury: and not failing in any thing that was the duty of a brave and vigilant commander, being abundantly supplied with every thing that was requisite for a siege from *Tholouse*, he distressed it to such a degree, that the danger was already very great, and a speedy resolution necessary, either to relieve the besieged, or to let them perish. Upon which, *Henry D'Anville*, Duke of *Montmarancy*, Governor for the King in that province, being resolved, if possible, to repel an attack that fell so immediately under his notice, gathered what forces he had together, and having called the *Noblesse* of *Auvergne* that were near at hand, to his assistance, dispatched Monsieur *De Lecques* and the Sieurs *De Chambaut* and *Montoisson*, with orders to attempt either to raise the siege, or to relieve the town effectually some other way. In the mean time the Duke of *Joyeuse*, having been informed of their rendezvous at *Bellegarde*, left his infantry to continue the siege, whilst he himself with the cavalry and a body of harquebusiers, boldly marched to attack them, which he did with so much impetuosity, that he put them in some disorder. But *Lecques* having caused two culverines and two other smaller pieces, which he had taken

taken out of *Montauban*, to fire upon them, gave such a check to the fury of the assailants, that they retired at last, without gaining any further advantage: and the Duke of *Joyeuse* returned to his former post, where he continued the siege with so much security and contempt of the enemy, that he quartered his cavalry in separate parties through the neighbouring villages, for the greater convenience of provender in that barren country. But the Viscount *De Gordon* coming to the assistance of the King's party, they were so encouraged by that reinforcement (for they had then eighteen hundred horse and almost four thousand foot) that they resolved to fall suddenly upon the Duke's trenches, imagining, that if the besieged (as they flattered themselves, from the valour of Monsieur *De Temines*) should sally out upon them on the other side, at the same time, they might easily force the trenches and throw relief into the place. With this design, on the 19th of *December* at night, they entered a large wood, which extends itself almost to *Villemur*, and came so unexpectedly the next morning, to attack the Duke of *Joyeuse's* camp, that they got into the first trench before the guards, who were very remiss in their duty, had time to snatch up their arms. The Duke, having received notice of the enemy's arrival and the flight of his guards, sent two hundred harquebusiers on horseback to keep the enemy in play, and made a signal, by firing three cannon, for his cavalry to hasten to the camp, whilst he himself stood ready with his forces in battalia betwixt the first and second trenches, to receive the Royalists, who being animated by so prosperous a beginning, made a fierce attack upon them, which was no less resolutely sustained. The fortune of the day continued very doubtful for the space of an hour and an half: but in the mean time, Monsieur *De Temines*, with the greater part of the garrison, sallying out of the town, fell upon the rear of the Duke's main body, which made but a feeble resistance. So that his infantry not being able any longer to sustain so furious an attack on both sides, took to flight, and ran as fast as they could to pass a bridge of boats, which they had thrown over the river *Tar* for the convenience of their camp: but the bridge was so weak, and the crowd so great, that it broke under their weight, and the men who had got upon it were all miserably drowned: The Duke, who, out of haste, had mounted a common horse, after he had done every thing that a good commander could do to stop his men, retreated with a few Gentlemen, still fighting, till he came to the bank of the river, where he found the bridge already broken down and his men drowned; so that he was reduced to a necessity of attempting to swim his horse over, which being a very weak one, was carried away by the stream, and he perished in the same unfortunate manner that his men had done. During this interval the cavalry had got together, upon the signal that was made; but their General being dead and all their trenches taken, they

1592. endeavoured to cover the remainder of those that were flying, and retired without offering to molest the enemy. The camp of the League being thus dispersed with the loss of a thousand men, two and twenty ensigns, and all their artillery, *Villemur* was delivered from the siege, and the King's forces became much superior to the enemy in that province.

Very different was the success of his arms in *Bretagne*. The Prince of *Conti*, commander in chief of the armies in *Poitou* and the territory of *Maine*, had joined the Prince of *Dombes*, Governor of *Bretagne*, for the defence of the King's party there, and with a resolution to besiege *Craon*, a large strong town upon the frontiers of *Bretagne*, in which there was a very numerous garrison that over-ran and plundered all the country round. As soon, therefore, as they had gathered their forces together, they began upon this undertaking, one on one side, and the other on the other side of the river, which runs through the middle of the city and divides it into two parts. But as it commonly happens in armies where more Generals than one command, that things go on not only heavily, but with confusion and disorder, the siege, which was very hopefully begun, was protracted so long, that the Duke of *Merceur* had time to draw his forces together to relieve that place, as he much desired. For which purpose, he sent for the *Spaniards* from *Blavet*, and having likewise raised two thousand *Breton* firelocks, and assembled all his horse and the *Noblesse* of the country, he marched with all expedition towards *Craon*, though not till the Prince of *Conti* had drawn the water out of the moat on his side, and the Prince of *Dombes* was battering it so furiously on the other, that the besieged were apprehensive they should not be able to sustain the first assault. Upon his approach, the Princes, not thinking it safe that their armies should lie divided with the river betwixt them, resolved that the Prince of *Dombes* should repass it and join the Prince of *Conti* in his quarters, which was done before the arrival of the enemy: but with so little foresight and consideration, that, either for the convenience of repassing the river upon occasion, or out of downright carelessness and neglect, or for some other reason, they left the bridge standing and very weakly guarded, which they had thrown over the river upon boats about a league below the town. When the Prince had passed over and the armies were re-united, in order to free themselves from the incumbrance of their heavy cannon, they immediately drew them off from the place where they were planted, and sent them before to *Chasteau-Gontier*, whither they designed to retire: and their large shot, which were so many, that they could not carry them away in their haste, they buried in different places, to save them from the enemy. But the Duke *De Merceur*, who, finding the bridge entire, had presently passed the river without any opposition, marched forwards in good order, and advanced with

with such speed, that the Princes had hardly raised their camp, and drawn up the army in battalia to march away, when the *Sieur De Bois-dauphin*, who led the vanguard of the League, appeared in the field, and detached his light horse to skirmish with them. Many of the most experienced commanders, and particularly *Charles* of *Montmorancy*, Lord *D'Arville*, opposed the resolution of retiring in fight of the enemy, insisting that there was no example of any army having ever done so, without paying dear for it: as those that retired must naturally be in some apprehension and confusion, which would encourage the others to advance with more courage and impetuosity: for which reason they were of opinion, that it would be better to stand firm in the post where they were, and, if they had time, to throw up a trench in the front of their army, and there resolutely to receive the attack: and that they ought to send for their artillery back again, which was not got far on the road, and make a brisk fire upon the enemy. The Prince of *Dombes* in a great measure assented to this advice; but the Prince of *Conti*, who was his superior both in years and authority, and commanded in chief, because he was upon the confines of his own government, sent him orders to hold himself in readiness, to retire in the manner which he had already determined upon, alledging, that the enemy was so much stronger than him, that he could not think of exposing that army and all the neighbouring countries to so manifest a danger. In consequence of this resolution he ordered the vanguard to file off, under the command of *Hercules de Roban*, Duke of *Montbazon*, and followed him with the main battle, which he conducted himself, leaving orders for the Prince of *Dombes* to bring up the rear with as much expedition as possible. But he being pursued close at the heels by the enemy's cavalry (for not only their vanguard pressed hard upon him, but the Duke of *Merceur*, with his whole army, had also overtaken him) was obliged to make a stand and face about to oppose the enemy, whose fury he withstood for a little while, till, being in a manner surrounded, and deserted by most of his men, after he had given the highest proofs of his valour and resolution, he was at last forced to retire and leave the passage open to the enemy, who, pursuing their good fortune, fell with such fury upon the infantry, whilst they were disordered and embarrassed in their retreat by the narrowness of the roads, that without making any sort of defence, they were presently either dispersed or cut to pieces by the light horse and the *Spanish* foot, who made a terrible slaughter amongst them. The Prince of *Conti*, without ever turning his face, arrived with his cavalry entire at *Chateau-Gontier* in the evening, where he was soon after joined by the Prince of *Dombes* with no more than eleven horse. The artillery, which was left upon the road by those that had the charge of conducting it, fell wholly into the enemy's hands.

1592. hands, and the Gentlemen that followed the camp^d separated themselves — when they were got out of the enemy's reach, every one retiring to live in peace at his own house. This defeat, which happened on the 23d of May, so much weakened the King's forces in those parts, that not only *Chasteau-Gontier* was quitted by the Princes, who retired further into the country, but *Mayenne* and *Laval* also, with all the neighbouring places, fell into the hands of the League. The Prince of *Conti* retired into the territory of *Maine*, and the Prince of *Dombes* returned by a different rout to *Rennes*; and the *English*, all disarmed and covered with wounds, got into the suburbs of *Vitré*, leaving the possession of the field, for many days, to the Duke of *Merçœur*.

The Marshal *D'Aumont* was already appointed Governor of *Bretagne* by the King. For the Prince (whom we shall henceforth call the Duke of *Montpensier*) had now succeeded his father in the government of *Normandy*, and had deputed *Francis d'Espinau* to be his Lieutenant there, a man, who by the sprightliness of his wit, the ornaments of learning, and his valour in arms, had acquired a very great reputation. These two having gathered forces together from all parts, and raised a body of foot in the country round *Brouage*, of which place *St. Luc* was Governor, hastened their march as much as possible, because the Duke of *Merçœur* had taken the castle of *Mal-estroit*, and was making preparations to besiege *Vitré*, a town of so much importance, that the success of the King's affairs in those parts chiefly depended upon its security and preservation. The King's commanders, therefore, after they had assembled their forces, at their first arrival laid siege to *Mayenne*, a city rather large than strong, and having made themselves masters of it upon terms, were in doubt whether they should advance to meet the Duke of *Merçœur*, or stay to make an attempt upon *Rochefort*, a town of very great strength, which incommoded all the places thereabout, and particularly the city of *Angiers*. At last, however, at the importunity of the people, and of the Gentlemen that followed them, they resolved to use their endeavours to reduce that place: but the undertaking proved so difficult, as it was defended by the *Sieur De St. Offange*, that after they had fired two thousand five hundred cannon-shot against it, and lost not only much time, but the best soldiers in their army, they were forced to raise the siege by the setting in of the autumnal rains, and the approach of the Duke of *Merçœur* with succours. But the Duke having kept them in suspense by taking several different routs, and making a feint of turning sometimes to one place and sometimes to another, came suddenly before *Quintin*, where seven hundred *Germans* had got together, who were under the command of the Duke of *Montpensier* in those parts: and finding them unprovided with such things as were necessary to make a defence, he forced

forced them to capitulate, upon express conditions that they should go out of the province, and not bear arms any more against him; terms that were of great prejudice to the King's affairs, for he had no other body of foot that was bolder, or more experienced, or better disciplined than they were. 1592.

The loss of the King's party was augmented by the defeat of the *English*, who being visited by grievous distempers (to which they are very subject) and now reduced very low, had obtained leave of the Duke of *Montpensier* to go to *Danfront* in *Lower Normandy* for change of air, and to recover their strength by rest: but being attacked upon their march thither by the *Sieur De Bois-dauphin*, with the garrisons of *Laval*, *Craon*, *Fougeres*, and other neighbouring places, so many of them were killed, that hardly two hundred were left alive out of so great a number.

On the other hand, the affairs of the League succeeded but ill in *Lorraine*. For the Duke of *Boüillon* having taken *Stenay*, and made himself master of some places of less consequence, at last marched to relieve *Beaumont*, a town that was besieged by Monsieur *De Amblise* the Duke of *Lorraine's* General; where the two armies came to a close engagement, and the *Lorrainers* were utterly routed, with the loss of their trenches and artillery. After which action, the Duke of *Boüillon* took *Dun* on a sudden, by fastening a petard to one of the gates of that place, and over-run all the country without opposition, throwing the forces of the League into very great confusion.

In this situation of affairs began the year one thousand five hundred and ninetythree, both parties being, in general, more inclined to an accommodation than to prosecute the war. The first thing that occurred worthy of notice, in the beginning of this year, was the Duke of *Mayenne's* declaration, (for though it had been drawn up in the *December* before, it was not published till the fifth of *January*) in which he set forth his intention in assembling the States of his party, intreating and exhorting the *Catholicks* that followed the King, to unite themselves with him for the same end, and to take proper measures for the peace and preservation of the kingdom. The tenour of it was as follows. 1593.

“ CHARLES of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, to whomsoever these presents shall come, greeting.

“ The inviolable regard which this kingdom has shewn in all ages to piety and religion, has caused it to flourish above all others in *Christendom*, and our Kings to be honoured with the name of *Most Christian* and, *Eldest Sons of the Church*: some of them having passed the seas and gone as far as the utmost bounds of the earth with powerful armies to make war

1593. war against the *Infidels*, in order to obtain those glorious titles; and others of them fought against such as endeavoured to introduce new sects and errors, contrary to the faith and belief of their forefathers. In all which expeditions, they were constantly attended by the Nobility, who voluntarily exposed their lives and fortunes to all dangers, to have a share in that only true and solid glory of having assisted to preserve religion in their own country, or to establish it in places far remote, where the name and worship of our Lord was not yet known: from whence the fame of the valour and zeal of the whole nation is not only celebrated in all parts, but has excited other Potentates to follow the example, in the honour and danger of such worthy undertakings, and so laudable achievements. Ever since that first ardour, the holy intentions of our Kings and of their subjects have not been at all cooled or changed, till these last days, when heresy has been secretly introduced into this kingdom, and increased in such a manner, by means which every one is acquainted with, that there is no longer any occasion to inform the world, that we are at last fallen into so lamentable a condition, that the Catholicks themselves, whom the unity of the church ought to keep inseparably joined together, have, by a new and unheard of example, taken arms against each other, and disunited themselves instead of combining for the defence of their religion, which, we judge, has been effected by the wicked impressions and wonted artifices that hereticks have made use of to persuade them, that this war is not undertaken for the sake of religion, but to destroy and usurp the State: though it is most certain we have been induced to take arms by so just a concern, or rather compelled by so urgent a necessity, that the cause thereof cannot be ascribed to any other but the authors of the most wicked, disloyal, and pernicious counsel that ever was given to a Prince: and though the King's death happened by a stroke from Heaven, and by the hand of one man alone, without any instigation, or even so much as the privy of those that had but too much cause to desire it: and notwithstanding we had fully shewn, that our ultimate aim and desire was only to preserve the State, and to observe the laws of the Realm, by acknowledging the Cardinal of *Bourbon* as King, who was the nearest and first Prince of the Blood, and declared so to be in the life-time of the late King, by his letters patent registered in all the Parliaments, and as such designed to be his successor, in case he should die without male issue, which obliged us to confer that honour upon him, and to yield him all manner of obedience, fidelity, and service, as our intention was to have done if it had pleased God to deliver him out of the captivity he was in: and if the King of *Navarre*, from whom alone he could expect that happiness, had been pleased, to oblige the whole Catholick party, by setting him at liberty, by acknowledging him

him himself as King, and by staying till the course of nature had brought his days to an end, making use of that interval to cause himself to be instructed, and to be reconciled to the holy Church, he should have found all the Catholicks united and disposed to yield him the same obedience and fidelity, after the death of the King his uncle. But as he persevered in his errors, it was not possible for us to do that, consistently with our duty to the Apostolick *Roman* Church, which had excommunicated him, and deprived him of all the title he could pretend to the Crown: by so doing, we should likewise have broken and violated that ancient custom, so religiously observed for so many ages, and thro' a succession of so many Kings, from *Clovis* down to the present times, of not acknowledging or suffering any King to sit in the royal throne who was not a Catholick, an obedient son of the Church, and who had not solemnly promised and sworn at his consecration, and at his receiving the Crown and Sceptre, to live and die in it, to defend and maintain it, and to use his utmost endeavours to extirpate heresy; an oath that is the very first that is taken by our Kings, upon which that of obedience and fidelity in their subjects is wholly founded, and without which (so zealous were they for their religion) they would never have submitted to any Prince that pretended to be called to the Crown by the Laws. Which custom was judged so holy and necessary for the welfare of the kingdom, by the Assembly of the States held at *Blois* in the year 1566, when the Catholicks were not yet divided in the defence of their religion, that it was looked upon as the principal and fundamental law of the State: and it was ordained by the King's will and authority, that two of every order should be deputed and sent to the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, to represent to them from the States, the danger they exposed themselves to by forsaking the holy Church, and to exhort them to reconcile themselves to it, and to declare to them, that in case they did not, if ever it should chance to be their turn to succeed to the Crown, they should be perpetually excluded as incapable of any inheritance. Nor is the declaration, which was afterwards published at *Rouen* in the year 1588, and confirmed in the convention of the States last held at *Blois*, "That this antient law and custom should be inviolably observed as a fundamental law of the kingdom," any thing less than an express approbation of the judgment given upon that point by the preceding States, against which there can be no just objection that may in any wise serve to impeach or invalidate their opinion and authority. The late King, accordingly, received it for a law, and both promised and swore to observe it, in the house of God, and upon the precious body of our Saviour: as all the Deputies of the States likewise did in the last Assembly, not only before those tragical and inhuman murders, which made it for ever infamous, but afterwards also,

1593. when he no longer stood in any awe of those that were dead, and despised those that were left alive (whom he looked upon as utterly ruined and in despair) because he knew himself bound and obliged both by duty and interest, as all Sovereigns are, to obey and maintain the laws, which are the main pillars, or rather the foundations, of their state. The Catholicks of the Union, therefore, cannot, with any shew of justice, be blamed for following the decrees of the holy Church, the example of their ancestors, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, which require the profession of the Catholick faith in the Prince that aspires to the Crown by being next in blood, as a qualification essentially necessary to make him sovereign of a kingdom, that was gained to *Jesus Christ* by the power of the Gospel, which it received so many ages ago, and in the manner that it is still preached by the *Roman Catholick Apostolick Church*.

“ These reasons have induced us to hope (though some appearance of duty retained many Catholicks with the late King) that after his death, religion, which is the strongest tie of all others, would unite them all for the defence of that which ought to be more dear to them than life itself. We see nevertheless, it has happened quite otherwise, contrary to all human probability: for advantage was taken of that sudden event, to persuade them, that we were the authors of his death, though we never so much as thought of it: that honour obliged them to assist the King of *Navarre*, who gave out that he would revenge it, and promised them to turn Catholick in the space of six months: and when they were once embarked with him, the mutual injuries and provocions, which are the natural consequences of civil war, the prosperous success that he has met with, and the same calumnies that the hereticks have never ceased to publish against us, have effectually served to keep them so long attached to him, and have furnished the hereticks with means of strengthening themselves in such a manner, that religion and the state are in manifest danger thereby. And though we have long foreseen the evils which this division would occasion, that it would be the means of establishing heresy at the expence of the blood and arms of the Catholicks, and that this could only be prevented by our reconciliation, which we have sought with so much earnestness, on that consideration, yet it has never been in our power to effect it: the minds of men having been so transported and prepossessed by their passions, that we have hitherto been hindered from taking the only proper measures for our safety. We have often intreated them to enter into a conference with us, as we offered to do with them, that we might come to some joint resolution for that purpose. We have declared both to them and the King of *Navarre* himself, upon some proposals made for the re-establishment of peace in the kingdom, that if
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he would renounce his errors, and reconcile himself to the Church, to the Pope, and to the Holy See, by a true and unfeigned conversion, and by actions that might testify his affection for our religion, we, on our part, would most willingly and obediently do all that lay in our power to assist him in putting an end to our common miseries, and would proceed with such candour and sincerity, that no one should have the least reason to doubt, that such was our real intention. These overtures and declarations were made at such times as we were in the greatest prosperity, and able to have undertaken things of a much higher nature, if we had been so disposed, and had preferred such enterprizes to the good and tranquillity of the publick. To all which he answered (as it well known to every body) "That he would not be compelled by his subjects," giving the name of *Compulsion* to the intreaties that were made to him to return into the bosom of the Church, which he ought rather to have taken in good part, and as a wholesome admonition that represented his duty to him, to which the greatest Kings upon earth are no less obliged than the meanest of mankind: for when once a man has been initiated into the Christian religion by the true Church (as ours is, and whose authority we will not suffer to be disputed by any one, whosoever he may be) he cannot renounce it, any more than a soldier, that has been enlisted, can depart from the fidelity which he has promised and sworn, without being looked upon as a deserter and violater of the laws of God and the Church. He, likewise, added to the said answer, "That when once he should be obeyed and acknowledged by all his subjects, he would cause himself to be instructed by a free, general Council:" as if Councils were needful to refute an error so often condemned by the Church, and which had been so solemnly declared at *Trent*, which was as solemn and authentic a Council as any that hath been celebrated for many ages. And when God had permitted him to gain an advantage over us by a victory, the same intreaties were reiterated, not by us indeed, as we were not then in a condition to urge them, but by other persons of honour, who were sollicitous for the publick good and repose of the Kingdom. The same was also done, during the siege of *Paris*, by Prelates of great authority, who, moved by the sufferings of the besieged, took upon themselves to go to him, to see if they could find any remedy for their miseries: at which time if he had ever designed, or rather, if the Holy Ghost, without whose assistance no one can enter into his Church, had so disposed his heart, he might have given the Catholicks much better hopes of his conversion, who now are justly suspicious of so sudden a change, and jealous in a matter that so nearly concerns the honour of God and their own lives and consciences, which can never be secure under the domination of hereticks. But the hope which he had then conceived that he

1593. should be able to reduce *Paris*, and consequently to make himself master of all the rest of the kingdom by force and the terror of his arms, added to the resources which he expected to find in that city, induced him to reject the advice of reconciling himself to the Church, which might have united the Catholics and preserved religion. And after that city was delivered by the succour of the Princes and Lords, with a considerable body of the *Noblesse*, of the kingdom, and the army of his Catholick Majesty, who hath always supported this cause (for which we are under the highest obligations to him) by his forces under the command of the Duke of *Parma*, of happy memory, a Prince sufficiently known by his great merits and the reputation of his arms: even then he did not give up his hopes, as this foreign army left the kingdom as soon as it had raised the siege: but presently called his party together, and assembled a powerful army, with which he made himself master of the field, and then openly declared, without reserve, that he should deem it criminal in any one to petition him, or even to speak to him about his conversion, before they had acknowledged and taken the oath of obedience and fidelity to him: that we were obliged to lay down our arms, to present ourselves before him in that naked and defenceless condition, to supplicate him, and to give him absolute power over our lives and fortunes, and over religion itself, to use or abuse it as he pleased, after it was brought into such dangerous circumstances by our own servility and meanness of spirit. Whereas by the authority and means of the Holy See, the help of his Catholick Majesty, and other potentates, who favour and assist this cause, we have always entertained good hopes, that God would be so merciful to us as to support it: all which Princes would have given themselves no further trouble about our affairs, if we had once acknowledged him: and this quarrel concerning religion would have been wholly decided, with too manifest an advantage to hereticks, betwixt him (the head and protector of heresy, armed with our obedience and all the forces of the kingdom) and us, who would have had nothing left to resist him, but bare and ineffectual supplications, addressed to a Prince more desirous to hear than to grant them.

But how unreasonable soever this expectation may be, and though the complying with it is the sure way to subvert religion, yet, amongst those Catholics that adhered to him, many have suffered themselves to be persuaded, that it is rebellion to oppose him, and that we ought rather to obey his commands, and the laws of that new and temporal polity which he would establish, in contradiction to the ancient institutions of the kingdom, than the decrees of the holy Church and the laws of his predecessors (in whose right he pretends to the Crown) who never taught us to acknowledge hereticks, but on the contrary to reject them, and to
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make war against them, and to look upon nothing as more just and necessary, though it should be attended with the utmost danger. Here let it be remembered, that he himself took up arms against our Kings, to introduce a new doctrine into the kingdom: that many defamatory pamphlets and libels were written and published against those that opposed it, and advised them to extinguish the growing evil betimes, and whilst it was yet weak: that he took great pains, at that time, to have his cause thought just, because he fought for the sake of religion and a good conscience: and that we defend an ancient religion, embraced by this kingdom from the very beginning of it, and under the influence of which this Crown flourished till it became the first and most potent in *Christendom*; and which we are thoroughly convinced cannot be kept pure and inviolable, and free from danger, under a heretick King, though at first he may dissemble and promise the contrary, to induce us to lay down our arms, and to establish himself in an absolute dominion over us. Late examples, common reason, and daily experience should make us wise, and teach us that subjects easily fall in with the way of life, the customs, and even the religion of their Kings, to support themselves in their favour, and to share in the honours and emoluments of which they alone have the disposal: and that after they have corrupted some with their favours, they have always found means to force the rest to a compliance with their will, by dint of power and authority. Human nature is always the same, and what has once been accounted lawful, though it really was not so in itself, may afterwards be so thought again, for another cause, which shall appear no less just than that which was the occasion of our first error. Many Catholicks have judged it lawful to follow an heretick Prince, upon some considerations, and to promote his establishment: nor hath the sight of the ruins of churches, of altars, and of the monuments of their fathers (many of whom died valiantly fighting for the extirpation of the heresy which they now support) nor the present, nor future danger of religion been sufficient to reclaim them. How much more suspected ought his forces and adherents to be to us, if he was once established King and absolute Sovereign? since, in such a case, every one would be so tired out, or rather ruined by the late unhappy wars, that, provided they might be suffered to live in security and repose, and not without some hope of recompence, they would rather chuse to submit to any kind of tyranny, than expose themselves to fresh troubles and dangers by opposing it. Some are of opinion, that all the Catholicks would unanimously join, upon such an occasion, to preserve their religion, and therefore, that it would be an easy matter to frustrate the design of any one that should attempt innovations. So happy a conjunction, without doubt, is much to be wished for; but yet we dare not

1593. flatter ourselves that it is likely to happen on a sudden. But admitting that, when the flame is extinguished, the embers should instantly become void of heat, and that when arms are once laid down, all our animosities should likewise totally subside: yet it is most certain, we should not thereby become exempt from all other passions, which sometimes lead us into errors: and that the danger would always hang over our heads, of being subject (notwithstanding all our endeavours) to the caprice and insolence of hereticks, who, seeing they had the advantage of having a King of their own religion, would find means, either by force or art, to do whatsoever they pleased; which, we may suppose, is the motive that induces them to labour that point with so much earnestness. And if the Catholicks would well consider the consequences that proceed from their advice and instigation, they might see that clearly enough at present: for the strongest cities and fortresses that are taken are put into their power, or into the hands of persons that have at all times shewn themselves favourers of them. The Catholicks that reside in them are daily accused and convicted of fictitious crimes, the true and only cause of which is the opposition that they have hitherto made to their designs, which they, by a false name, call rebellion. All the principal offices and employments are fallen into their hands, and now they are grasping even at the Crown itself. The bulls of our Holy Fathers, *Gregory* the fourteenth and *Clement* the eighth, full of pious precepts and paternal admonitions to the Catholicks to separate themselves from hereticks, have not only been rejected, but trampled upon with the utmost contempt by magistrates, who unjustly give themselves the name of Catholicks; since if they were such in reality, they would not abuse the candour and goodness of others of the same religion. For, to quote the example of what was done in this kingdom, at a time when there was an attempt made to introduce innovations, that were contrary to the liberties and privileges of the *Gallican* church, is not by any means applicable to our case, as the kingdom was never reduced to such wretched circumstances, since it first received the Christian faith, as to suffer an heretick Prince, or to see any one of that stamp pretend a right to it: and if they thought those bulls contained any thing that bore hard upon them, they, as Catholicks, ought to have proceeded by remonstrances, and with that respect and modesty which is due to the Holy See, and not with such contempt and horrid blasphemies as they did. But perhaps it was their intention to corrupt the sounder part of the Catholicks by this example, and teach them to treat the head of the Church with the same indignity, that so they likewise in time might be thrust out of the pale of the church. In evil, men proceed by degrees; they always begin with that which either does not seem evil, or at least is evil of the lowest degree; but they daily

rise higher and higher, and at last come to perpetrate the greatest crimes. 1593.
Hence we may learn, that God is grievously offended at this poor desolated kingdom, and to dread still further punishment for our sins, since he has been pleased to suffer that so many attempts to subvert our religion should not open their eyes, and that they should not be undeceived by the many and often repeated declarations made by us (especially within these few days) that we will refer ourselves in all things to what his Holiness and the Apostolick See shall be pleased to determine concerning the King of *Navarre's* conversion, if God should give him grace to relinquish his errors: which declarations ought certainly to be admitted as unquestionable proofs of our innocence and sincerity, and to justify our taking up arms, as necessary for self-preservation. Yet they make no scruple of giving out, that the Princes united for the defence of religion aim only at the ruin and destruction of the State: though their actions, and the proposals made by the common consent of them all, especially of our most powerful allies, are the true and most secure means to frustrate the endeavours of any person whatsoever that should attempt it. The hereticks having no other grievance to complain of, look with an evil eye upon the assistance that we receive from his Catholick Majesty, and say we should shew ourselves much better *Frenchmen* by disclaiming it, that is, to speak plainly, we should be much more easily conquered if we were disarmed. But we shall think it a sufficient answer, that religion was so oppressed, and reduced to such dangerous circumstances in this kingdom, that it was necessitated to have recourse to that support: that we are bound to publish this obligation and to remember it for ever: that for the aid which we have implored of so great a King, the ancient ally and confederate of this Crown, he hath required nothing at all from us in return: and that we, likewise, on our parts, have not entered into any treaty with any person whatsoever, either within or without the kingdom, to the diminution of the power and majesty of the State, for the conservation of which we would cheerfully expose ourselves to any kind of danger, provided it were not to make a heretick King, a sin which we abhor the thoughts of, as the greatest and most abominable of all others. And if the Catholics, who assist them, would divest themselves of these prejudices, and leave the hereticks, to join, not us, but the cause of religion; and at the same time would endeavour to provide proper remedies for the disorders of the State, there is no doubt, but the preservation both of one and the other might easily be effected, and it would not be in the power of any one that had evil designs, either to injure the State, or to make use of so righteous a cause, as a specious, but unjust pretence, to gain himself reputation and authority.

“ We, therefore, beseech and conjure them, in the name of God and
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1593. the Catholick church (in which we protest we will always live and die) to separate themselves from hereticks, and to consider that whilst we are thus opposing each other, we cannot administer any remedy that will not be exceeding dangerous, and attended with great mischief to the State, before it can work any good effect at all: whereas, our reconciliation will make every thing safe and easy, and quickly put an end to our miseries. And that not only the Princes of the Blood, but the Officers of the Crown and others, may not by any means be prevented or deterred from applying themselves to so salutary an undertaking, by an apprehension that they shall not be respected, acknowledged, and honoured by us, and other Princes and Lords of this party, according to their merit, we promise, upon our faith and honour, that we will do it sincerely, provided they will abandon the hereticks: assuring them, they shall find the same respect and reverence both from us, and them that follow us. But we intreat them to do it speedily, in order to clear away all obstructions and difficulties that lie in the road, which can never be done, except they give up all other interests to serve God and his holy church, and reflect, that religion ought to be preferred to all human regards and considerations, and that prudence ceases to be so, when it makes us lose sight of our primary obligation. And that we may proceed with the most mature advice and deliberation, we hereby give them to understand, that we have desired the Princes, Peers of *France*, Prelates, Lords, and Deputies of the Parliaments, and of the cities and towns of this party, to assemble at the city of *Paris* on the 17th of *January* next, in order to come to some resolution, which shall seem to our consciences most conducive to the safety of religion and the State. To which place, if they shall think fit to send any body, to make any overtures there that may tend to promote so desirable an end, they shall not only enjoy all manner of security, but be heard with attention, and a desire to give them satisfaction. But if our earnest request, that they will lend a helping hand to this reconciliation; if the imminent and inevitable danger of the State are not sufficient to excite their attention to the publick safety; and if we should be forced, by their indifference, to have recourse to extraordinary remedies, contrary to our inclination and design; we call God and man to witness, that the blame ought to be imputed to them, and not to the united Catholicks, who have exerted their utmost endeavours to support this common cause, by a mutual good understanding and unanimity, and with their concurrent advice; in which, if they would embark with upright intentions and in good earnest, the prospect of a lasting tranquillity would be near at hand, and we should be sure that the Catholicks, when united together against the hereticks (their
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ancient enemies, and whom they have so often vanquished in the field) would quickly see an end of the war. 1593.

“ We also pray the proper officers of the Parliaments in this kingdom to cause these presents to be published and registered, that they may be known to all men, and the remembrance of them be perpetual, for the discharge of us, and of the Princes, Peers of *France*, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, cities, and corporations, who have united themselves for the preservation of their religion.”

By a declaration drawn up in such terms, the Duke of *Mayenne* added great strength to his pretensions, and at the same time put a very good face upon the cause of his party, though he did not engage himself to chuse a new King, but kept things in an even balance, and left himself at liberty to take any resolution that time and opportunity should point out, or the situation of affairs admit of. For as his hopes were much damped by the Duke of *Parma's* death, by the union betwixt the Legate and the *Spanish* Ministers, who, he knew, hated his person, and by the competition of the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours*, who were not likely to be wanting to themselves, he did not intend to attempt the exaltation of himself or his posterity, except he found that he should not only be able to effect it by a majority of votes, and with the general consent; but also that he should have forces and dependents sufficient to establish himself securely in the possession of the Crown. Otherwise, he was determined to retain the full authority of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and to carry on the war, if he could be enabled by the assistance of the States to support the cause, without much dependance upon foreign aid: or else, if he could not effect this, rather to bring about an agreement betwixt the States and the King, by means of his conversion, than suffer the kingdom to fall into the hands of any other person: still firm to his first resolution, of neither suffering the Union of the two Crowns nor the dismembring of the kingdom. Which principle, as it shewed a regard to justice and his love to his country, was very agreeable to many of his own party; and even the King himself (who was acquainted with it) could not help sometimes commending him for it.

But the Cardinal Legate and the *Spanish* Ministers, who were not at all satisfied with so ambiguous a declaration, in which he seemed rather to aim at an accommodation with the Catholicks of the contrary party, than at the election of a new King, resolved to join together, and declare their intentions more explicitly: for which purpose, the Cardinal published a writing, in the form of a letter, the contents of which were as follow.

1593.

“**PHILIP**, by the Grace of God, Cardinal of *Piacenza*, of the title of *St. Onofrio*, Legate a latere from our Lord *Clement* the eighth, by divine providence Pope, and from the Apostolick See to this kingdom: to all Catholicks of what rank, state, or condition soever they may be, who follow the party of the Heretick, and adhere to, or favour him in any manner whatsoever; health, peace, love; and a new spirit from him who is the sole author of true peace and wisdom, the only King and Governor, *Jesus Christ* our Saviour and Redeemer. The performance of so pious and necessary a work as that which belongs to the function and dignity that it hath seemed good to his Holiness to invest us with in this kingdom, lies so near our heart, that we should think our blood and life well laid down, if they could in any degree serve to forward it: and we could wish it pleased God, that we had liberty to go in person, not only from province to province, or from city to city, but even from house to house, to give the most convincing proof to the world of that affection, which, however, is known to God, and to excite a generous ardour in ye, by our personal exhortations to attempt the restoration of the kingdom of *France* to that prosperous condition in which it used to flourish by the singular piety of your ancestors, under the spirit of the Catholick Apostolick religion, and from whence it has miserably fallen since it has been infected by heresy. But as the unhappiness of the times, and the impediments which are but too well known, prevent so free a communication betwixt us, as his Holiness could wish and we desire, we have thought ourselves obliged to supply that want in the best manner we could by this letter: which if ye take in good part, and read with the spirit of true Christians and Catholicks, free from all passion, as it is void of all artifice and falshood, ye will give us the pleasing and firm hopes of being able in a short time to visit ye without restraint in all parts of the kingdom, not any longer to exhort ye to your duty, but to congratulate ye upon what ye have so nobly performed, to the consolation of all good men. And we are fully assured, that when ye come to reflect and examine your hearts with due care and attention, ye will have no occasion either for our exhortations, or letters, or any other external application, to re-establish ye in your former sanctity: for then everyone of ye will plainly see that this blindness of understanding and deception of heart, which hinders ye from forming so sound a judgment as ye used to do, both of your own and other men's actions, has proceeded from heresy alone, the fountain of all evils. Then ye will fully discover the various artifices with which the hereticks continually labour to seduce ye from the devotion and obedience, which, as true sons of the church, ye have always, till of late, so religiously shewn to its head and to the Apostolick See, the name and authority of which they endeavour by all means, to render odious and contemptible to ye,

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well knowing, that this point alone, by necessary consequence, draws after it the ruin of the Catholick religion in *France*, and the establishment of their impious doctrine, which can never gain footing where the throne of *St. Peter* is revered as it ought to be. But not to touch upon any thing here more than what is absolutely necessary, what reason is there to think, that the head of the Christian Church would in any wise assist or consent to the destruction of this most Christian Crown? what good could he expect, and what evils might he not apprehend from thence? And yet this is the principal calumny with which they have attempted to make ye abhor the name and pious memory of the late Popes, though they did not in the least deviate from the footsteps of their predecessors, whose cares for this realm ye were wont not long ago, with great reason, to acknowledge, as also the gratitude which they always shewed for so many and such noble achievements, undertaken by the Most Christian Kings, with singular piety, liberality, and valour, for the emolument of the Holy See. And, to omit more ancient examples, ye cannot so soon have forgotten with what thanks and applause ye received the large supplies that were sent against the hereticks by *Pius* the fifth, of happy memory, to *Charles* the ninth, at that time your King: Can ye, therefore, now condemn that in his successor, which ye praised in him? heresy is still the same, still pernicious, cursed, and execrable: and it is against that infernal monster that the Vicars of *Christ*, and the successors of *St. Peter*, wage eternal and irreconcilable war (as they are in duty bound) and not against Catholick Kings and kingdoms, to whom they are fathers and pastors. It is against heresy, without exception of persons, that they no less justly than wholesomely employ the sword of supreme jurisdiction, which our Lord *Jesus* hath put into their hands, to cut off the corrupted and putrefied members from the body of the church, that so their contagion might not be fatal to the rest: which, nevertheless, they proceed to, as late as possible, always trying gentle means and fatherly affection before they act like sovereign judges: so that they never chastise any with severity but such as are incorrigible. But if ye will only be at the pains to turn your eyes upon other countries, or rather without going out of your own kingdom, to consider with what kindness it hath at all times been treated by the Apostolick See, ye will find, that since the flames that have been kindled in it by heresy, which still continue to prey upon its vitals, no Pope hath omitted any thing that he ought or was able to do, in order to extinguish them. The good understanding which they have ever cultivated with your Kings, the supplies both of men and other things which they have continually furnished them with, and the number of Legates they have sent hither, sufficiently testify the zeal they have always had for the tranquillity, repose, and conservation of this most illustrious kingdom. Nor were their actions ever

1593. suspected by ye, whilst, like true Catholicks and *Frenchmen*, ye were desirous to give law to hereticks, rather than to receive it from their hands. Ye have always found them such as your occasions required, till of late, when ye have suffered heresy to take such root amongst ye, by your discords and connivance, that it no longer petitions the favour of impunity from ye, as it was wont, but now takes upon itself, as every one knows, to punish those who, out of regard to their salvation, refuse to submit to its yoke. A strange and unhappy revolution, which makes ye detest that as a most heinous crime, which ye yourselves have taught others to believe a rare and excellent virtue; and which, on the contrary, induces ye to crown a vice, which ye ought still (as ye always did in former times) to condemn to the flames. See what the deadly poison of heresy can do, from the infection of which, so many other absurdities and contradictions have spread amongst ye, as ye cannot deny, if ye will speak from your consciences. For to pretend to maintain that the privileges of the *Gallian* church extend so far as to permit a relapsed heretick, and one excluded from the body of the universal church, to be acknowledged King, is the dream of a madman, proceeding from the distemper of heresy. And we may truly add, that all the sinister interpretations which have been made of the actions and intentions of our holy fathers, have likewise flowed from the same source. But let us examine a little whether those of the late Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, which are expressly declared by his bulls concerning the design of the most illustrious Cardinal *Caietano's* legation, deserve in any wise to be calumniated. That Cardinal was sent by the above-mentioned Pope, of happy memory, into this kingdom, not as a Herald, or King at arms, but as an Angel of peace: not to shake the foundations of the state, nor to alter or make any innovations in its laws or polity, but to assist in maintaining the true ancient *Roman* Catholick Apostolick religion: that so all Catholicks, being united together for the service of God, the publick good, and the conservation of the Crown, might unanimously obey and subject themselves to one, only, Catholick and lawful King, in security and repose. Now as these intentions were very pious, and calculated for the common safety: so it cannot be denied, that both the said Pope *Sixtus* and Cardinal *Caietano* used their utmost endeavours to have them put in execution; not, perhaps, with that rigour which some men thought necessary, but with all the tenderness, clemency, and charity that could be desired from a most affectionate father to his dearest children. No sooner had that wise Legate entered the kingdom, but, in order to make an effectual beginning of the work, he addressed himself, at his first arrival, to those whom he expected to find readily disposed to shew him all manner of favour, and to assist him in every thing relating to the administration of his office, as their obligations and power to do it were very great: he sent

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some Prelates on purpose to confer particularly with them concerning the means of promoting the end of his legation: those persons, as also all the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, with whom he treated himself, or sent others to treat in the course of that legation, and to whom he wrote about the purport of it, can testify, that he never exceeded the limits of his commission, and how solemnly he always protested, that his Holiness had no other aim or design than to maintain and defend the Catholick religion, and to conserve the Crown of this realm entire, for the lawful successors who were qualified to enjoy it. But if he took the same method to complain, that ye had in a great measure forgot not only the singular piety and religion of your ancestors, but the safety, and consequently the reputation of your country, nay, which is still worse, the salvation of your souls, and had joined yourselves to the party of one, who, ye could not but know, was deservedly cut off from the body of the church: of one, whom, as such, ye had long ago, and also some few months before, most justly pronounced, in a full congregation of the States, to be incapable of wearing this most Christian Crown: of one, whose arms were never stained with any blood but that of Catholics: and who, in short, by an example altogether barbarous, had violated all laws, both human and divine, in the person of one man alone, having suffered his uncle, a Cardinal of the holy *Roman* church, a Prince of the Blood, a man of so pious and exemplary a life as the most eminent the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had always shewn himself, to die in captivity, under the custody and in the sacrilegious hands of an Heretick: these complaints were not without great reason and foundation, nor ought ye to have found fault with those that made them to ye. For certainly experience, and the events that have since happened, have sufficiently convinced ye, that they were necessary and proceeded from charity: and from how many calamities ye might have delivered this kingdom, if ye had listened to his pious exhortations to separate yourselves voluntarily from the Heretick, and to apply yourselves, in conjunction with the rest of the Catholics, to re-establish the publick peace and tranquillity. But the same unhappy disposition which then induced ye to reject them, also rendered the several conferences ineffectual, which afterwards ensued betwixt the Legate and his Prelates, and some of the principal Lords amongst ye.

“ Whilst things were in this situation here, *Sixtus* the fifth, out of a desire to wean ye from the Heretick, and to gain ye over to *Jesus Christ*, gave free access and audience to those whom ye sent to him at *Rome*, whilst every thing seemed ready prepared to your hands to facilitate that end, instead of embracing so fair an opportunity as God presented ye, of being able to deliver yourselves and your country from the infamous yoke of heresy, ye suffered yourselves to be transported by a gale of unhappy prosperity

1593. prosperity to prosecute such hopes and designs, as have reduced this poor kingdom to the desperate condition ye now see it in. The death of *Sixtus* the fifth, of glorious memory, and that of *Urban* the seventh who succeeded him, having made way for the exaltation of *Gregory* the fourteenth, he immediately began to give ye convincing proofs, that a particular care and zeal for your salvation, and the preservation of this most Christian Monarchy, is inseparably joined to the Papacy. The Brief that he was pleased to send ye in the month of *January*, 1591, which was published: the Bulls and other Briefs which were presented to ye the *March* following, by Monsignor *Landriano* the said Pope's Nuncio (whatever the Hereticks may pretend to the contrary) neither can nor ought to be taken by ye in any other light. Well did the good Pope judge, and like a man endowed with singular piety and prudence, that whilst ye were mingled with Hereticks, the notorious pest of this kingdom, your salvation was desperate: that therefore it was necessary ye should speedily withdraw yourselves to a distance from them, since, otherwise ye would miserably lose your own souls, together with theirs, in a short time, and expose your bodies and estates to those troubles and that ruin which ye have since undergone, and continue to experience every day. To these most urgent and powerful motives, thus offered to your consideration, he added remonstrances and exhortations full of paternal affection: and certainly, very great was your fault in not listening to them, and still greater in endeavouring to calumniate them: but to treat the instruments that contained a declaration of his good will and intentions, and consequently the name and authority of the head of the Church, and of the Apostolick See itself in so insolent and injurious a manner, is a wickedness that comprehends as many new kinds of crimes, as there are words in the pretended decrees which were published thereupon at *Tours* and *Châlons*: and yet the enormity and heinousness of these misdeeds, and of those also which such of the Clergy were guilty of, as assisted at the council at *Chartres*, upon the same occasion, have till now been overlooked by them that had it in their power to have shewn a just resentment. The same forbearance ye likewise experienced in his successor Pope *Innocent* the ninth, of happy memory, whose sudden death would still be more lamented by all good men, if divine providence, which never forsakes the holy Church in its distresses, had not raised us up such a pastor, as the necessity of the times requires, by the election of the most blessed father, *Clement* the eighth, who is far from being inferior to his predecessors in any kind of virtue, and seems rather superior to them all in what regards the particular care which they always manifested for the safety and repose of this kingdom. For he was no sooner exalted to the Apostolick Chair, but all the faithful were transported with joy, and fixed their eyes and attention upon him, as a glorious sun,

which

which God, the father of light, and giver of all consolation, seems to have caused to shine out in these our days, to dissipate the darkness of so calamitous an age. But when every one began to entertain the greatest hopes, that ye all would have opened your hearts to admit the beams of so clear and so gracious a light, and have drawn near in union and obedience to the holy church, under the conduct and authority of so great a leader: behold! to our infinite grief, another pretended Decree, conceived by heresy, is published at *Châlons* against the Bulls of his Holiness, relating to our legation; by which it is still endeavoured to banish all our hopes of that which ought to be most dear to us, and to all persons that are zealous for God's glory, and for the honour, repose, and conservation of this kingdom. For it is impossible that *France* should ever enjoy a durable peace and tranquillity, or indeed any other kind of prosperity, whilst it groans under the yoke of an Heretick; let those pretend what they will to the contrary, whom the true and lawful Parliament of *Paris* (which hath still retained its ancient equity and constancy) hath severely censured, as men who have manifested themselves by their actions, to be rather slaves to heresy than ministers of justice. This is no less true than notorious to every one of ye, whose consciences and many of your actions sufficiently bear witness to it, which clearly shew us what are your real sentiments: for it evidently appears, by your common declarations and remonstrances, that the obedience which ye pay to an Heretick is wholly founded upon a vain hope of his conversion, and becoming once more qualified to wear the Crown; and that the crime of acknowledging a relapsed and obstinate Heretick for the Sovereign of a most Christian kingdom is too heinous to own yourselves guilty of. But since his obduracy hath already deprived him of all the right which he could pretend to, it likewise puts an end to all excuses, that ye can alledge in his favour and your own discharge.

“ It is now high time, therefore, that ye should freely disclose the bottom of your hearts; and if they are truly Catholick, as your former actions once persuaded us, when ye were not yet bewitched by the sorcery of hereticks, for God's sake, declare, with the rest of your brethren, that your real and only desire is to see yourselves united in obedience to one that is a most Christian King both in name and deed. It will not only be the highest prudence to cherish such principles, but the greatest degree of magnanimity to put them in execution, and your virtue in doing both will be worthy of all praise and admiration. Now, as there are no means, at present, more just or lawful for the accomplishment of this end, than the calling together an assembly of the States General, to which ye are invited by the Duke of *Mayenne*, who in the due discharge of his office and authority hath always sought, and now more than ever desires

1593. desires (with a degree of piety, constancy, and generosity that deserves eternal acknowledgment) to find some secure way to defend and preserve this Crown and kingdom entire, and to maintain the Catholick religion and the *Gallican* Church in its ancient purity and freedom, which principally consist in not yielding obedience to an heretick Prince: so, we have thought fit upon this occasion, to declare to ye, that it is our intention to confine ourselves within the limits of that commission which it hath pleased his Holiness to entrust in our hands, and that we neither can nor will in any wise favour or assist the designs and pretensions of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or of any other Prince or Potentate in the world: but that, on the contrary, we will oppose them with all our might, if we shall find that they are in any wise incompatible with the common votes and wishes of all good men, real Catholicks and true *Frenchmen*, and more especially, if they should obstruct the pious intentions of our holy Father, who (we likewise take the opportunity of declaring to ye by these presents) hath no other aim or object but the glory of God, the support of our holy *Roman* Catholick Apostolick faith and religion, and the utter extirpation of heresy and schism, which have reduced this poor kingdom of *France* to so miserable a condition; whilst the principal and ultimate desire of his Holiness is to see it restored to its ancient splendor and majesty, by the establishment of a King, truly, *most Christian*; and such a one, may God of his infinite mercy inspire the States to elect, which no heretick ever was or ever can be.

“ To this Assembly therefore, we invite ye, in the name of his Holiness, to the end that when ye have totally alienated yourselves from the society and dominion of the Heretick, ye may, with hearts void of all passion and full of holy zeal and affection toward God and your country, assist in every thing that ye shall judge expedient to extinguish that general combustion, which already hath almost reduced it to ashes. Ye ought now no longer to offer any more vain excuses, or raise fresh difficulties, when ye find no others left but what proceeded from yourselves. For if ye think good to come to the said Assembly for the purpose which ye ought to do, we assure ye, in the name of all the Catholicks, who by the grace of God have persevered in their obedience and devotion to the holy Apostolick See, that ye shall find them most ready to receive ye as brothers and true Christians, whom they would lay down their very blood and lives to save from perdition, and to be reconciled to you in peace and godly charity. Proceed therefore in such a manner, that we may see ye effectually separated from the Heretick, and then ye may demand all the securities ye shall think necessary, that ye may freely come and go, and speak and propose any thing in the Assembly, that ye shall judge conducive to attain the desired end. The Duke of *Mayenne* is ready to grant them,

them, and we on our part willingly promise, that they shall not be violated in any respect, and hereby offer, if there should be occasion, to take ye under our especial protection, that is, of the holy Church and of the Apostolick See. And we once more conjure ye, in the name of God, to shew yourselves true Catholicks at last by convincing proofs, and to conform your intentions to that of the head of the Church, without any longer deferring to render that duty and assistance to our holy religion and your country, which it demands from ye in this extreme necessity. There is nothing to be expected from your divisions, but ruin and desolation; and though ye should succeed in every thing else according to your wishes (which yet, methinks, ye should not dare to promise yourselves under a heretick Prince) yet ought ye nevertheless to consider, that schisms, with which this kingdom seems to abound, commonly turn to heresy in the end, which may God of his mercy please to avert, and rather to illuminate your hearts and minds, and qualify them to receive his divine inspirations and benedictions, that being all united both in will and deed with the holy *Roman* Catholick Church, in obedience to one King, who shall deserve the name of *most Christian*, ye may enjoy security and tranquillity in this life, and finally arrive at that kingdom which his divine Majesty hath prepared from eternity for those who constantly persevere in the communion of his said Church, out of which there is no salvation, and give clear proofs of a lively faith by holy and virtuous actions."

By this writing, which in appearance was not unlike that published by the Duke of *Mayenne*, though, in fact, the intention of it was very different, the Legate endeavoured to make it the principal end of the Assembly, not to confer with the Catholicks of the King's party, nor to come to any agreement with him, if he should determine to reconcile himself to the Church, nor yet to raise any Prince of the Blood to the Throne, but to elect a new Sovereign, who should not only be dependent upon the Apostolick See, but approved of likewise by his Catholick Majesty, that he might be induced to employ his money and forces to support and establish the person so chosen. And though the Pope (after he was acquainted with the Legate's partiality, and particularly informed by the *Venetian* Senate, that he was much suspected, and that many were scandalized at his proceedings, because they thought he seemed to have a greater regard to the interests of the *Spaniards* than the preservation of religion and the state) declared his intentions more explicitly than he had done before by the Prothonotary *Agucchi*, in the instructions brought by Monsignor *Innocentio Malvagia*, whom he sent to be Commissary of the army in the room of *Matteucci*, and gave the Legate a strict charge not to promote any election that should seem monstrous and unnatural, or that was not generally approved, and consequently might probably cause new

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wars more destructive than the former: yet, either because he really thought the interests of religion so linked together with those of *Spain*, that they could not be separated, or to advance his own private designs, which made it necessary for him to gain the full confidence and favour of his Catholick Majesty; or on account of the hatred that he had conceived to the King, from the protests which were made by the Parliaments against his authority as Legate; or because the Pope's instructions were so obscure that he did not thoroughly comprehend them; he still continued his first practices, and, under the pretence of concern for religion (which indeed seemed very great) did all that lay in his power to assist the *Spanish* Ministers in all their plots and machinations, who were determined in their end, though they had not, as yet, fully agreed about the means of prosecuting it: the Council of *Spain* having resolved, in order to keep up an appearance of decency and moderation, that the union of the two Crowns should not be mentioned, as it was a thing rather fondly conceived, than ever likely to be accomplished: but that the election of the Infanta *Isabella* should be proposed, which, though the means were different, would effectually answer the same purpose.

But at this time there was no other *Spanish* Minister residing in *Paris* but *Diego d'Ivarra*, who persisted in his dislike to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being of opinion that the forces, money, and authority of his Catholick Majesty were sufficient, without his concurrence, to influence the States to make that choice, still kept up his secret practices with the Deputies: with the particulars of which, however, the Duke of *Mayenne* was fully acquainted. *Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, appointed head of the Embassy, was expected, together with *Inigo de Mendoza*, a *Spanish* lawyer of very great learning, who was sent to assert the right and legality of the Infanta's succession: and *Juan Baptista Tassis* was gone as far as the confines of *Flanders* to meet them, and inform them of the present state of affairs. But they came with a prepossession that the Infanta's title was plain and indisputable, and that his Catholick Majesty's forces and authority were so dreaded in *France*, that they should be able to carry their point in the Assembly, without the assistance of the Duke of *Mayenne*. And though *Tassis* assured them, on the contrary, that they must not hope to succeed in any thing without his aid: yet they were so full of their *Spanish* notions, and so far from conducting themselves with that prudence and moderation which the Duke of *Parma* had always observed and recommended, that they persevered in their conceit, and resolved to continue their practices in the manner they were begun. *Tassis* and the *Flemish* Counsellors, who were more intimately acquainted with the humour of the *French*, and judged better of things, as they were nearer the scene of action, advised them to march into *France* with a
powerful

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powerful army, under the command of Count *Mansfelt*, and draw near to *Paris*: and not only to secure the interest of the Duke of *Mayenne* in particular, but that of the other principal Lords and of every Deputy that had any weight or authority in the Assembly, by great sums of money: and to make large and advantageous offers to the Lords of the house of *Lorraine* also, who were the heads of the Union, and to give them ample security for their performance. By these means, and not otherwise, they thought the election might be carried, which they designed to propose in favour of the Infanta: for if the *French* were not influenced, on one hand, by the hope of private advantage, and on the other by fear, they thought it impossible that they should ever voluntarily consent to submit to the government of the *Spaniards*: and if the Princes of *Lorraine*, who were in so great power, and had good hopes that some one of them might obtain the Crown, were not diverted from their pretensions by very high and secure terms, they could not conceive that they would ever agree to transfer that to another, which they aspired to themselves: besides, it was certain that a great and powerful body of forces, and such provisions of money and commanders as might be sufficient to overcome all those difficulties and impediments, which would infallibly discover themselves more fully in the progress than in the beginning of the undertaking, were necessary to support an election so extraordinary, and so repugnant to the genius of the *French* nation. To all which they added, that, in order to succeed in so arduous an attempt, a great degree of reputation was requisite, as well as a certainty that the King of *Navarre* might be vanquished and suppressed in a reasonable time, which was not possible to be effected without vast sums of money and supplies of men.

This was prudent and well-grounded advice, and given by men, who, after they had maturely weighed the difficulty and importance of the undertaking, were of opinion, that, for the honour of his Catholick Majesty, a thing should not be proposed without an absolute certainty of bringing it to a happy conclusion. But those that were newly come from *Spain*, were so biased, either by the different opinion that prevailed at that court, or by the suggestions of *Diego d'Ivarra*, that they reasoned in another manner, and said, there was no occasion to send many forces into *France*, nor to distribute much money there, nor yet to give the house of *Lorraine* any further satisfaction than what consisted in bare promises and professions alone: for they imagined, by keeping the Duke of *Mayenne* low, and by driving him and his party into straits and difficulties, they should force them to a necessity of complying with their demands, that they might thereby engage their assistance to raise them up again from the desperate circumstances they were reduced to: especially, as they were likewise informed, that the *French* were not inclined of them-

1593. selves to gratify them: that if they should deliver the League, and particularly the *Parisians*, out of their present distress and scarcity, they would not afterwards conform to the King of *Spain's* designs, as gratitude is but a weak tie in concerns of so great weight and importance; but that it was more likely they would submit, when they saw no other means left to rescue them out of their misery, and that their necessities would have so much the greater effect, by how much the more they were pinched and distressed by them. That to distribute money amongst them at present was merely to throw it away, without any certainty or assurance that it would produce the desired effect, and to satiate the avarice of those, who, when they were once glutted with *Spanish* gold, and had obtained their own ends, would afterwards give themselves but little trouble about performing their promises as they ought to do. That it was the nature of the *French* to be insolent and refractory in plenty and prosperity, but abject and tractable in distress and adversity: that it would be highly imprudent to dismember the Kingdom, and tear it in pieces, to give one part to this, and another to that Prince of the house of *Lorrain*, in order to obtain the weak and mangled remains.

This advice seemed most suitable to the present state of his Catholick Majesty's affairs: for his treasury was at this time so exhausted by his late expences, and the commotions that happened in the kingdom of *Aragon*, that he could not raise such sums as would have been necessary in the prosecution of the other plan: and affairs in the *Low Countries* being in great confusion, and the army there very much reduced since the Duke of *Parma's* death, it was not possible to spare so large a body of troops as the execution of that design required. And, in the last place, the natural disposition of the *Spaniards* inclined them to begin with parcimony and frugality in their designs upon a kingdom where they had not yet so much as got footing. For these reasons, the *Spanish* Ministers determined to follow the last opinion, flattering themselves that they should be able to overcome many difficulties by their own address, and the assistance of the Legate, and to supply their wants by large promises and professions, where other means were deficient.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was acquainted with most of these machinations, well knew they could never succeed without his assent and concurrence: and seeing the ill-will which the *Spanish* Ministers bore him, chiefly because he hoped to obtain the kingdom for himself, he was very averse to any compromise with them. Yet the discords that arose betwixt him and others of his family kept him in some suspense. For the Duke of *Lorrain* still pretended a right to the Crown, and to a superiority over the rest of his house; and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* aspired to the kingdom no less than he: the first, relying on the reputa-
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tion and services of his father, in whose blood (as he said) the whole structure of the League was founded: and the other, on the merit of having so effectually defended *Paris*, by which he thought he had deserved more than any one of the rest, and had reason to expect the favour and affections of the people: besides, as both of them were young and unmarried, they were not much averse to the election of the Infanta, in hopes that one of them might be destined for her husband. After some consideration, therefore, the Duke of *Mayenne* resolved to have recourse to more expedients than one, to frustrate the designs of others, and to promote his own. For this purpose, after he had invited the Catholics of the King's party to a treaty by his declaration, which he thought would be the most effectual way to defeat the attempts of the *Spaniards*, he also caused the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to renew his pretensions, that he might keep them alive, and make his advantage of them at a proper time and opportunity: and *Jean le Maistre*, a man wholly dependent upon him, having been made first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, after the death of President *Briffon*, he began, by his means, not only to practise with the Counsellors of the Parliament and the magistrates of that city, but likewise with those, who, because they inclined to favour the King, were called *Politicks*, that he might also make use of their assistance upon occasion. And having found the Parliament well disposed to him, and depending very much upon the support of the principal commanders of the army, whom he had preferred himself, he proposed and obtained, that (for the greater reputation of the Assembly, and his further security in a point of such weight and consequence as the election of a King) the Parliament also, the Governors of provinces, and the Commanders of the army, should vote in the Assembly of the States, not every one singly, but by Deputies for each body; that so he might counterpoise the votes of the other Deputies, if they should at any time oppose him. In which he proceeded with so much secrecy and address, as he was well versed in affairs, and personally acquainted with every one, that the *Spanish* Ministers and the Legate did not so much as dream of many things till after they were firmly established; and he gained more ground by art, than they were able to do with their gold and promises. And, on the other hand, they had hardly formed any design, but he got to the bottom of it, and found means either to retard, or totally prevent the execution.

In this situation of affairs, as the convention of the States could no longer be deferred, it was opened (as they call it) on the 26th of *January*. At which time, all the Deputies being assembled in the hall of the *Louvre*, together with the magistrates and officers of the Crown, the Duke of *Mayenne* sitting under the canopy of state, as the Kings used to do,

1593. do, told them, That he had called, and with much difficulty assembled, that solemn meeting, that they might endeavour to find some remedy for the evils and calamities that oppressed their common country; and having expatiated on the unhappiness of their present condition, the dangerous circumstances that religion was in, and the miseries of the war, he said, that the only remedy would be to elect a King, who in the first place should be so firm and sincere a Catholick, that he should prefer the welfare and honour of the holy Church to his own life; and in the second, should be a person of such distinguished valour, experience, and reputation, that he might not only reconcile those that were now discontented, in a voluntary obedience to him, but be enabled to cope with and effectually suppress the enemies of the church and kingdom. He, therefore, exhorted the States, now they were met, not to spend their time at present in considering of ways and means to redress private grievances, to moderate the taxes, and to pay the debts of the Crown (the usual subjects of deliberation in such Assemblies) but in the first place to chuse a King and pastor for themselves, and the rest of the people of the greatest kingdom in *Christendom*; in which, he conjured them not to suffer themselves to be governed by any particular views of their own, but to proceed with a disinterestedness and integrity worthy of themselves, and such resolution as their immediate necessities and common safety required.

When he had finished his speech, Cardinal *Pellervè*, President of the Clergy in the Assembly, made a long and tedious harangue, in which he highly extolled the Duke of *Mayenne's* zeal and valour, and, after many digressions, returning to the same point, at last concluded with exhorting the Assembly to chuse a King, who, as the present exigency required, was thoroughly attached to the holy Apostolick See, and an enemy to heresy, against which, it was above all things necessary to guard at that time. The Baron *De Senesay* spoke to the same effect, in behalf of the Nobility, but much more briefly and to the purpose: as did also *Honoré de Laurens*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Provence*, and one of the Deputies for the order of the Commons. But nothing more was done at this first meeting, as it is never usual to proceed any further than these ceremonies at the opening of such Assemblies.

The next day there was a very warm debate betwixt the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassador, on one side, and some of the greatest personages of the Assembly on the other, in a committee of the Chiefs of the party. For the Legate proposed, that, at the second meeting of the States, they all should take a solemn oath never to be reconciled to, or acknowledge, the King of *Navarre* as their Sovereign, even though he should change his religion and profess himself a Catholick: to which the Duke of *May-*

enne would not assent, as a thing very contrary to his designs and inclinations; and the other Deputies that were present offered various arguments against it. But as the Legate urged it with great vehemence, the Archbishop of *Lions* at last said, that the States were Catholics, dutiful to the holy Church, subject to the superiority of the Apostolick See in such cases, and met together in obedience to the Pope: that, therefore, they would not be so audacious as to endeavour to tie up his hands, and presumptuously to declare what he himself had not declared, precluding his decision, and pronouncing the King of *Navarre* irreconcilable to the church, by a vain determination which did not belong to the secular power, but wholly to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: for which reasons they resolved not to take that oath, lest they should offend their own consciences, and violate the majesty and jurisdiction of the Pope and the Apostolick See. This answer seemed so full of decency and respect, that it stopped the Legate's mouth; and the Duke of *Mayenne's* intention, that they should not proceed to such a declaration, prevailed.

But on the 28th, there arrived a trumpet from the King at the gate of the city, and desired admittance that he might deliver a packet of letters directed to the Count *De Belin*, Governor of it: and being asked, what his business was? he freely and openly answered, "That he brought a declaration from the Catholics of the King's party, addressed to the Assembly of the States;" and after he was introduced into the Governor's presence, and had given the letters into his hand, he made the contents of them publickly known amongst the people. The Governor carried the packet directly to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in bed, but awake; and he, not caring to open it, except in the presence of the chiefs of the Confederates, sent for the Legate, the Cardinal of *Pellevé*, *Diego d'Ivarra*, the Sieur *De Bassompierre*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Archbishop of *Lions*, Monsieur *De Roshne*; the Count *De Belin*, the Viscount *De Tavannes*, the Sieur *De Villers*, whom he had lately declared Admiral, Monsieur *De Villeroy*, President *Jeannine*, and two of the ordinary Secretaries of State, in whose presence he took off the cover, and found a writing with this title:

"THE proposal of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well Counsellors of the King, as others, now attending his Majesty, for the re-establishment of peace so necessary in this kingdom, for the conservation of the Catholick religion and the State, offered to the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Princes of his family, the Lords and other persons sent by some cities and corporations, at this time assembled in the city of *Paris*."

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After the title was seen, every one was desirous that the contents of the writing might be read to them by one of the Secretaries, which were as follow :

“ THE Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well of the Council as attendance of his Majesty, having seen a declaration, printed at *Paris* in the name of the Duke of *Mayenne*, dated in the month of *December*, and published by sound of trumpet in the said city on the 5th of this present month of *January*, as appears from the bottom of it, and which came into their hands at *Chartres*, do acknowledge and join in opinion with the said Duke of *Mayenne*, that the continuance of this war is likely to prove the subversion of the State, and by necessary consequence must be attended with the destruction of the Catholick religion, as experience hath too plainly evinced, to the great concern of the said Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who acknowledge the King that God hath set over them, and serve him, as they are bound both by duty and nature, having ever made the conservation of the Catholick religion their principal end, and always been most ready to defend the Crown, under obedience to his Majesty, with their arms and forces, when they have seen foreigners who were enemies to the grandeur of this monarchy and to the glory and honour of the *French* name, intrude themselves into the kingdom : as it is sufficiently obvious, that their only aim is to dismember it, from whence endless wars will naturally ensue, which, at last, must occasion the utter ruin of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, provinces, and cities ; an event that would also infallibly happen to the Catholick religion in this nation. Hence it is, that all good *Frenchmen*, and those that are truly zealous for it, ought to exert their utmost endeavours to avert the first evil, from which the second is inseparable, and both inevitable if the war should continue. The most effectual way to prevent these misfortunes, is to establish a firm peace and reconciliation betwixt those whom the consequences of war keep so unhappily divided and armed for the destruction of each other. Upon this foundation, religion might be restored, the churches preserved, the Clergy maintained in their reputation and revenues, and justice re-established : the Nobility would recover their ancient power and vigour, for the defence and conservation of the kingdom in repose and tranquillity : the cities would retrieve their losses and repair their ruins by the revival of commerce, trades, and manufactures (the chief support of the people) which are almost totally destroyed : the Universities, which in times past have caused this kingdom to flourish, and added so much splendor and renown to it, would presently return to the study of arts and sciences, which are now in a languishing condition, and soon likely to be extinguished : the fields would

would be tilled again, which in so many places are left fallow, and instead of the fruits which they used to bring forth for the nourishment of man, are at present only covered with briars and thistles: in short, by peace every one might be enabled to do his duty, God might be served as he ought to be, and the people, in full enjoyment of security and repose, would bless the authors of their happiness: whereas, on the contrary, they will have just cause to detest and execrate those that shall obstruct it.

“ For this purpose, in answer to the declaration which the said Duke of *Mayenne* hath made, as well in his own name as in the names of the rest of his party assembled at *Paris*, where he acquaints us, that he hath convened the States to take some measures for the good of the Catholick religion and the tranquillity of this kingdom: as it is clear (even if there was no other impediment but the place itself, where it is neither possible nor reasonable for any others but those of their own party to meet) that nothing can be concluded on there, which can be valid, or conducive to the end that he professes to aim at: and as it is most certain, on the other hand, that this can only tend to enflame the war so much the more, and put an end to all hopes and means of reconciliation; the said Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords, now present with his Majesty, being well assured that the other Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who acknowledge him, do willingly concur with them in the same zeal for the Catholick religion and the welfare of the State, as they are unanimous in the obedience and fidelity due to their King and natural Sovereign; have, in the name of them all, and with the consent and permission of his Majesty, thought fit, by this writing, to acquaint the said Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Princes of his family, the Prelates, Lords, and other persons assembled in the city of *Paris*, that if they will enter into a conference and communication concerning proper means to compose the present distractions, for the conservation of the Catholick religion and the State, and will appoint any persons of worth and integrity to meet at a time and place, betwixt *Paris* and *St. Dennis*, that may be agreed upon; they will also, on their parts, send such Deputies thither, upon the day fixed, to receive and bring back all such proposals and overtures as shall be made to promote so desirable a purpose; as they are confident that, if every one will bring with him those upright intentions that he ought to do, and which they themselves promise to do, means may be found to obtain so great a happiness: protesting before God and man, that if they neglect this way, and have recourse to other unlawful means, which cannot but be destructive to religion, and must reduce the kingdom of *France* to the lowest ebb of misery, making it a prey to the insatiable greediness of the *Spaniards*,

1593. and a trophy of their insolence, acquired by the concurrence of the secret practices and headlong passions of those who bear the name of *Frenchmen* indeed, but degenerate from the virtue which hath ever been held in so great veneration by our ancestors; the guilt of those evils which shall flow from thence, neither can, nor ought in justice to be imputed to any but those, who, by such a refusal, shall be manifestly seen to be the authors of them, as men who prefer expedients that serve their own private interests and ambition and that of their abettors, to those that tend to the glory of God and the preservation of the kingdom.---Given in the King's Council, where the said Princes and Lords have purposely assembled themselves, and with his Majesty's permission resolved to make the above-said overtures and proposals, at *Chartres*, the 27th of *January* 1593.
Sign'd, REVOL."

The first promoter of this writing, drawn up and presented in this manner, was the *Sieur De Villeroy*. For being naturally averse to the designs of the *Spaniards*, and rather inclined to an agreement with the King than to any other measures: and as he was employed by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, who was desirous to set some treaty on foot, which he might make use of, as occasion served, for his own advantage, he wrote to his brother-in-law, the *Sieur De Fleury*, advising him to represent to the Duke of *Nevers*, and the rest of the Catholick Lords that attended the King, in what a perilous situation the affairs of the kingdom were at that time, with how much earnestness the *Spaniards* laboured to promote the election of the Infanta *Isabella*, how many there were that favoured that election for their own interests, and that the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had never been able to prevail upon the King to be reconciled to the church, was now reduced to a necessity of coming into terms with his Catholick Majesty, if some means were not used to prevent it: that they ought to consider, if the foreigners should succeed in their pretensions, and the Lords of the house of *Lorraine* should engage themselves to support them, in how great danger the King would be of losing the Crown; as he would then have the whole power of the *Spaniards* to contend with, which, in such circumstances, would be entirely turned upon him to his utter destruction: that the *French* confederates would then become irreconcilable, when they had once put themselves under the dominion and entered into the service of foreigners: that all hopes of reconciliation with the Pope and the Church would also be at an end, as soon as the States had agreed to the election, which they would certainly proceed to in a few weeks: that, therefore, no time was to be lost in providing some means to interrupt the course of these designs.

These considerations were suggested by the *Sieur De Fleury*, not only

to the Duke of *Nevers*, but to *Gaspar*, Count of *Schomberg*, who about that time had been sent for by the King, and was come to attend him. He was a *German* by birth, a man of great spirit, and one that spoke his sentiments freely; in general esteem for his valour and experience; at the same time wise and deliberate in council, provident in his opinions, firmly attached, and very faithful to the King, and (which made him the properest person to be applied to at that juncture) he had never been at any of the consultations that had been held amongst the Catholics about leaving his party: for which reason he was likely to have more weight and authority with him, upon this occasion, than either the Duke of *Nevers*, or almost any other person. It was his opinion, that the arguments which had been urged by Monsieur *De Villeroy* deserved very serious consideration, and that many others might be added to them. For every one already knew, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had thoughts of leaving the King, and of going over to the League, and that many Princes of the Blood and other Lords were inclined to do the same: that the Catholics, for the most part, thinking themselves abused and imposed upon by the King's promises, were very much dissatisfied, and that every one was tired of the war, and longed impatiently for peace. He therefore took a convenient opportunity of discoursing with the King about it, and with great strength of reason and eloquence, of which he had a considerable share, fully acquainted him with those things, which, out of respect, were but coldly, and in part, represented to him by others; and demonstrated to him the certainty of his ruin, if he did not immediately take some measures to satisfy the Catholics, and to frustrate the designs and attempts of the *Spaniards*. The conjuncture was also favourable; for the King's late successes had made him so strong, that if the Catholics adhered firmly to him, he would have but little need of foreign forces, which he himself had found by experience were of small service to him, and of very great prejudice to his kingdom. The *Sieur Du Plessis* was likewise at a distance, who used to raise scruples in his mind, and to dissuade him from changing his religion, by arguments partly theological and partly political; and the Duke of *Boisillon* (one of the heads of the *Hugonots*, and then attending the King) had always been one of those who were of opinion, that the King could never be in peaceable possession of the Crown, except he turned Catholic: and perhaps, for his own interest, was not displeased that he should do so, that he might enjoy the first place amongst the *Hugonots*. All these obstacles, therefore, being removed, and necessity so dictating, as the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Count *De Soissons*, and many others, now began to talk very loudly, and the States assembled by the League being held in much greater consideration by the King, than perhaps they were by the Con-

1593. federates themselves; after many consultations with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the High Chancellor, and President *De Thou*, to whose opinion the King paid great deference, on account of his learning and experience, he resolved that the Catholics should make this overture, with an intention either to interrupt the proceedings of the States by such an expedient, or to come to an agreement and reconciliation with the Apostolick See, and the Lords of the house of *Lorraine*.

As soon as the writing was read, in the presence of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Lords, the Cardinal of *Piacenza* rose up in a hasty manner, and, without further deliberation or consultation, said angrily, "That the proposal was full of heresy, and that they would be hereticks that took it into consideration, and, therefore, it was by no means proper to return any answer to it." Cardinal *Pelleve* and *Diego d'Ivarra* concurred in his opinion without any demur: but the Duke of *Mayenne* continued in suspense, as did the rest also that were present, not caring immediately to oppose the Legate. *Villeroy* and *Jeannine* however, who were not so much over-awed by his presence, found out an evasion, without directly contradicting the Cardinal, and said, "That as the writing was not addressed to the Duke of *Mayenne* alone, but to the whole Assembly of the States, and the trumpet had freely declared so to many at his entrance into the city, by which the matter was become publick, it was proper to communicate it to the States, lest the Deputies should be disgusted at the very beginning, and think they were not openly and fairly dealt with, but that endeavours were used to conceal many things from their knowledge, and to deceive them: that this would be a bad setting out, and not only create suspicion but divisions also amongst the Deputies." The Count *De Belin* added, "That the trumpet had not only declared, that the writing was directed to the whole Assembly, but had also dispersed some copies of it amongst the people, as he was informed, by which it was become so publick, that it could not be kept secret from the Deputies."

It was resolved, therefore, that every one who was present at that meeting should consider of the matter till the next day, and then assemble again in the same place, to declare what measures they thought most proper to be taken upon this occasion. At which time, though the Legate and *Spanish* Ambassador used their utmost endeavours to have the writing rejected and suppressed, it was nevertheless resolved, by the Duke of *Mayenne*, with the concurrence of the greater part of the votes, that it would be highly imprudent to use the Deputies so ill, or to give them any cause of disgust, but that they ought, on the contrary, to shew them all manner of due respect, and to have the writing read in a full Assembly, where, afterwards, such a resolution might be taken as should be thought most

most convenient. But whilst this was delayed by the contrariety of opinions and other obstacles that intervened, the King, who was then at *Chartres*, published a Manifesto, on the twenty-ninth of the same month; in which, after he had briefly set forth his ardent desire for the safety and welfare of the publick, he said, " It gave him extreme concern to see the times so perverse, that many, degenerating from that fidelity to their Prince, which had ever been peculiar to the *French* nation, now turned all their study and endeavours to oppose the royal authority, under a pretence of religion : a pretence injuriously made use of by them, as plainly appeared from the war twice raised against *Henry* the third, of happy memory, whom it would be cruel to vilify in such a manner as to impute the cause of it to matter of religion, when he had always been a zealous Catholick, and most dutiful to the Apostolick See, and had even employed all his forces to reduce those that were not of the Catholick religion, at a time when they had furiously taken arms, and ran together to besiege and destroy him at *Tours* : that it was now as clear as day-light how unreasonably and unjustly they had made use of the same pretext against himself; for the more they endeavoured to mask and disguise their malignity, under that specious excuse, the more evidently it appeared to the eyes of all men : nor was there any one who did not know, that their conspiracy was formed for the oppression and ruin of their country, not for the support of religion; and plainly see, that their union was composed of three sorts of persons, and proceeded from three different causes. First, from the wickedness of those, who, out of an inordinate ambition to possess themselves of the kingdom, and to dismember it, had been the heads and authors of this rebellion. Secondly, from the subtilty of foreigners, ancient enemies to the *French* Crown and name, who, having found this opportunity of putting their inveterate designs in execution, had voluntarily joined in and abetted so perfidious a conspiracy. And lastly, from the madness of some of the meanest of the people, who being abandoned by fortune to extreme want and misery, or else out of fear of the punishment due to their crimes, had lifted themselves under this factious confederacy, in hopes of plunder and escaping the hands of justice. But as it often pleases divine Providence to bring good out of evil, so it had miraculously come to pass in this case, since the Duke of *Mayenne*, by giving his reasons in writing for assembling a congregation at *Paris*, which he calls *the States*, hath clearly laid open and manifested his designs by his own confession : for whilst he endeavours, with all his power and dissimulation, to make his intentions appear full of uprightness and integrity, and to persuade others that he has no thought of usurping that which does not belong to him, he cannot give more convincing proofs of his ambition and disloyalty, than by framing an Edict, and sealing it with the royal signet,

1593. signet, for the convocation of the States; a prerogative reserved only to the regal power, and never communicated to any other: by which he hath shewn to all the world, that he usurps the office and majesty of a King, and is guilty of high treason, having arrogated to himself the royal authority and proper ensigns of Sovereignty. But what eye is so dazzled, or whose understanding so over-clouded, as not to see how false those things are, which he dresses up in his Edict with so much pomp and ostentation? That the laws do not permit him to render due observance and obedience to the King, whom God hath set over him, is a falsity as apparent as it is true, that the *Salic* law, a fundamental and salutary constitution, that took birth with the kingdom, hath ever been the basis of the subjects obedience, and the security of the Crown. And it is most certain, that the intention of this constitution is openly violated, when the lawful dominions of that Prince is controverted, who is called by God and the prescribed order of it to the Crown: that the force and authority of this law is so great and venerable, that no other hath power to prejudice it, and that the Kings themselves, who are not obliged by other laws, are subject, and not superior to this alone: that, therefore, it is trifling to urge the authority of the decree of the States at *Blois* in the year 1576: for neither the King nor the States, but that law alone ought to decide the succession of the kingdom. And yet, what man of sound understanding will ever maintain, that the Assembly at *Blois* was a lawful congregation of the States? in which all freedom in voting was restrained, the voice of good men suppressed, and nothing endeavoured by the conspirators of that confederacy (the effects of which are felt to this time) but to oppose the authority of the King who then reigned, and to make him a slave to his enemies, disposing of the affairs of the kingdom according to the will and caprice of factious men. Can any one forget the violence and restraint that was offered to the late King, from which he took so much pains to defend and extricate himself; or believe that he would voluntarily infringe that law, by virtue of which his grandfather *Francis* the first succeeded to the Crown? But what occasion is there for further proofs? The same men, who forcibly and treacherously caused that decree to be made, soon broke it themselves, and declared it invalid and of no effect: for if the Duke of *Mayenne* had thought it otherwise, after his rebellious attempt to depose *Henry* the third, he would not have taken the title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown and State of *France*, before the Throne was vacant, but of Lieutenant to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to whom they had given the kingdom by that seditious Decree. Yet he not only then usurped that title, but also for three months together after the death of the late King, who was murdered by their instigation; shewing thereby, how little regard he paid to the determination of those States: from whence

whence it was sufficiently evident, that it was not out of reverence to the decision of his own States, as it is now given out, that he afterwards set up the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, but to make use of his name and pretended authority, as it suited his convenience, and to usurp the royal power, and gain time and means to establish himself in it. He further represented, that the objection urged against his own person was no less vain and frivolous, *viz.* That he was not a Catholick: for he was neither Infidel nor Pagan, but worshiped the same God and the same Redeemer that the Catholicks confess and adore: that some difference in opinion ought not to make so desperate and irreconcilable a division. That he would not be obstinate, nor refuse to be taught and instructed; and that he was ready, whenever he should be convinced of his error, to renounce it, and to conform himself to that way of worship which the Catholicks of his kingdom required him to embrace, and that he wished he could with a safe conscience extinguish all scruples in his subjects: but he intreated the Catholicks not to wonder if he could not so easily give up that religion which he had imbibed with his milk; nor ought it to appear strange, that he did not relinquish the opinions in which he had been educated, till he was first made sensible of the error they thought he was in; for when that was once effected, no-body should be more willing or ready to condemn it, and to pursue that course which should be proved to be the best. That it was fit he should proceed with mature deliberation in an affair that concerned his soul and eternal life: and so much the more, as his example might draw many after it, to whose perdition he would not be accessary, but was desirous to save them if it lay in his power. That he had, therefore, often desired a Council might be assembled, not to oppose himself to those had been already held, as his enemies reported, but that he, together with those of the same religion, might be taught and instructed thereby. That it was no absurdity to call a Council to regulate many new things, which time and occasions usually produce: and to say they had been already settled by other Councils would be trifling: for so all later Councils would have been superfluous and absurd, in confirming and ordaining things again which had been established and decreed by former ones. That if a more speedy and proper way of instructing him could be found out, he would not reject it: and that he had given sufficient proof of his inclination to the world, when he permitted the Catholicks that acknowledged and obeyed him, to send Ambassadors to the Pope for that purpose; and when he had so often caused his adversaries to be told, that in the midst of arms it was no time to talk of conversions, exhorting them to think of peace, that they might resolve upon a conference, in which he might be instructed: but that they had abused his goodness, and seemed to lend an ear to it, only when they wanted to excite a jealousy in the

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Spaniards, for the furtherance of their own designs. That it was plain they did not desire to have him converted, since they now represented it in their writings as a thing to be despaired of, having never yet so much as attempted it; nay, as soon as the Marquis *De Pisani's* embassy, for that purpose, was agreed upon, they had used all possible means to thwart his negotiation, and had brought it to pass, that the Pope would not admit him to an audience. That if they pretended and gave out that they would refer the matter wholly to the Pope, he, on the other hand, was not without hopes, that his Holiness, at last, when he was better acquainted with their wiles and artifices, would take such a resolution as should be most conformable to decency and reason. That seditious persons ought, therefore, no longer to tempt the good Catholicks, who continued armed for their own defence and the safety of their country; but rather to acknowledge their error, and, like sheep that had gone astray, to return and join themselves again with the rest of the fold: for except the Princes of the house of *Lorrain*, who were in a manner foreigners, all the Princes of the Blood, Prelates, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and almost all the *Noblesse* were of his party (which made the true body of *France*) united for the support of their liberties and the security of the kingdom. That they should consider how unworthy, how monstrous a thing it was, to open a passage for the *Spaniards* to come and invade the very bowels of the kingdom, after their ancestors, and even they themselves, had poured out so much of their blood only to drive them from the confines. That it behoved them to reflect, how black and insatiable their avarice would appear, which had prostituted the glory of the *French* name, and the liberties of their country, for the lucre of gold. But that it was no wonder they did not feel remorse of conscience upon that occasion, since they had not shewn any for the most cruel parricide that ever was committed, upon the person of their late King, which they were so far from detesting and abhorring, as they ought to do, that they impiously attributed it to the hand of God. That if (as they now pretended to be) they would be accounted innocent of that fact, which hath obscured the glory, and cast an indelible reproach of the vilest perfidy upon the *French* name, they should not, at the same time, exult and triumph in it, and not only extol, but canonize the name of the murderer, and be guilty of so many other unheard of barbarities: but rather shew, that they were shocked at so foul a deed, and resolved to make their peace with that country which had bred, and cherished, and exalted them to such a height of greatness: and not any longer to take part with foreign nations, that are enemies to and very different from *France*, both in their language and manners, and also in loyalty and goodness of disposition. That if these motives were not sufficient to make an impression upon the hearts of those that have

swerved

swerved from their duty, and to convince them of their error, they should at least confirm the resolution of true *Frenchmen*, to persevere with constancy in the defence of their country, in which he himself had for the time past, and would also for the future, always set them an example, by exposing his person, health, blood, and very life, before any of them, as a sacrifice for so beneficial and meritorious a purpose. That his care and affection for them till that present were sufficiently known, and, with what tenderness he had not only embraced the Catholics, but preserved, protected, and maintained them in their possessions and privileges: how much he had favoured and supported their religion, and how constantly and inviolably he had observed every thing that he had promised at his accession to the Crown: and that now, for their further security, and to put an end to all scruples, he solemnly swore before Almighty God, and the whole world, that he was resolved to persist in protecting and supporting them to the last breath of his life; that he never would do any thing voluntarily to the prejudice either of their persons, estates, or religion, and that he desired those things, which his subjects required from him, might, for the glory of God, be peaceably and properly executed, as he hoped in his divine Majesty and invariable providence that the good effects would then quickly be seen, which, out of a confidence in his mercies, he would venture to promise and prognosticate. That, in the mean time, he had decreed, by the advice of his Council, and declared by that Manifesto, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, in having assembled a congregation at *Paris*, under the name of *States*, had, in an unjust and rebellious manner, usurped the regal power and authority, and that those States being null, invalid, and seditious, were not to be deemed in any wise lawful, nor any thing that should be done, established, or determined upon in that Assembly, as binding or obligatory."

This writing, which did not carry with it any necessity of an answer, was variously received and interpreted, according to the different disposition of men's minds: but that sent by the Catholick Lords of the King's party to the Assembly at *Paris*, occasioned much doubt and diversity of opinion amongst the confederates, on many accounts. For the Legate, having caused it to be examined by the Divines of the *Sorbonne*, still declared that it was heretical, and therefore not worthy of any answer: and the *Spanish* Ambassador said, it was only to be looked upon as an artifice, to frustrate the good purpose for which they were met together. But the Archbishop of *Lions*, Monsieur *Villeroy*, President *Jeannine*, and the Count *De Belin*, maintained, that of what nature soever it was, it ought neither to be despised nor rejected, and gave their reasons for it. And betwixt these two opinions, the Duke of *Mayenne* was so divided, that he could not well tell what to determine upon: for, on one hand, he was very de-

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firous to enter into a treaty with the Royalists; and, on the other, he did not care absolutely to alienate or exasperate the Legate and the *Spaniards*. At last, after many private consultations with his friends, he resolved to defer the proposing of that affair to the consideration of the Assembly, till he had first conferred with the Duke of *Feria* and the rest that were coming, and till he had seen the strength of the army, and what orders the Count of *Mansfelt* had, who was now preparing to enter the confines; that he might afterwards proceed as time and occasion should direct. For which purpose he determined to go and meet the Ambassadors, and to receive and conduct the army himself, lest the Duke of *Guise* should be before-hand with him, and (to the prejudice of his reputation) have the command of it given to him by the *Spaniards*, who openly favoured him. He was in hopes also of effecting something by his arms, which might give him fresh credit and authority: but above all, it was necessary for him to draw a large sum of money from the *Spaniards*, to be then distributed amongst the Deputies, to promote his designs, many of whom, from the dearth in *Paris*, and their own poverty, had great occasion for it.

When this resolution was taken, he called the Deputies of the Assembly together, and desired them to employ themselves in matters of smaller concern, and not to enter into any discussion relating to the election, till his return, as it was proper that all the *Spanish* Ambassadors should be present upon that occasion, as well as himself and the Duke of *Guise*, and the other principal men of the party, whom he would bring along with him thither in a few days: which, as his desire was the same as a command, they all promised to do, without hesitation. And having left Monsieur *De Villeroy* and President *Jeannine* to frustrate any under-hand practices that might be set on foot in the mean time, he went, with four hundred horse, to *Soissons*, where he had ordered the *French* forces to be in readiness to receive him. At his arrival in that city, on the ninth of *February*, he found the Duke of *Feria* and the other Ambassadors there, with whom he entered into a conference: but they began to disagree at the very first meeting.

At the court of *Spain* it was thought both agreeable to justice and very expedient, that the *Salic* law should be broken, because all those of the house of *Bourbon* were either notorious hereticks, or favourers of heresy; and that the Crown should devolve to the Infanta *Isabella*, his Catholick Majesty's daughter, who, by the ordinary laws, was the next heir to the late King, as born of *Elizabeth* his eldest daughter. And when it was represented, on the other hand, that in failure of posterity in the Royal Family, the right of naming a new King reverted to the commonalty of the people of *France*: they replied, that, admitting this to be true, yet it

was

was but just that the commonalty should have a regard, in such an election, to the law of nations, which always preferred the next heir: and that it was very reasonable great condescensions should be made, on account of the vast expences which the King of *Spain* had been at, and of many other things which he had done, for the support of that Crown and the Catholick religion: since, with great prejudice to his own affairs, he had employed all his forces and all the revenues of his kingdom for the benefit of *France*, which, if he had abandoned it, from the beginning, to the mercy of the *Navarrese*, must inevitably have been compelled to bow its neck and receive the yoke of heresy: from whence the absolute ruin of every individual, and the general servitude of so christian a kingdom, must necessarily have ensued. These Counsellors, therefore, having thus persuaded themselves that such arguments would naturally make the same impresson upon the minds of the *French*, determined to apply themselves immediately to the advancement of so great a design. For which purpose, having express orders so to do from the court of *Spain*, and being also made to believe, by *Diego d'Ivarra's* letters, that the States would concur chearfully and without opposition in the election of the Infanta; the Ambassadors began, without further delay, to solicit the Duke of *Mayenne* to assent to it and support that choice.

They said, his Catholick Majesty had very just pretensions to expect such an election. First, from the right which the Infanta had to the Crown (as born of the eldest daughter of *France*;) and in the next place, in consideration of the favours which *France* had already received from him, and of those which it might receive for the future, as he was resolved to employ all his power and forces to free the kingdom from the contagion of heresy, and to establish the Crown, as soon as possible, in peace and security. To these professions, they added many magnificent promises to every one in particular, but especially to the Duke of *Mayenne*, assuring him, that his Catholick Majesty designed to heap honours and riches upon him without end, and to give him the highest dignity in the kingdom next to the Crown: reminding him, in the last place, of the preference which he had already shewn him, in putting his army under his command, having given positive orders to Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* to obey and acknowledge him as his superior in every thing.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who had already received information that Count *Charles* did not bring above four thousand foot and a thousand horse along with him, and that the Ambassadors had orders not to furnish him with more than twenty-five thousand ducats, which was a sum by no means equal to the urgency of the present occasion, answered the proposal of the Ambassadors in terms of great resentment, and with much less reserve than he used to do, and reproached them “with their trifling supplies

1593. both of men and money, which were not likely to set the Confederates free from the yoke of heresy, nor to restore tranquillity to the kingdom, as they vainly boasted, but to perpetuate the calamities of war, and to reduce the affairs of the League to the lowest ebb of distress. That he could not help remembering in times past, how his Catholick Majesty's armies had hardly come in sight, before they vanished again: which had only served to foment, and not to remedy, the evils that oppressed the kingdom. That such was much more likely to be the case at present, since, at a time when measures were to have been taken for the common safety, and when he, to silence their importunate clamours and remonstrances, had, with infinite difficulty, assembled the States of the kingdom, there came such pitiful succours, that neither their army was powerful enough to give life and vigour to so great an undertaking, nor their money sufficient to supply or so much as afford them the least relief in their present necessities. That he could not sufficiently express his extreme surprisè at so perverse a manner of proceeding: that the King of *Spain* and his Counsellors must be very improvident, upon this occasion, not to see, that, after such behaviour, nothing could be expected from that quarter, and that it was in vain to propose the Infanta for Queen, without sending a proper strength to make her acknowledged, and to establish her in the throne. That it was a difficult and weighty undertaking, and not well relished by many; and to embark in it with such a handful of forces, and so small a degree of power and reputation, was the sure way to damp and defeat it; which, out of regard to his Catholick Majesty, he would never comply with. That people, who had entirely fixed their hopes upon the present Assembly, would be provoked to the last degree, and driven to despair, when they saw a Queen, and a foreigner too, proposed, without sufficient power or means of attaining the Crown. That it was a thing disgustful to the constitution of the *French* nation, repugnant to the tenor of the *Salic* law, that sounded harshly in the ears of a free people, who were not accustomed to be kept under: and therefore it was necessary both to let them see, that they would be secure under the protection of a powerful army, and to conciliate their affections by largesses and other allurements. But to attempt a thing of so great consequence with so feeble a support, was neither suitable to the grandeur of his Catholick Majesty, nor consistent with the honour and reputation of the Confederates. And that for his part, he neither thought fit, nor was able, nor knew how to engage in such a design, as he was certain that it would not only miscarry, but necessitate the Deputies, in despair, to come to an agreement with the hereticks, rather than plunge themselves into an abyss of misery, to the evident destruction both of the publick and every private man."

Such an answer seemed very strange, as it was not at all expected by the Ambassadors,

Ambassadors, and they soon began to perceive that they had built their hopes upon a sandy foundation: yet they persisted in their pretensions, and replied, "That the commotions in the kingdom of *Arragon*, the long indisposition, and afterwards the death of the Duke of *Parma*, had prevented their master from exerting himself in so effectual a manner as he would do in a few months, if there should be occasion. That the succours of his Catholick Majesty had always been so powerful and so opportune, that they had manifestly delivered the Kingdom and the Catholick religion from the bondage of hereticks; and that the *French* had no reason to complain of any other person, when they had lost so many battles and brought their affairs into into such confusion by their own misconduct, that the King of *Spain* was obliged to neglect his own concerns to recover them, in a manner, from the grave. That the supplies of money which he had advanced were not pitiful, but the greediness of the *French* enormous and insatiable: and yet, when they should give just and reasonable satisfaction to his Catholick Majesty, he would use his utmost endeavours to content them: but that to desire to have the sole benefit of all advantage, all conveniencies, and to receive all manner of satisfaction and contentment themselves, and to give none at all to other people, was not a fair or equal manner of proceeding. That it was reasonably expected they would declare their good-will, at least, in acknowledging the title of the Infanta to be good and valid; and, for the rest, it was not to be imagined that his Catholick Majesty would be regardless of his daughter's interests: for he was resolved to drain his kingdom both of men and money to place her upon the throne, and to establish her firmly in it. That the King, tired out with so many broils and such vast demands, would no longer oppress his subjects, nor exhaust his own treasury, without any assurance that his labours and expences should meet with a due recompence at last: but, if the Infanta should be elected, he would immediately send fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to be paid by himself till every thing was settled to their common satisfaction, and would pour out all the treasures of his kingdom upon the *French*."

The Duke of *Mayenne*, seeming to make little account of these magnificent promises for the future, said, "it was necessary to consider the present situation of affairs; and that, in order to make the States swallow the bitter pill of foreign dominion, it must be qualified with the sweets of honour and advantage, if they expect it to go down." But *Inigo Mendoza*, who was more fit to preside in disputes amongst schoolmen, than to conduct a state affair of such importance, replied, "That it was very well known, all the Deputies would not only concur in the election of the Infanta, but even entreat his Catholick majesty to permit her to be their Queen, and that he alone opposed that election, which was so much desired.

1593. desired by every other person." Upon this, the Duke grew warm, and told *Mendoza*, " That he was but little acquainted with the affairs of *France*; and as he was a stranger to the magnanimity of the nation, the *Spaniards* might very likely expect to tyrannize over the Deputies of a *French* Assembly, in the same manner that they did over the ignorant and unhappy *Indians*; but that he would find himself much mistaken in his account." *Mendoza* answered, " That, on the contrary, he should find, they would make him know they were sufficiently enabled to get the *Infanta* elected, without his concurrence or assistance." But the Duke, not having patience to bear that, replied, " That he was under no apprehension upon that account, as he was very well convinced, that if he did not assent to it, all the rest of the world had it not in their power to make such an election." To which the Duke of *Feria* took upon himself to answer, and said, " They would soon make him sensible of his error, and would take away the command of the army, and give it to the Duke of *Guise*." This nettled the Duke of *Mayenne* still more than any thing that had been said before: and, as he was apt to indulge his choler, when he was once provoked, he replied, " That it was in his power to turn the whole strength of *France* upon them, and that, if he pleased, he could thrust them all out of the kingdom in a week's time: that they acted the parts of Ambassadors sent from the King of *Navarre*, rather than from his Catholick Majesty, nor could they have done him more effectual service if they had actually been in his pay: but that they must not expect to treat him as their subject, as he was not so at present, nor did he think he ever should be, if they did not behave themselves in a better manner to him for the future." After which, he took his leave of them in an abrupt and disdainful manner, and left them to themselves.

The next day *Juan Baptista Tassis* resumed the affair, and endeavoured to sooth and gain him over with promises; but the Duke told them plainly, " That if they treated him in such a manner at present, he was not such a fool but he could easily perceive how they would use him when he was a vassal and in their power:" and refused, for a long time, to confer any more with the Duke of *Feria* and *Mendoza*. But the Prothonotary *Agucchi* and Commissary *Malvagia*, who were there by the Legate's orders, and Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, who was come thither to consult in what manner the army should be employed, took so much pains to reconcile them, that the *Spaniards*, knowing they could do nothing without the assistance of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and he, when his passions were in some measure cooled, remembering that he was not in such circumstances that he could spare the support of the *Spaniards*, their animosities were at last composed, but with much prejudice to his Catholick Majesty's designs. For the Duke, to give a more effectual check to them, wrote to
Villeroy,

Villeroÿ, *Jeannine*, and the Archbishop of *Lions*, by all means to cause the writing published by the Catholicks of the King's party, to be answered, and to begin the conference with them which they had proposed, that so he might have a resource at hand, whenever he should be ill-treated by the *Spaniards* for the future. And yet, with much dissimulation on both sides, it was agreed amongst themselves, that the Duke of *Mayenne* should consent to the election of the Infanta, and promote it in the Assembly of the States: and, on the other hand, when she was elected, that he should have the duchy of *Burgundy*, and the government of *Picardy* for his life, the title and authority of the Queen's Lieutenant-General throughout the whole kingdom: that all debts should be paid, as well those that had been contracted in the name of the publick, as in his own, and that all the sums which he had disbursed out of his own pocket should be refunded to him: besides which, they advanced him five and twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and furnished him with bills for two hundred thousand more, and ordered Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* with the army to obey him in every thing, and to act according to his instructions.

This agreement, patched up in such a manner, put a stop to their feuds and dissensions for the present indeed, but did not produce that unanimity afterwards which was so necessary to secure success in the prosecution of their designs. For the Duke of *Mayenne* did not think himself bound to observe promises that had been violently extorted from him by the necessities of the publick; and as the *Spaniards* did not entertain any great hopes that he would perform them, they were determined to take any opportunity that should offer, of accomplishing their ends without him. They left *Soissons*, however, on the twentieth of *February*, and came to *Paris*, where they began to treat with the Deputies; but soon found, that the Assembly was entirely governed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that nothing at all could be effected without his assistance.

On the other hand, when the Duke came to the confines, whither he was gone to review the army, he found it so weak that he gave up all hopes of succeeding in any thing that might tend either to his honour or advantage. Yet they were all of opinion, that the army should not advance into the inner parts of the kingdom, but with different views: the *Spanish* Ministers agreed to it, that *Paris* might not be delivered from the scarcity under which it laboured at that time, still persisting in their conceit, that it would be of service to their affairs to have the League and the *Parisians* kept low and in distress: the Duke of *Mayenne* was afraid the *Spaniards* would be encouraged to grow still bolder by the nearness of those forces: and Count *Charles*, considering that his army was so small
and

1593. and that he had but little money, was not willing to engage himself in places at a distance from the confines, and in undertakings that would take up much time and be attended with any great difficulty: so that tho' the Legate and the *Parisians* were very importunate to have the army advance and lay siege to *St. Dennis*, to open a passage for the conveyance of provisions into the city on that side, yet it was unanimously resolved, for these different reasons, that it should be employed in other enterprises, and the Duke of *Mayenne* recommended the siege of *Noyon* in preference to any other, not only because he thought himself almost certain of taking the place, and of increasing his reputation and authority by that means, but for the sake of dispatch, that he might return to assist in the Assembly, and also because it lay near to *Rheims*, where the Lords of the house of *Lorraine* were to have a meeting before the States should come to a final resolution.

When they had drawn their forces together, therefore, from all parts, they sat down before *Noyon*, and having fortified their camp, they immediately began to break ground, to cast up trenches, and raise batteries. This army consisted of four thousand foot and one thousand *Spanish* horse: twelve hundred *German* foot and one hundred horse, paid by the Pope, and commanded by *Appio Conti*, as General of the Church, and by *Commissary Malvagia*; betwixt five and six hundred *German* foot, of the Prince of *Aiguillon's* regiment; three thousand *French* foot, and betwixt eight and nine hundred horse of the Duke of *Mayenne's* troops, with which were the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale*, the Sieurs *De Rhosne* and *De la Chastre*. Monsieur *D'Estree* commanded in the town with nine hundred foot and about eighty horse, but not assisted by the townsmen, who had always, from the beginning, inclined to the confederates. In a few days three batteries were raised, one by the *Walloons*, under the command of *La Berlotte*; another, where the *Spaniards* wrought, under *Antonio Zuniga* and *Ludovico Velasco*; and a third, carried on by the *Germans*, under *Appio Conti*: and the *French*, being entrenched on the side towards *Chigny*, lay upon the road to prevent any relief from that quarter. The siege lasted but a few days, in comparison of what people imagined it would have done: for the Duke of *Mayenne* himself assisted at all the works with extreme diligence, to shew that now he commanded alone, without being controuled by any superior General, he knew how to carry on such an undertaking with success: and exerting his utmost skill and endeavours, he harrassed and annoyed the besieged in so many places, with mines, batteries, drawing off their water, and continual assaults, that they were not able to hold out any longer, but agreed to surrender; and upon the last day of the month Monsieur *D'Estree* delivered the town into their hands upon terms, which occasioned great murmuring and discontent

discontent in the army; for the soldiers insisted, that they ought to have the plundering of it, as a reward for their extraordinary labours and diligence. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was an enemy to rapine and all proceedings of that kind, and knew how well the townsmen were affected to him, would not suffer foreigners to glut themselves with the riches and blood of the *French*.

But an accident happened, during this siege, which very much weakened the army of the League: for the Colonel of the Pope's lansquenets having refused to obey the command of *Appio Conti*, who ordered him to make his men work at the trenches as the other soldiers did, there passed such high words betwixt them, that at last they drew their swords, and *Appio Conti* was killed upon the spot, by a thrust which he received from the *German*, who was immediately seized, in the midst of his men, by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, but afterwards made his escape out of the hands of those that had him in their custody. Upon which, the rest of the *German* officers immediately furled up their colours and refused to serve any longer: an event that did not displease the Commissary *Malvagia*, who (though the Duke vehemently opposed it) dismissed them from the Pope's pay with no less precipitation than *Matteucci* had some time before disbanded the *Swiss*. His Catholick Majesty's infantry were likewise much diminished, especially the *Walloons*, who, being ill paid, deserted in great numbers: and the *French*, according to their custom, began to dwindle away and abate in their vigour: so that it was not possible to attempt any thing else at that time, as Count *Mansfelt*, either on account of the weakness of his army, or because he had received such orders from the *Spanish* Ministers, was not willing to advance any further, though the *Parisians* were very clamorous and importunate to have siege laid to *St. Dennis*; which the chief commanders did not then care to undertake. However, as they insisted that the garrisons of those towns that adhered to the League should be augmented, that they might be able to convoy their provisions more securely, which were often intercepted by the King's garrisons, it was determined at *Paris* that the Pope's *Germans* should be admitted into the city, that so neither the forces of the *Spaniards* nor those of the Duke of *Mayenne* should be increased there: but the Legate's orders for that purpose not arriving till after the death of *Appio Conti*, and after the Commissary had dismissed the *Germans*, the Duke of *Mayenne* took hold of the opportunity, and instead of them, sent the regiment that belonged to the Prince his son, to the great encouragement of those that depended upon him and wished to see him exalted.

Noyon, therefore, being taken, and almost one half of the army dispersed, Count *Charles* marched back again towards the frontiers, for the

1593. convenience of returning more speedily into *Flanders*, upon occasion ; and the Duke of *Mayenne* set out for *Rheims* with a design to meet the rest of the Princes of his family there, and then to go to assist at the Assembly in *Paris*. In the mean time, an unexpected accident had obliged the King to go to *Tours*, which was of some prejudice to his affairs, particularly as it prevented him from relieving *Noyon*. He had been treating, ever since the year 1587, about giving his sister *Catherine* in marriage to the Count *De Soissons*, but as the articles had not been executed according to agreement (for which purpose the Count had gone to him at the camp in *Xaintoigne*) they were as much disgusted at each other, as the Princess was charmed with the gentle manners and behaviour of the Count. So that though he had both abandoned and returned to the Catholick party during the Assembly of the States at *Blois*, yet they had continued a secret correspondence by letters, which enflamed their passion still more and more, and they had proceeded so far, by the means of *Madam De Grammont*, that the Count, who was one of those that began to think of leaving the King's party, came to *Tours*, under a pretence of visiting his mother, and posted from thence privately into *Bearn*, in order to consummate his marriage, as had been agreed upon with the Princess *Catherine*. But the King (who hoped the marriage of his sister would be a means to gain him the alliance of other Princes, and built much upon it) had watched the Count's actions so narrowly, that he penetrated into that design before it could be put in execution. He had been some time a lover of *Madam De Grammont*, but forsook her after he left *Gascony*, so that she did all that lay in her power to revenge the disgrace of being abandoned by him ; but his sister's Gentlewomen, in whom she most confided, being bribed by him, were as ready, on the other hand, to give him intelligence of every thing that passed. When he was informed therefore of what was in agitation, he ordered some of the Parliament to go into *Bearn*, in order to break that contract : and having sent the Baron *De Biron* before him (whom he had lately made Admiral) under a pretence of taking possession of that dignity in the Parliament, he speedily followed him, leaving his Court and Council at *Chartres*, and came to *Tours*, whither he sent for the Princess, and brought her with him back, at the end of two months, to the same city, being exceedingly chagrined to find himself so little regarded by those of his own blood. But this was a circumstance that more clearly convinced him that it was high time to come to a resolution, and to secure himself, since he plainly saw, that even the Princes of the Blood were alienated from him. Thus every little accident, though it seemed to thwart his designs at first, was always favourable to him in the end, and served to promote his greatness and establishment.

During

During the siege of *Noyon*, there had been warm debates in the Assembly at *Paris*, about returning an answer to the Catholics of the King's party. For the *Spaniards*, supported by the Cardinal Legate, endeavoured, with all their power, to prevent it; alledging, that as the writing was manifestly heretical, and declared so by the Divines of the *Sorbonne*, it could not be taken into consideration, nor ought the States to give any answer to it: what made it heretical, they said, was, that it maintained that subjects were obliged to obey their Prince, though he should be a known heretic and condemned by the holy Church: that this was a net to catch the vulgar, an obstacle thrown in the way to retard the proceedings of the States, a stumbling-block, to interrupt the due service of God; that it would be unwise to throw away their time about subtilties devised by their enemies, or the contrivances of the King of *Navarre*, by whom it was certain that writing was dictated, since they themselves that caused it to be presented, confess they did it with his consent, and it was signed by no body but *Revel*, one of his Secretaries of State: and therefore, as he that desires to be good, ought not to hearken to the temptations of the devil: so they that have any regard to the safety of the kingdom and the establishment of the Catholick religion, should by no means listen to the suggestions of the King of *Navarre*, and those that spoke by his instigation, and through his very mouth. On the other hand, many of the Deputies said, that they ought not to shut their ears against those of the same blood and religion, who perhaps were desirous to renounce their errors and make peace with their consciences, by retiring to the good Catholics, and adhering to the Confederates for the future, which, if it should happen, would so weaken the King of *Navarre*, and reduce him to so low a condition, that he might easily be vanquished and suppressed. That all means ought to be eagerly embraced and employed which might conduce to peace, as that was the chief aim of all good *Frenchmen*, and to which every one aspired for their own safety: and if it could be obtained by gentle means and common consent, why should they plunge themselves afresh into the miseries of war and endless distractions? That, for this very purpose, the Duke of *Mayenne* had, in his Declaration, invited the Catholics of the King's party to meet and confer with him: that he had so protested to them, adding, that if they resolved not to unite with him, all subsequent evils and calamities should be imputed to them: which Declaration the Catholics confiding in, had now demanded a conference, and if they should refuse it, they would draw the guilt of those things upon themselves. That their proposing it with the King's consent was no objection, as it was not to be expected that all things could be done, and every end obtained at once: that being yet subject to him, they were necessitated to proceed in that manner,

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but afterwards, when they were drawn over by little and little, by reason and gentle means, perhaps they might make a clearer and more explicit declaration. That it was no great matter if *Revol* was Secretary to the King of *Navarre*, for he was a Catholick, and perhaps no less inclined to leave him than the rest: that it was already known that even the Princes of the Blood had thoughts of abandoning their party, and that the Catholicks were dissatisfied, because he had not kept his promise of changing his religion: and therefore it was necessary to encourage such beginnings, to induce them to come to a firmer resolution, and to reunite in one body, for the safety and repose of the kingdom.

This opinion seemed the more plausible, and was supported by the Duke of *Mayenne's* friends, who had received orders from him to propose it: nor was there any thing wanting to make it pass but the concurrence of the Legate, from whom neither the States nor the Duke himself cared to alienate themselves. The Archbishop of *Lions*, therefore, went to him, and desired him to consider, that if the proposal of the Royalists was not accepted, great commotions would certainly ensue: for the Nobility and the order of the Commons stood up so strenuously for it, that, as they were tired out with the miseries of war and the continual toils and hardships of bearing arms, they would cause an insurrection, and very likely go over to the King of *Navarre*. That no bad consequences could be apprehended from that conference; for care should be taken to employ such persons in conducting it, as would be very far from abandoning or giving up the cause of religion. That if the Catholicks of the King's party should join that of the Confederates, it would be a compleat victory: and if, on the other hand, they should shew themselves averse to it, it would be an easy matter, after such satisfaction had been apparently given to the world and to the States, to find a thousand ways to dissolve the conference. That in the time of Cardinal *Caietano* there had been many other treaties and conferences carried on, both by himself and others, which were not attended with any evil consequences: and if there should not be one at present, he would not only be accounted scrupulous and severe, but obstinate, and an enemy to peace. That if the proposals of the Catholicks should be rejected through his opposition alone, it would be imputed to an unseasonable pride, and a too interested union with the *Spaniards*, which perhaps might not be much approved of at the court of *Rome*: that people began to murmur at it already, and that the demand was so reasonable, that whosoever refused to comply with it was sure to incur great blame. The Legate's ears were likewise continually deafened with popular complaints of his too great partiality to the *Spaniards*: for the *Prevôt des Marchands* told him, that the city, which hoped to be in a great measure delivered out of its present necessity

necessity by this conference, would certainly mutiny if it was refused: 1593. and the Parliament boldly declared, and gave out in publick, that they would concur with the States. So that he was forced at last to give his consent in private, that an answer should be sent to the Catholicks, and that the conference should be agreed to, but without his open approbation. It was accordingly decreed, by an unanimous vote of the States, that the conference should be accepted; and on the 4th of *March* they drew up the following answer to the declaration of the Catholicks.

“ SOME days ago we received a letter addressed to us, and sent by a trumpet in your name: and we could wish it proceeded from that zeal and earnestness which, before the present distractions, ye always used to shew for the preservation of the Catholick religion, and from such respect and obedience as is due to the Church, our holy father the Pope, and the Apostolick See. For then certainly we should soon be reconciled and united together against the hereticks: nor should we any longer have occasion for other arms to pull down and demolish those new altars which are erected in opposition to ours, and to prevent the establishment of heresy, which (because it hath been tolerated, or rather honoured with reward and recompence, instead of being punished, as it ought to have been) is not contented now with toleration and connivance, but aspires to absolute superiority, and to domineer in an imperious manner, under the authority of an heretick Prince. And though no one in particular is mentioned in that letter, nor is it signed by any of those in whose names it was delivered to us, and we are therefore uncertain who sent it, or rather certain that it was done by the suggestion of others, as Catholicks in your circumstances have not that liberty, which is necessary to hear, deliberate, and resolve, according to the dictates of their own consciences, upon any of those measures which our miseries and the common safety require: yet we should not have so long delayed returning an answer to it, if we had not waited for the coming of several of the Deputies who were then upon the road. But as most of them are now arrived, lest a longer silence should be misinterpreted, we do it this day, without deferring it to another, in expectation of those that are yet to come. And we declare, in the first place, that we have all promised and sworn by the name of Almighty God (after receiving his most precious body and the benediction of the Holy See, by the hands of the Cardinal Legate) that the scope of all our designs, the beginning, means, and end of all our actions, shall be to secure and preserve the *Roman*, Catholick, Apostolick religion, in which we are determined to live and die. The holy One himself, who cannot lie, hath taught us, that if we seek the kingdom and glory of God before all other things, temporal blessings shall likewise be added to us: amongst which,

which, next to the security of our religion, we look upon the preserving of the State entire to be the first, and think that all other means of preventing ruin and destruction, founded merely upon human wisdom, favour of impiety, are unjust, contrary to our duty, and the profession we make of being true Catholicks, and without probability of being crowned with any good success. Whensoever, therefore, we shall be delivered from the fear of those dangers which good men apprehend from the evils that are produced by heresy, we will not reject any means or counsel that may tend to alleviate our calamities and bring them to an end. For we acknowledge, and are but too sensible, of the miseries that attend civil wars, and have no occasion for any one to shew us our wounds, though it is known both to God and man who are the authors of them. We think it sufficient to say, that we have been educated and instructed in the doctrines of the holy Church, nor can our souls and consciences enjoy any repose and tranquillity, or taste any happiness, whilst we are in fear of seeing our religion subverted; the danger of which can neither be dissimbled nor avoided, if men go on as they have begun. Hence it is, that judging, as ye do, that our reconciliation is absolutely necessary, we seek it with a truly christian charity, and beseech and conjure ye, in the name of God, to come into it. Let not the reproaches and aspersions which have been cast upon us deter ye from leaving the hereticks, whom at the same time ye both follow and detest. As for ambition, which they say is the cause of our taking up arms, it is now in your power to see our hearts laid open, and to discover whether religion be the real motive, or only a pretence. If we lift up our hands to Heaven to give God thanks, if we be ready and willing to follow all good counsels, to love ye, to honour ye, to do ye the service ye shall justly deserve: then praise us as honest men, who have had the courage to despise all dangers for the preservation of religion, and have not wanted integrity and moderation to forbear doing any thing that is repugnant to honour and reason. But if ye shall find the contrary, we then give ye leave to upbraid us with hypocrisy, and to condemn us as wicked men: by which ye will engage both heaven and earth against us, and force us to lay down our arms like vanquished men, or leave us so weak, that a victory over us will be attended neither with danger nor glory. In the mean time lay the blame upon heresy, the evil consequences of which are sufficiently known to ye, and rather be afraid of that devouring cancer, which daily gets ground amongst us, than of a pretended and imaginary ambition, which (if there really was any such thing) will be left destitute and alone when it shall be stripped of the cloke of religion. It is likewise unreasonable to blame us for introducing foreigners into the kingdom: for we must either give up our religion together with our honours, estates, and lives, or oppose the power

of the hereticks, whom nothing can satiate but our ruin: and therefore we are compelled to make use of their assistance, as ye have turned your arms against us. The most holy fathers and the Apostolick See indeed have sent us relief: and though many of them have been exalted to that supreme dignity since the beginning of these troubles, yet not so much as one of them hath ever deviated in his affection to us; a most certain sign that our cause is just. His Catholick Majesty, a Prince allied to and confederated with this Crown, and the only one who, in these times, is able to support and defend religion, hath likewise assisted us with his forces and other succours, but without any recompence or reward, except the glory which so good a work hath justly acquired him. Our Kings have always had recourse to them upon the like occasions, and when hereticks have rebelled against them: we have followed their example, without entering into any treaty prejudicial to the State, or to our reputation, though our necessities have been much more urgent than theirs. Ye ought rather to remember, that the *English*, who now assist ye in establishing heresy, are the ancient enemies of this kingdom, and yet bear the title of what they formerly usurped, and have their hands imbrued in the innocent blood of an infinite number of Catholicks, who bravely died in the service of God and the Church. Forbear also to charge us with the crime of high treason, because we will not obey an heretick Prince, whom ye call our natural King; and take care, that whilst ye turn your eyes towards the earth to look into human laws, ye forget not the divine laws that come from heaven. It is not nature, nor the law of nations, that teacheth us what Kings we are to acknowledge; but the law of God, the law of his Church, and that of the kingdom, which requires not only proximity of blood in the Prince that is to command us (which is your main argument) but also the profession of the Catholick religion: and this qualification hath given name to that law which we call the fundamental law of the State, always observed and obeyed by our ancestors without any exception: though the other, of proximity of blood, hath sometimes been set aside, whilst the kingdom remained nevertheless entire, and in its former dignity. To promote so just and necessary a reconciliation, we accept the conference which ye propose, provided it may be carried on betwixt Catholicks only, and to deliberate upon the means of preserving religion and the state. And since ye are desirous it should be held in some place betwixt *Paris* and *St. Dennis*, we could wish ye would approve of *Mont-martre*, *St. Meaux*, or the Queen's palace at *Cbalot*; and that ye would be pleased to send your Deputies thither, any day that ye shall think proper, before the end of this month, and to acquaint us with it: at which time we will cause our Deputies to meet them there, and to proceed with sincere affection, free from pas-

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After this answer was received and read in the King's council, who was not yet returned from *Poitou*, those that were present resolved upon a conference, but to defer entering into particulars about it, till they had the King's consent, and the general concurrence of the council. In the mean time they made an excuse for this delay, in a letter drawn up in very affectionate terms, which was admitted: and other letters having passed betwixt them, they at last agreed to have it held at *Surenne*, a place betwixt *Paris* and *St. Dennis*.

There were great disputes at *Paris* about the choice of the persons to conduct this treaty: for the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassadors used their utmost endeavours that *William Rose*, Bishop of *Senlis*, might be one of them; a man of a sour temper, and a sharp, though eloquent tongue, which he had let loose with great freedom, for many years, against the Kings and against their party. On the other hand, those that inclined to peace were very desirous to have *Villeroy* nominated, who was objected to by many, as partial to the King. At last, to satisfy all parties, it was agreed that both of them should be excluded, and those that were unanimously chosen, were the Archbishop of *Lyons*, *Pericard*, Bishop of *Auranches*, *Godefroy de Billy*, Abbot of *St. Vincent de Laon*, the Admiral *Villers*, the Count *De Belin*, the Baron *De Talmay*, the Sieurs *De Montigny* and *Montaulin*, the Presidents *Jeannine* and *Le Maître*, *Stephen Bernard*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*, and *Honoré de Laurent*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Aix*. Those of the King's side made choice of the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Sieurs *De Charvigny* and *Bellicure*, the Count *De Schomberg*, President *De Thou*, *Nicholas* Sieur *De Rambouillet*, the Sieur *De Pontarre*, and Secretary *Revol*. But at their first meeting, with the mutual consent of the Deputies, the Sieur *De Vic*, Governor of *St. Dennis*, was admitted on the King's behalf, and Monsieur *De Villeroy* for the League, as the Duke of *Mayenne* was particularly desirous that he should assist at the treaty; and in the progress of it, the Sieurs *De Rhosné* and *De la Chastre* were also allowed to be present.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Feria* had a solemn and publick audience in the Assembly, where he made a *Latin* speech, in which he offered his Catholick Majesty's assistance to the States, for the conservation of religion, and the election of such a King as the situation of affairs required, and at the same time presented letters from him, in which,
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after many professions of his friendship and affection, he referred them to what the Duke of *Feria* and the other Ambassadors should propose in his name, who said they would defer that till the arrival of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the other Princes, who were then at the meeting at *Rheims* with the Duke of *Lorraine*.

The interests and opinions of the several parties at this meeting, were no less different than in the States. For when the Duke of *Lorraine* and the rest of the Princes would not give place to him, though he was the head of the family, and that the *Spaniards* were already engaged in the design of getting the Infanta elected, he began to grow weary of a war, which for some years had lain so heavy upon his subjects: and though the *Spaniards* sometimes spread a report, that if the Infanta should be elected Queen, she would marry the Cardinal his son, it seemed so improbable a thing to him, that he gave little or no credit to it; and seeing he could obtain nothing else, would have been well content with a peace that would have secured the cities of *Tboul* and *Verdun* to him. On the contrary, the Duke of *Mayenne* was desirous to have him continue armed, and to favour the election of him and his sons, as he thought his past labours justly entitled him to that reward, and that no other person at that time was capable of supporting such a weight: but this he rather intimated than expressly declared, and endeavoured with great address to insinuate it into the rest; amongst whom the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbauf* adhered to him, but the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* would not come into his designs, as they were both intent upon promoting their own advancement, and full of hopes that the *Spaniards* might at last consent to give the Infanta in marriage to one of them. The Duke of *Mayenne*, however, took great pains to convince them of the absurdity of that conceit, by shewing them, that the *Spaniards* were very far from having any such intention, as it was their only design to establish the Infanta in the possession of the Crown, and when that was once effected, to have it united with that of *Spain*, either in her life-time or after her death; with which purpose it would be very inconsistent to give her a young *French* husband, and such a one too as might be able not only to controul her, but all the power of the Nobility and the forces of the whole kingdom.

It was a very remarkable thing, that the King had a strong party even in this meeting, though it consisted only of the house of *Lorraine*. For *Girolamo Gondi*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany's* orders, had formerly begun, and still kept on foot, a treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*, in order to prevail upon him and the rest of his family to come to an accommodation with the King, proposing, that his Majesty should turn Catholick, and not only give full security for the establishment of that religion, but

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his sister also in marriage to the Prince of *Lorrain*, with those cities for her dower which the Duke so much coveted and pretended a right to. Besides this negotiation, the King had begun to treat with the Duke of *Mayenne* himself by the Duke of *Schomberg*, whom he desired to represent to him, that it would be much better to come to a private agreement betwixt themselves, than to wait for the resolution of the conference, as he was ready to give both him and all those of his house ample satisfaction and firm security for that at present, which the *Spaniards* barely promised them hereafter. But the hopes of every one of these interested parties were yet too sanguine, and their passions so strong, that they blinded their judgment, and would not suffer them to accept of these terms. So that, as they could not agree that one of themselves should be exalted to the throne, nor in the choice of another person, they at last broke up without coming to any determination at all, except that the Duke of *Lorrain* gave instructions to the *Sieur De Bassompierre*, his Envoy to the States, to concur with the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniards* in what concerned their common interests at the conference, without declaring his opinion in regard to the election. After which, the Duke of *Mayenne*, still dubious of success, and undetermined how to proceed, set out for *Paris* with his nephew of *Guise* and the Duke of *Elbæuf*: the Duke of *Lorrain*, more desirous of peace and repose than any thing else, returned into his own State: and the Duke of *Aumale* went into *Picardy* to assist Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, who still was on the confines with the forces of his Catholick Majesty.

In the mean time the conference was begun, on the 29th of *April*, where, at their first meeting, after mutual exhortations to lay aside all passions and private interests, and to apply themselves with sincerity to find out means for the safety and welfare of the publick, the Deputies shewed each other their commissions and authority, and gave passports and safe conducts on both sides: after which, a proposal was made for a cessation of arms in the neighbouring places, that so the Deputies themselves and their attendants might be secure, and treat freely without disturbance or apprehension. For this purpose, a truce was concluded and published on the 3d of *May*, to extend four leagues round *Paris* and *Surenne*; which so rejoiced the *Parisians*, who had been so many years shut up and imprisoned within their walls, that it was easy to foresee how much consolation and joy a general peace would occasion throughout the whole kingdom. Both parties agreed, that a peace was absolutely necessary to deliver *France* out of her present miseries, and from impending ruin: every one recommended it, and shewed himself ready to embrace it, but they differed widely about the means of obtaining that end. For the Deputies of the League insisted, that religion alone should be the foundation-

foundation-stone, and that no other agreement could, or ought to be concluded, in which that was not the first and chief consideration, and therefore exhorted the Royalists to abandon the heretick Prince whom they followed, and unanimously to concur with them in chusing a Catholick King, and such a one as might be acceptable to the Pope, and approved of by him: by which, the roots of all discords, that arose from diversity of religions, would be effectually plucked up, and they might, by their joint endeavours, firmly establish good order, and government, and peace in the kingdom. On the other hand, the Deputies of the King's party asserted, that to lay a foundation for a peace, it was necessary to acknowledge and obey a lawful and truly *French* Prince, that was called to the Crown by the laws: under whose protection they might all reunite and put an end to their present troubles and dissensions. That religion was a secondary consideration, since *Christians* had anciently acknowledged and obeyed Princes, that were not only hereticks and schismatics, but also enemies and persecutors of the Church; and the most holy and most learned Fathers of *Christendom*, nay, even the Apostles themselves, had taught and preached such obedience. And that, therefore, they exhorted those of the League to unite with them in acknowledging their King, to whom the Crown undoubtedly belonged, both by a right lineal descent, and by virtue of the *Salic* law: for as he would give them all manner of satisfaction, and the most full and ample security for the preservation of religion that could be desired, so, in time, he might be induced to embrace the doctrines of the Catholick church, to which he did not seem absolutely averse at present.

The Archbishop of *Lyons* and the rest of his fellow Deputies, who could not bear to hear this doctrine broached, expressed their abhorrence and detestation of it, and endeavoured to refute it; though the Archbishop of *Bourges* took much pains to support it, with a great display of learning, authorities, and examples. But they, on the other side, said freely, that this was the sure way to make the kingdom schismatical, and to alienate it entirely from the communion of the Catholick church, and that they would sooner lose their lives, than consent to so shameful and pernicious a thing. In answer to this, the Archbishop of *Bourges* represented, that to be so obstinate in this point, would be the means of subjecting the kingdom to the dominion not only of foreign Princes, but of its most inveterate enemies; and that for their parts, since they were suffered to live in liberty of conscience and the enjoyment of their religion, they would not upon any account stain themselves with a crime of so deep a die. After long disputes, the Archbishop of *Bourges* proposed, that since they could not agree amongst themselves to acknowledge a King, who was not publicly and certainly a Catholick, they should jointly exhort King

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Several meetings passed in these disputes, but nothing was concluded or agreed upon: so that many were of opinion (as they had prognosticated from the first) that the conference would break up without effecting any thing. The *Spaniards*, likewise, taking fresh courage (when the Deputies of the League seemed so resolutely determined never to acknowledge any Prince that was not a sincere Catholick: and the King and his Deputies, on the other hand, so obstinately insisted upon postponing the consideration of religion to the *Salic* law, and the political constitution of the kingdom) resolved to exert their utmost strength, and boldly to attempt the accomplishment of their main design, by proposing the election of the *Infanta*. For this purpose, after the Legate had caused prayers to be offered up, and many solemn processions to be made, with no less pomp than devotion, to beg of God that he would be pleased to inspire the States with his grace to take good resolutions, and to make choice of proper

per means for the common safety, on the nineteenth of *May*, the *Spanish* Ambassadors (who were to make the proposal) the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Guise*, *Aumale*, and *Elbœuf*, the Count *De Chaligny*, the *Sieur De Bassompierre* on behalf of the Duke of *Lorraine*, the *Sieur De la Pierre* for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for the Duke of *Mercaur*, Cardinal *Pellevè*, the Count *De Belin* Governor of *Paris*, six Deputies in the name of the States to treat with the *Spanish* Ministers, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the Bishop of *Senlis* for the Clergy, the *Sieurs De la Chastre* and *Montaulin* for the Nobility, the *Prevôt des Marchands* and *Stephen Bernard* for the Commons, all assembled at his palace. This meeting, composed of members that were the very life and soul of the States, and of the League, was opened by the Duke of *Feriz*, who told them, " he could not sufficiently express his detestation of the conference which was now set on foot with those of the King's party: that the Cardinal Legate, as well as he himself and the other *Spanish* Ministers, had agreed to it, only that they might not seem wanting in any possible means which might tend to reclaim those that had gone astray, and bring them back into the bosom of the holy church, and that when the obstinacy of the *Politicks* was plainly seen, who preferred the consideration of temporal concerns to religion itself, the world might be convinced of their wickedness, and of the good intentions of his Catholick Majesty, whose principal objects were Christian charity, the security of religion, and the peace and happiness of the most Christian kingdom of *France*. But as this trial had also been made, and nothing left undone to satisfy the desires of every one, it was now high time to put an end to those treaties, which, without any hopes of advantage, were likely to be attended with many dangers and evils, and to apply themselves for the future, to the election of some person to govern the kingdom, that should be approved of by general consent, for which purpose they were assembled together with so much difficulty, and from so many different parts. That as his Catholick Majesty, who had poured out such immense treasures, and so much of his subjects blood, to support that cause, had never refused to listen to any proposals that might conduce to the publick good, so he was at last convinced, that the most salutary means, and best for all parties, and in which alone both justice and decency, honour and advantage jointly concurred, would be to elect the Infanta *Clara Eugenia Isabella*, his Majesty's daughter, to be Queen of *France*, to whom, as born of the eldest daughter to *Henry* the second, whose male heirs were extinct, the Crown justly and lawfully belonged, as might be easily shewn, not only from reason, but the authority of many laws and constitutions: that his Majesty wished and desired, that the States might agree to so equitable an election, for the more general satisfaction, that so the gratitude of the *French* in remembering what great things he had done for them, might concur with

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the justice of the cause, to re-establish publick tranquillity and contentment." Here he expatiated largely in the praise of the Infanta, extolling her goodness, prudence, and magnanimity, which were such as rendered her worthy of exaltation to so illustrious a kingdom; and concluded with saying, "that there were, at present, eight thousand foot and two thousand horse ready to enter the confines, upon the least intimation from the States, and that there should be as many more to support them in three months, all which forces should be paid by his Majesty till the war was at an end: that the Duke of *Mayenne* should have an hundred thousand crowns advanced to him every month, to maintain ten thousand *French* foot and four thousand horse: that if these were not thought sufficient, his Catholick Majesty would add as many more as occasion required; for they might assure themselves, that, out of the tender affection which he bore to his daughter, he would not fail to employ his whole strength to establish her in the free and peaceable possession of the Crown." Adding, in the last place, "That the Princes of the house of *Lorraine* in particular, and then all the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen, should be generously rewarded and contented, the Clergy restored to their former dignity and authority, the Nobility satisfied, the grievances of the people redressed, and all the several orders of *France* settled, not only in full peace and security, but in their ancient lustre and glory."

When the Duke of *Feria* had finished his speech, the Bishop of *Senlis*, who hardly had patience to stay till it was concluded, without giving time for any other person to declare his opinion, as they ought to have done in order, got up, and answered in a reproachful manner, "That it seemed the *Politicks* were in the right, who had always said, that interests of state were concealed under the cloak of religion, which he, with others of his order, had, upon all occasions, taken the utmost pains to refute from their pulpits: that it now grieved him to the heart to hear that it was true, from open confession, and the mouths of the Ambassadors themselves, and that the preachers had not only been deceived themselves, but had deceived others, by asserting and maintaining a thing that was false. That he should from henceforth look upon the *Spaniards* as no less designing than the *Navarrese*, but prayed them, for their own honour and the reputation of the holy Union, to desist from such an attempt: for as the throne of *France* had been gloriously filled by men for the space of twelve hundred years, according to the institution of the *Salic* law, it was not to be imagined that it would now be transferred to women, who, by various marriages, might call in variety of masters, and subject the *French* nation to the dominion of foreigners." So bold and unexpected an answer from one of the principal engines of the League, and a most inveterate enemy to the King, not only in some measure

measure dashed the *Spanish* Ambassadors, but gave many of that Assembly reason to apprehend, that so stinging a reproach would disconcert matters and throw them into confusion. But the Duke of *Mayenne* endeavoured, with all his address, to excuse what the Bishop of *Senlis* had said, imputing it to an excess of zeal and too warm a temper, which sometimes carried him beyond the bounds of moderation; and said, "That when he was grown cool again, and made sensible of his error, he was sure he would willingly retract what he had so hastily and inconsiderately advanced in the first sallies of his passion." The *Spaniards* recovered their spirits upon this encouragement from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and what was added by Cardinal *Pelleve* and some others: but it was well known, that it was not out of ambition, or to promote any worldly interest (as some would have had it thought) but merely from motives of conscience, that the Bishop of *Senlis*, during the whole course of these commotions, had so strenuously supported the cause of the Union, and had always spoken with so much bitterness and unlimited freedom against the person of the present King, and the memory of the last. It is certain, however, that what he said very much lowered the credit of the *Spaniards*; and that his example made a deep impression upon many who followed the League, not for their own interest, but out of regard to religion.

But the *Spaniards*, taking courage from the Duke of *Mayenne's* behaviour (which nevertheless was disssembled) and the confidence they had in many of the Deputies, demanded a publick audience in the Assembly of the States, which being granted, and appointed on the 26th of the same month, *Juan Baptista Tassis* was the first that spoke, and in a short, but very artful speech, proposed the Infanta a second time. After him, *Inigo de Mendoza*, in a long discourse, divided into seven heads, set forth the title by which she pretended to the succession, and concluded with saying, "They did not make use of those arguments in order to reduce that to a litigation, which was to be acknowledged from the voluntary election of the States, but for their information and satisfaction, that so, after due advice, the Assembly might act conformably to reason and justice in their disposal of the Crown, as the Infanta was willing to acknowledge it from their free choice, though it justly belonged to her by lawful succession." But the proposal was no better relished by the greater part of the Deputies than it had been by the Bishop of *Senlis*: many were highly provoked that foreigners should be proposed to rule over them, as if they were either slaves to the will of others, or incapable of managing their own affairs: some could not forbear making a joke of it, when they saw neither men nor money, nor any other such preparations made to support it, as the importance and reputation of the enterprise

1593. enterprise required: others were surprized at the boldness and folly of the *Spaniards*, in declaring their design so openly, without having previously engaged the affections of the States, and disposed them to concur in it by the allurements of private interest: and several objected to the Infanta's title, and said, that even if women should be declared capable of inheriting the Crown, the right apparently did not belong to her, but to the Kings of *England*, who were prior descendants from daughters of *France*, and with whom there had been so many long wars to set aside such pretensions, to maintain the *Salic* law, and the lawful succession of males. But the Princes of the house of *Lorraine*, who aspired to the Crown themselves, were the most offended at it, though they artfully concealed their resentment: and the Duke of *Mayenne*, with much dissimulation, seemed unwilling to dissent from the King of *Spain* in any thing, or from what he had agreed upon with the Ambassadors at *Saissy*; yet he secretly instigated the Deputies to reject the proposal, as one to be attended with great dishonour to the nation in general, with injury to every individual, and not only destructive to their own liberty, but that of their posterity, and at the same time not founded upon any secure bottom, but vainly supported by the uncertainty of future promises and expectations.

The Deputies, therefore, were unanimously resolved not to consent to it: however, to avoid exasperating the *Spaniards*, and to gain time to bring things to maturity, they said, in a complaisant manner, "That their proposal should be taken into consideration, and an answer returned to it as soon as possible." In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, in order to raise difficulties and throw impediments in their way, began to sift the Ambassadors what husband the Infanta was to have when the States had elected her Queen, and pressed them to declare what commissions they had from his Catholick Majesty relating to that point. Their answer was like all the rest of their proceedings in this negotiation; for they made no scruple of declaring, "That their master designed to give her in marriage to *Ernest*, Archduke of *Austria*, the Emperor's brother, whom he had also appointed to succeed the late Duke of *Parma* in his government of the *Low Countries*. But this was immediately excepted against by all the Deputies, who protested, "They would not submit to a King of a different nation and language, which the ears of *Frenchmen* would never be prevailed upon to endure:" and though the Duke of *Mayenne*, for many reasons, pretended to approve of the Archduke, yet the rest openly declared they would not bear it. So that when the *Spaniards* perceived that the Infanta was not at all likely to succeed in her election, if some more effectual means were not taken to secure it, they said, "They had instructions, if the States did not approve of the Archduke,

duke, to propose, that his Catholick Majesty would give the Infanta in marriage to some *French* Prince, who should be nominated and elected by him within the term of six months." This overture was not so generally disliked as the other, because there were many that pretended to her, amongst whom were the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, whilst he publicly applauded the proposal, endeavoured to find out whether they were disposed to make choice of any one of his sons, and being at last sufficiently convinced that they were not, because they did not care to put the government of the kingdom into his hands, and were certain, that in such case the Infanta would only be a mere wife, and not a Sovereign, he resolved to take a very different course from what he had done before, and began to encourage and promote the conference at *Surenne* betwixt the Catholics of both parties, which was yet on foot.

The King, who had intelligence of every thing that passed here, used his utmost endeavours, by means of the conference, to prevent the States from consenting to either of those proposals: but the consideration of his Religion was of such importance, that the arguments of the Deputies on his side had but little weight: on the contrary, the Catholics that yet adhered to him were much dissatisfied, that his conversion, which had been so long desired, and so often promised, was still deferred, and seemed every day further off. The Princes of the Blood openly threatened, and now determined in good earnest, to come to some resolution, when they saw the election of a King of another family so warmly promoted: and every one of them was naturally induced to hope, that he might possibly be the man fixed upon to marry the Infanta, and consequently be supported and established in the throne by the arms of his Catholick Majesty. The Cardinal of *Bourbon* conceived great expectations: the Count *De Soissons* was extremely disgusted since he had been disappointed in his hopes of marrying the Princess *Catherine*: the Prince of *Conti* did not think his being commonly reputed impotent would be of any disservice to his pretensions, but rather incline the *Spaniards* to make choice of him, that so, if the Infanta should have no issue, there might still be some probability left of uniting the two Crowns: and in the last place, that match was aspired to by the Duke of *Montpensier*, a young Prince of great courage and vivacity, of a handsome person and graceful behaviour: so that the election of the Infanta seemed more likely to go down with the King's own party than with those of the League. But private men, who had none of these pretensions, and were only governed by a regard for religion and their own ease and convenience, publicly exclaimed, that the King's obstinacy encouraged the *Spaniards* both in their open and secret practices: that all his pretences for delay were now exhausted; that he

1593. himself had no longer the face to alledge any reasons, or to offer any excuse for it; that it was too evident he was fascinated by the arts of the Ministers, and fast bound in the chains of heresy: that it was high time to think of their souls, their religion, their own salvation, and that of their children, lest they should be necessary to sending themselves and all their posterity to the devil: that they ought to let him and his desperate crew of *Hugonots* go to perdition by themselves, and not suffer him to carry the whole kingdom along with him.

Next to religion, their own private concerns came under consideration: every one was tired of the hardships and burthen of war, every one began to lament his own condition, the sufferings of his family, the ruin of his domestick affairs, and expences which had no end: every one sighed, every one most ardently longed for the blessings of peace and repose. Amongst the rest, Monsieur *D'O*, weary of being treasurer without money, the Sieurs *De Bellegarde*, *St. Luc*, *De Termes*, *Saucy*, *Grillon*, and all the old servants of *Henry* the third, particularly bewailed themselves and their hard fortune, which, instead of a golden King, whom it had taken from them, had now given them a King of iron: for the late King bountifully poured out his treasures upon his followers, whereas the present, who was no less parsimonious by nature than distressed in his circumstances, proposed no recompence or reward to them for their past labours, but fresh wars, sieges, skirmishes, and battles. They said they could no longer bear the grievous fatigues of war, and to live enclosed betwixt a back and breast-plate of iron, like tortoises in their shells: that they were thoroughly heart sick of a King that was accustomed to live after the manner of the *Hugonots*, of scampering about the country day and night to support themselves by rapine and plundering cottages, of warming their fingers by the flames of some house that was set on fire, and, when they went to sleep, of lying down with their own horses, or, perhaps, stinking cattle, in the hut of some wretched peasant: that formerly war used to be made to obtain peace and security sometime or other; but now they served a Prince who never desired to see any end of the miseries that attend it, but looked upon battles, and wounds, and slaughter, and the thunder of cannon, only as pastime and diversion. These complaints, sometimes mixed with curses and imprecations, sometimes with satire and raillery, after the manner of the *French*, were so publick, that they came to the King's ears, which were continually filled with serious exhortations and admonitions by the Count *De Schemberg*, the High Chancellor, and *James Darcy* Sieur *du Berren*, who, whilst he was employed in negotiating the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* interests, had, by frequent disputations and arguments, made a convert of the Baron *De Salignac* (one of the King's bed-chamber, and in whom he put much confidence) and by his means was admitted into conversation

conversation with the King, at vacant hours, in his own private apartment : 1593. where sometimes entering into serious arguments with him, sometimes entertaining him with his poetry and eloquence (of which he had a considerable share) and sometimes with his wit and humour, he had insinuated himself so far into his favour and good opinion, that from these matters of amusement and recreation, he began to be advised with and admitted to consultations in affairs of greater weight and importance. This man, perceiving that the King's conversion would give him a much fairer chance of making his fortune, than he could ever expect from the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* exaltation, began to exert his utmost endeavours to bring it about, making use of all possible means, watching every opportunity, and taking the advantage of the present conjuncture, with wonderful art and address, to promote his designs.

All these things, which were very well known to the King, but particularly the absolute necessity of his conversion, at last made so deep an impression upon him, that, in order to lay a foundation for it, and to know, with some degree of certainty, what he might depend upon, if he declared himself a Catholic, he ordered the Count *De Schomberg* and Secretary *Kerol* (who were come to consult him about what they should finally propose in the conference at *Surenne*) to sound the Catholics of the League, and endeavour to find how they were likely to relish and receive his conversion, provided he should really determine to return into the bosom of the church. After his Deputies, therefore, had thoroughly considered the matter, they resolved to make this overture to those of the Union, and to signify to them, that the King designed to fulfill his promises in a few days. In consequence of this resolution, when they met together again at the conference, in which there had been warm debates, and great difference in their opinions, though nothing effectual was yet agreed upon, the Archbishop of *Bourges* told them, he brought them good tidings, and such as would rejoice every true *French* heart; for the King, being moved by the inspiration of God, was resolved, in a few days, to give all his subjects the consolation they desired, by embracing the Catholic faith, and reconciling himself to the Church: and therefore, as he was certain this news would be acceptable to them all, so he intreated them to consider what measures were most proper to be taken to favour and promote that conversion, and to conduct it in such a manner that it might produce general peace and security. The Deputies of the League were something disconcerted at this motion: but the Archbishop of *Lyons*, endeavouring to suppress all appearance of doubt or suspense, presently answered, " That he believed his fellow Deputies would give him leave to say, they should exceedingly rejoice at the King of *Navarre's* conversion, and prayed to God it might be real and sincere, and for the rest, he de-

1593. manded time to consult them in private." Which being granted (after a consultation that lasted many hours, in which they differed very much in their opinions) they at last replied, "That (as they had told them before) they should rejoice at the King of *Navarre's* conversion whenever it happened: but even in that case, it did not belong to them to judge and declare whether it was sincere or not, but to the Pope and the Apostolick See; so that they could not pretend to enter into a deliberation about any thing that depended upon such a conversion, the verity of which was not determinable by their authority or jurisdiction." And though they persisted in this resolution, yet the King's Deputies presented a writing to them, which contained three proposals: one, that the King should turn Catholick: another, that, in the mean time, proper measures should be treated of for securing religion and concluding a peace: and the third, that, whilst these things were in agitation, a cessation of arms should be agreed upon throughout the whole kingdom. The Deputies, on the other side, could not indeed refuse to accept this writing, but sent it directly to be discussed by the Duke of *Mayenne* and the States, where it occasioned very long debates and great difference in their opinions: yet, as the Royalists endeavoured to discover the intentions of the Confederates, so they, on the other hand, would not declare how they designed to act, if the King should publickly return into the Church.

But these overtures from the King's party occasioned such jealousies and apprehensions in the *Spanish* Ambassadors, that they began to press, with greater vehemence than ever, for a compliance with their proposal: to facilitate which, they were at last forced to offer, that his Catholick Majesty should give the Infanta to one of the Princes of the house of *Lorrain*. But this offer likewise raised many doubts: because there was no certainty, when the Infanta was once elected and declared, that either she or the King her father would observe a promise, to which a private man can hardly be obliged, much less a Sovereign. It was also considered, that if her first husband should die before her, she might perhaps take another, either of the house of *Austria*, or a *Spaniard*, or one of some other nation: and that, if she should have no children by this marriage, the King of *Spain* would afterwards pretend a right to the Crown. But the principal obstruction proceeded from the Duke of *Mayenne*: for when he saw that neither he himself, nor his posterity, were likely to succeed in their expectations, the matter was protracted without coming to any resolution, except that it was determined in the States, that an answer should be returned, in terms of moderation, to the writing which had been sent them by those of the King's party in the conference, without discontinuing that treaty. Both parties, therefore, being assembled at *La Roquette*, a house in the country not far from *St. Anthony's* gate, the
Archbishop

Archbishop of *Lyons* said, "That as to the King's conversion, they all ^{1593.} wished it might be real and unfeigned, but could not prevail upon themselves to believe it was so; on the contrary, they had great reason to think it dissembled. For if it was sincere, so many difficulties and delays would not have been interposed, and if he was indeed moved by the inspiration of God, he would not continue in his heresy and the publick exercise of it, he would not still encourage and harbour the principal Ministers that preached those doctrines, nor would he leave the chief offices of the kingdom in their hands. However, as it was not their business to approve of or reject that conversion, they would refer the matter to the Pope, who alone had authority to judge of and determine it. And for what concerned a treaty of peace, they could not well enter into any thing of that kind at present for many reasons, particularly, lest they should be obliged to treat with the King of *Navarre*, who was out of the pale of the Church, and anticipate the Pope's judgment, by seeming inclined to acknowledge him themselves, and encouraging others by their example to do the same. As to a cessation of arms, they would return an answer to that, when satisfaction was given in the other points." Thus whilst they neither assented to the proposals, nor yet seemed altogether averse to them, they endeavoured to keep the other side in suspense, till the Duke of *Mayenne* could discover what was likely to be the event of the proposal made by the *Spaniards*.

But the Cardinal Legate, who was exceedingly mortified when he saw the *Spanish* negotiation attended with such difficulties, and that people were so generally inclined to a cessation of arms, out of the hopes they had conceived of the King's conversion, and a desire of repose, began to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it: and pretending to be indisposed, he wrote a letter to Cardinal *Pellevé*, on the 13th of *June*, desiring him to go to the States in his name, and remonstrate to them, in the strongest manner, what mischiefs and dangers were likely to ensue from the conference at *Surenne*, and to acquaint them, that they could not treat about the conversion of the King of *Navarre*, nor about a peace, or a cessation of arms, or any other thing with him, without acting in opposition to the decrees of the sacred canons, and the declarations of the Apostolick See, and violating the oath they had taken, never to consent to any agreement with the Heretick. All which things he insisted upon with great vehemence in his letter, and concluded it with protesting, that if they continued to treat about a peace, or even a truce, he would immediately go out of the city, and leave the kingdom as soon as he could, that he might neither be accessary to so great an evil, nor disobey the instructions he had from the Pope. This letter, which was first read by the Cardinal in the Assembly of the States, and afterwards printed, that it might be the
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1593. more publick, in some measure damped the ardour of the Deputies who before had been most eager for a cessation of arms.

In the mean time, the King, who knew the *Spaniards* had lost much of their former credit, and had but a very weak army to support their pretensions, resolved to take his advantage of it, and to go upon some enterprize of importance to add fresh reputation to his affairs, and to further the negociations that were carrying on in his favour. For which purpose, after he had assembled his whole army, and drawn the garrisons out of all the neighbouring towns with great expedition, and made sufficient provision of artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and other things necessary for such an undertaking, on the 7th of *June* he came before *Dreux*, a town but sixteen leagues from *Paris*, which, from the nature of its situation, the strength of its fortifications, and the disposition of the people that were in it, was expected to make an obstinate defence. The suburbs of the town were bravely stormed the first day; and those that had undertaken to defend them, being driven from every post, when they found it impossible to maintain them, endeavoured to burn them down. After this, the whole army encamped as fast as they could, and the next day began to throw up four trenches, which were carried on with so much diligence, under the inspection of the Baron *De Birox*, and the Sieur *De Montlucet*, one of the Field Marshals, that on the 13th they were all advanced as far as the very foss. Four batteries were also raised with the same dispatch: one of four pieces of cannon, against the great bastion, near the *Porte de Chartres*: another, of six, against the *Porte de Paris*: the third, of three pieces, against the curtain near the town hall: and the fourth of five, in the Fauxbourg of *St. John*, which battered a large tower that stood on that side. The King hastened and encouraged the works in all places with his presence: so that as soon as the orillon of the great bastion was beaten down, two Colonels advanced to reconnoitre the place, which being taken by the army as an order and signal for an assault, the soldiers of the different nations rushed furiously on to it, vying with each other who should be first in the attack. Upon which the besieged, being overpowered by the number and resolution of the assailants, abandoned the bastion, in which a regiment of *French* lodged and fortified themselves the same evening. The next day the batteries continued playing upon the walls with such fury, that, several breaches being made, and the army ready to advance to the assault in four different places, the besieged resolved to quit the town, and retire into the castle, as they did, but in such confusion and disorder, that they were overtaken by the King's soldiers, who entered furiously at the same time, and obliged them to set fire to some part of the town to facilitate their retreat, which fire, after it had done great mischief, and burnt down many houses on every side, was at last

last extinguished with much difficulty at the King's command, by the *Swiss*, who had staid, drawn up in battalia, near his person. So that upon the 18th the King became master of the town, and began with the same ardour and resolution to lay siege to the castle; and as there was a large quantity of cattle, and many of the townsmen and country people shut up in the outworks and precincts of it, the Baron *De Biron* caused a petard to be fastened to one of the gates the same night, and made himself master of those works and all the booty, with great slaughter of the enemy, though he lost above an hundred of his own men in that action. But the reduction of the castle itself, which was very strong and advantageously situated, was attended with much difficulty, and great numbers of men were killed in their approaches, till the Count *De Torigny*, who made the soldiers under him work in the midst of the greatest dangers, had finished a large trench, under the shelter of which some batteries were raised: but whilst the King, who despised all perils, was carefully inspecting them, two Colonels were killed close by his side, and the Duke of *Montpensier* was grievously wounded with a musket ball in the chin, which, glancing along his jaw, wounded him in the shoulder also. Over against the King's batteries there stood an old tower, but of so firm a structure, that the cannon-shot made but small impression upon it. An *English* engineer, therefore, considering the great quantities of powder that were thrown away to little or no purpose, resolved to try another method, and having got to the foot of the tower, under the cover of thick wooden planks plated with iron, he caused three great holes, like ovens, to be dug under it, and putting a barrel of powder into each, set fire to them: which, though it had a much less effect than mines usually have, threw down part of the tower, and made such a breach, that the artillery did more execution in battering the rest. Nevertheless, the besieged were not dismayed at it, but made a brave resistance for some days: but the

sauces proceeded with such diligence and ardour, that after they had sustained many assaults, and had no person of any authority to command them, nor the least prospect of relief from *Paris*, though it was so near, they were obliged, by extreme necessity, to surrender, and delivered up the castle into the King's hands on the 8th of *July*.

The report of the King's success very much discouraged the Deputies at *Paris*, who, in this interval, had been as active and assiduous in their negotiations there, as the other side had been in their military operations at *Drœux*. For the *Spanish* Ambassadors being now determined to make their last efforts, met the principal of them again in Council, and told them, that, in order to remove all obstacles that might prevent the Infanta's election, his Catholick Majesty would consent to give her in marriage to the Duke of *Guise*, as soon as she was elected: which was so unexpected

1593. expected a stroke, that it stung the Duke of *Mayenne* to the quick, who being thus taken at unawares, and not provided with any other expedient upon so sudden an emergency, answered, however, "That he most humbly thanked his Catholick Majesty, for the great honour he vouchsafed to shew his nephew, but desired to see the Ambassador's commission, and to know whether those terms were expressly included in it: for the greater and more desirable the favour was, the more cautiously it was necessary to proceed in believing and accepting it." The Duke of *Mayenne* strongly suspected that the Ambassadors had not such a power from his Catholick Majesty, but were forced, by the circumstances of their affairs, to make that proposal of their own accord: but he was presently convinced of the contrary, for they produced their commission, and shewed him an article, by which they were fully impowered to propose a marriage betwixt the Infanta and the Duke of *Guise*, provided the States would elect her to be their Queen. The Duke of *Mayenne* was exceedingly perplexed at this, and did not well know how to evade it, nor could he dissemble so perfectly but they all perceived an alteration in his countenance: but the *Sieur De Bassompierre*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Lorraine*, gave him some assistance in this embarrassment, and said, "That a thing of so great importance should not be determined without making his Master acquainted with it, who had had the principal share in the expences and calamities of the war, and therefore nothing ought to be concluded upon without first having his opinion and consent:" and here, to give the Duke of *Mayenne* time to think of an answer, he expatiated at large upon what the Duke of *Lorraine* had done in favour of the League, and the great deference and respect that was to be shewn to his authority. When he had done speaking, the *Spaniards* answered, "That they readily agreed, that the Duke of *Lorraine* should be informed of all that had passed, and were certain he would be highly pleased with the honour done to his family." In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* had in some measure composed himself, and after he had again thanked his Catholick Majesty and the Ambassadors, said, "That he accepted the offer, but that it was not consistent with his Catholick Majesty's reputation, that the Infanta should be elected, without being sure, in the first place, of proper strength to establish her: nor was it by any means prudent to hazard the fortune of his nephew, and the whole family, except upon terms that would be acceptable in general, and not only necessary in the present situation of affairs, but sufficient to support and secure him for the future; so that he must desire some time to concert and propose such means and conditions as the nature of the design required for its accomplishment." Upon this demur they parted, the Cardinal Legate and the Ambassadors rejoicing exceedingly,

ingly, and being in a manner assured, that they had now conducted their negotiation to the desired conclusion. 1593.

But the Duke of *Mayenne*, being determined to interrupt it at all events, began to sound his nephew; insinuating, “ That he was afraid the *Spaniards* had proposed that match, not with any design of performing their engagement, but to deceive him, as he could never persuade himself, that after they had taken such pains to exalt the Infanta to the Crown, they would afterwards consent to marry her to a *French* husband, and the chief of a party too, who, by that assistance, might controul her, and be King in fact, whilst she would only have the bare title of *Queen*: that no advantage of any kind whatsoever could accrue from thence to King *Philip* or his kingdom: for if he had no further design than to marry his daughter to a king of *France*, he might easily do that, whoever was in possession of the Crown, whether friend or enemy: but if he aspired to unite the two Crowns, this was not the way to effect it, and therefore he could not possibly see what benefit the Monarchy of *Spain* could expect from it: for which reason it would be prudent to look forwards, and provide against any hidden artifice. That to elect the Infanta first, and then to defer the marriage for a certain time, would be to leave it in her power either to take or refuse him, and that it was highly necessary to find some means to make the match secure. Besides, if the King of *Spain* should proceed with sincerity in the affair, it could not be amiss to consider coolly and dispassionately what strength they had to establish themselves in the kingdom: that the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was in hopes of obtaining the Crown himself, or that the Infanta might marry the Cardinal his son, would certainly be disgusted, and withdraw his assistance: and how prejudicial that would prove to their interests, might easily be comprehended from the situation of his territories, through which all the supplies were obliged to pass that came out of *Germany* to the aid of both parties. That it was to be feared the Duke of *Savoy* would do the same, who had till then supported the war in *Provence* and *Dauphiné*; for when he was once deprived of the expectation which he had conceived, of being able to secure the kingdom to himself, or at least some province of it, he would no longer expose himself and his States to the dangers and calamities of war. That the Duke of *Nemours* was already in a great measure alienated from them, and only with-held from leaving them, by the affection and respect which he yet bore to an elder brother; and if that should be extinguished, there was no doubt but he would prosecute his own pretensions. That the Duke of *Merçœur* might be expected to do the same, as soon as he lost all hopes of obtaining *Bretagne*: so that it would be worth while to consider, how it would be possible for the forces of the League, when they were diminished in that manner, to make

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head against the King, whom they were hardly able to oppose now they were all united. That the King of *Spain* was sufficiently employed in the wars in the *Low Countries*, and the commotions in *Arragon*; that his Kingdom was exhausted, and that he was several millions in debt to the *Genoese*. That he had no General of any eminence or reputation, and therefore it was much to be doubted he could not perform what he promised. In short, that this step was like *Cæsar's* passing the *Rubicon*, and could not be too maturely weighed before it was taken."

To these suggestions the Duke of *Guise* answered, with much moderation, seeming inclined to act according to his advice, tho' he was otherwise determined in his own breast, as might well be conjectured from the treaties he was engaged in, the daily manner of his proceeding, the concurrence of his adherents, and their frequent meetings at his house and his mother's. So that the Duke of *Mayenne* did not absolutely confide in him, but resolved, in the next place, to propose such high conditions as might serve to check the ardour of the *Spaniards*. These were, "That the Duke of *Guise* and the Infanta should be elected King and Queen at the same time: that the election should be kept secret till the marriage was consummated, which the States should give the Duke of *Mayenne* authority to declare at a proper time. That, in case the Infanta should die first, the Duke of *Guise* should continue King, and govern the kingdom by himself. That if she was left a widow, she should be obliged to take another husband of the house of *Lorraine*, with the advice of the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown. That if she had no issue, the eldest of the Duke of *Guise's* brothers should succeed, and afterwards the next male heirs of the family, in their natural order. That none but *Frenchmen* should be admitted to any offices, employments, dignities, benefices, governments of provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses in the kingdom. That the command of the armies, with the authority of Lieutenant-General, should be continued to the Duke of *Mayenne*: that the government of the provinces of *Burgundy*, *Champagne*, and *Brie* should be secured to him and his heirs for ever, with power to dispose of all the offices and benefices in them. That two hundred thousand crowns should be paid him down in ready money at present, and six hundred thousand more within a certain limited time, for which proper security should be given to him. That all the debts should be discharged, which he had been obliged to contract, on account of the present war: that a yearly pension of one hundred thousand crowns should be settled upon him and his posterity, together with the principality of *Fainville*, and the cities of *Vitry* and *St. Dizier*: and, after many other demands of less consequence, that all the presentations and nominations to churches, benefices, governments, and all donatives, employments,

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and favours already conferred by him as Lieutenant of the Crown, should remain valid, as well as every thing that he should grant or dispose of till the consummation of the marriage, and the establishment of the King and Queen." 1593.

But these conditions, hard and exorbitant as they were, did not at all stagger the *Spaniards*, who had beforehand determined to comply with his demands, whatever they might be, provided they could secure the Infanta's election: as they knew they might afterwards find a thousand opportunities and excuses to disengage themselves from observing any thing but what they should think convenient, and at the same time thought it but reasonable that the Duke of *Mayenne* should have a proper recompence. But when he saw he was to be excluded from the reward of his labours, and that they thought of disposing of the kingdom to others, and not to him or his children, though every thing in a great measure depended upon his concurrence: and finding also that even the terms which he had proposed were not sufficient to divert the *Spaniards* from their resolution, nor to alter the inclination or rather the eager desire of his nephew, he resolved to set other engines to work, in order to frustrate those designs. For which purpose, as he had always given the Cardinal of *Bourbon* some hopes of exalting him to the throne, he now promoted his pretensions with such vigour, that the matter was almost brought to a conclusion. He represented to every one of the Deputies apart, "how odious a thing it would be to interrupt the course of the *Salic* law, how difficult to exclude the house of *Bourbon* from the Crown, whose succession they had confirmed when they declared the late Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, by the name of *Charles* the tenth; how harsh and unpleasing it would sound in the ears of the people, when they heard of treaties set on foot to introduce the succession of women, and the assumption of new families to the Crown, whilst there were so many Princes left of the Royal Line, amongst whom one surely might be elected with general satisfaction. That though the King of *Navarre* was an obstinate heretick, the Prince of *Conti* unfit to govern, and the Count *De Soissons* desperately in love with the Princess *Catherine*, who was an *Hugonot* as well as her brother: yet there was the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had always, at his own great peril, undauntedly opposed the increase of heresy: that as he had ever been obedient to the church, neither the Pope nor the King of *Spain* could have any objection to him: that he was of a mature age, so that he would be able to rule without a guardian, and to take the reins of government into his own hands. That no great confidence could be put in the *Spaniards*, who had failed so much in their engagements both in publick and in private: that the Ambassadors, who promised mountains of gold, lived more like tradesmen than Ministers of

1593. so great a King, or agreeably to the magnificent offers they had made: that he himself had very large sums due to him, and yet could not get so much as a farthing from them. That it had been seen what notable feats Count *Charles* had done with his army; that they were so busied in *Flanders*, they could have no leisure to attend to the affairs of other people. That, on the other hand, the election of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* would of itself suppress the King of *Navarre*: as there was no doubt but all the Catholics of that party would come over to the Cardinal, and the *Navarrese* must be left destitute of all support, and deserted by every one but a parcel of desperate *Hugonots*. So that the *French* forces alone would be sufficient, to extirpate heresy and to establish a truly Catholick *French* King, without having further occasion for any foreign supplies. That they ought to remember what the Bishop of *Senlis* had said and not to confirm some people in their opinion, that whatsoever had been yet done was out of self-interest and ambition; but to shew the world that they had taken up arms for the sake of religion alone."

These arguments, supported by a man of his authority, made a wonderful impression upon the minds of the *French*, sufficiently inclined of themselves to venerate the institutions of the *Salic* law, and to reverence the Royal Family. When he saw, therefore, that he had drawn the greater part of the Deputies into his opinion, he dispatched the Admiral *De Villers*, with a copy of articles signed by himself, to confer with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was then at *Gaillon*, a house belonging to the Archbishop of *Roüen*. But he had scarcely set out, when the Duke sent an express after him, with orders not to precipitate matters, as President *Jeannine*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and Madam *De Montpensier*, had suggested another expedient to him, which might serve to thwart the designs of the *Spaniards*, without proceeding so hastily to the election of a person that was his enemy, who likewise, on account of the weakness of his understanding, and the levity of his disposition, was not by any means fit to govern in times of such distraction, and might possibly disunite his party: for it was very likely that the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents, now they were supported by the *Spaniards*, would not consent to that election, in which case his party would be the weakest of the three. The remedy proposed was to proceed from the Parliament, the authority of which they thought sufficient to prevent the designs in agitation. For which purpose, Madam *De Montpensier*, having often solicited the first President *Le Maître* to think of some means to prevent the Crown from falling into the hands of strangers, he, as a man of upright intentions, and who had followed the League for no other end but the preservation of the Catholick religion, freely embarked in the undertaking, and, after it had been some days under consideration, assembled all

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the chambers in Parliament, where, by unanimous consent, a decree 1593. was made of the following tenor.

“ IN consequence of some proposals, lately made to the court of Parliament, and taken into deliberation at a full meeting of the Counsellors of all the several chambers, the said Parliament not having (as indeed it never yet had) any other intention than to maintain the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick religion, and the State and Crown of *France*, under the protection of a most Christian Catholick *French* King, hath ordered, and doth hereby order, that this day in the afternoon, President *Le Maistre*, attended by a proper number of the Counsellors of this Parliament, shall make a Remonstrance to Monseigneur the Duke of *Mayenne*, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, in the presence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, who are now in this city, that no treaty or negociation ought to be entered into for transferring the Crown into the hands of foreign Princes or Princeesses : that the fundamental laws of the kingdom ought to be observed, and the decrees made by the Parliament about declaring a Catholick and *French* King, duly put in execution : that the said Duke of *Mayenne* ought to employ the authority that hath been given him to hinder the Crown from falling into the hands of strangers, contrary to the laws of the kingdom : that he ought likewise to provide, as soon as possible, for the repose of the people, and to use his utmost endeavours to deliver them out of the extreme misery to which they are reduced : that, in the mean time, the said Parliament hath declared, and doth hereby declare, all treaties held or to be held for the future, concerning the establishment of any foreign Prince or Princeess whatsoever, to be invalid, and of no force or effect, as prejudicial to the *Salic* law, and the other fundamental constitutions of this kingdom.”

When this decree was notified in publick by the President to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he pretended to be offended at it, and reprimanded the Parliament for their forwardness, in a very grave manner. But it damped the proceedings of the *Spaniards* exceedingly : for though it more particularly concerned the Assembly of the States, than any one else, to resent this decree of the Parliament, as made in prejudice of their authority, yet they seemed, on the contrary, to be very far from being displeased at it : and having been taught their lesson by the Duke of *Mayenne's* agents, not only professed their abhorrence of the *Spanish* designs, but an inclination to a truce, which was now promoted more vigorously than ever in the conference at *Surenne*. The *Parisians* were still much more inclined to it ; for as they were tired out with their sufferings, and saw no means so likely to relieve them as the conclusion of a truce, the sweets
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1593. of which they had begun to taste in the short cessation of arms that had been agreed upon in those quarters, they grew so impatient for an accommodation, that they began to mutiny, and threatened both the Princes and the Assembly to desert them, if they did not come to some speedy resolution. The *Spaniards* fared no better: for as the citizens were persuaded they would not suffer their army to advance and relieve the city by opening the passes, only because it answered their ends better to keep them in subjection and distress, whenever the Ambassadors went abroad, they were publickly insulted and shouted at.

But the resolution which the King took was so happily timed, that it gave a thorough change to the face of affairs: for as he was well informed of every thing that passed, he began to be apprehensive, and with great reason, that if the League should elect the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Catholics of his own party would, in all probability, desert him, since he himself saw so many plain indications of it, and heard such open murmurings every day, that it was hardly to be doubted of. The arguments that were urged by the Deputies of the Union in the conference at *Surenne*, had made a deep impression upon the generality of the people, and not only the Princes and Lords, but almost every private man, expressed a concern and abhorrence at impending their blood and fortunes for the establishment of heresy, which they had formerly been used to fight against, and oppose with all their power: and even in the King's quarters, people were continually cursing their own blindness, and exhorting each other to change their side. They said, "That after so many promises had been broken, they were bound to take some other means for the preservation of religion and their common safety: that they did not think themselves obliged to pour out any more of their blood for a Prince so obstinately heretical, who had abused their credulity so long, and had fed them with nothing but vain words and professions: that it was high time to reflect with what a degree of madness, Catholick had been engaged against Catholick, only to open a way to the Crown, either for the *Spaniards* or the *Hugonots*, who were equally their enemies: that there had been already sufficient done to support the lawful successor in his right to the throne, but that he had shewn himself ungrateful for so long services, and incorrigible in his errors: that all conscientious Catholics ought not to follow him any further in the way to perdition, but to reunite for the establishment of a King, who should acknowledge the favour he received from the affections of his subjects: that so many Princes and Lords, so many Knights and Gentlemen, and such numbers of valiant soldiers had been already slain in that cause, that the kingdom was all over scars and wounds, and drained of its best blood, and, if some remedy was not speedily applied, the very skeleton and remains of *France* must

must be sacrificed to the obstinacy of the *Hugonots*, or the ambition of the *Spaniards*." 1593.

The Princes of the Blood, after many consultations, began to grow still more resolute, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, who was ill in bed of his wound, plainly told the King, when he came to visit him, "That all the Princes were going to abandon his Majesty; and that for his own part, in the condition he then was, though it would give him great concern, he thought himself obliged to follow their example, and would not be the last in endeavouring to save his soul, and make peace with his conscience." The Count *De Schomberg* likewise informed him, he had received intelligence from Monsieur *De Villeroy*, that Admiral *Villers* was already set out with a copy of articles to be signed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and that within a few days he would hear, that he and all the rest of the Princes were at *Paris*. That God had blessed him with victory, and expected the first fruits of it: that as he had taken *Dreux* with so much reputation, in the very face of his enemies, he might turn to God and the Church without having it thought, by any one, that he did it by compulsion. The same was confirmed by Secretary *Revol*; and *Villeroy* himself wrote to him from *Pontoise*, that if he did not hasten his conversion, one of these two consequences must inevitably follow, either that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* would be elected King, and deprive him of the assistance of the Catholics that at present adhered to him: or that the Infanta and the Duke of *Guise* would be chosen, and then all the forces of his Catholic Majesty would be poured upon him like a torrent.

The King, either moved by these considerations, or looking upon the urgency of the present crisis as a divine call and admonition, determined to turn Catholic, and immediately dispatched messengers into every part of the kingdom, to invite Prelates and other Divines to instruct and assist him in his conversion. Amongst the rest he sent to the Preachers of *Paris*, some of whom refused to go, and some few resolved to attend him, upon so solemn and important an occasion; in which number was the Curate of *St. Eustache*, though the Legate advised and expressly commanded them to the contrary. When they were assembled therefore at *Mante*, and had given the King satisfaction in the controverted points of their faith, he seemed to be fully convinced and enlightened, and acknowledged the visible hand of God in reclaiming him from his errors, and bringing him back into the bosom of the Church: after which he caused it to be published, that, on the 25th of *July*, he would go to mass at *St. Dennis*.

The news of this was brought by his Deputies to the conference at *Su-
renne*; where the Archbishop of *Bourges*, after he had recapitulated all the late transactions, concluded with saying, "That the King had ordered the Marquis *De Pisani* to be sent to *Rome*, to solicit that his conversion might

1593. might be approved of and authenticated by the Pope: but as he had not been received there, he was resolved to defer the care of his salvation no longer, but would reconcile himself to the Church, that afterwards he might send a solemn and splendid embassy to render due obedience to his Holiness: that after consulting with other Prelates and Divines, they had determined, that the King should cause himself to be absolved, *ad futuram cautelam*, and go to mass, that so he might afterwards demand the Pope's benediction: that this had been judged the most expeditious and secure way for many reasons, both to avoid the necessity of leaving the disposal of the Crown to the arbitrement of foreigners, and to provide an effectual remedy for the distractions of the Kingdom." The Archbishop of *Lyons* insisted, on the contrary, that he could not be received without the Pope's assent, nor absolved without his orders, and protested, that they would not look upon him as a Catholic, nor acknowledge him as their King, without an express declaration of his being such from the Pope, of whose pleasure they ought to be satisfied before they proceeded to any sort of absolution.

When the report of this conversion was spread abroad amongst the people, no restraint was sufficient to suppress their rejoicings, or to prevent them from publicly declaring, that the pacification of the kingdom wholly depended upon it: so that the Cardinal Legate, who was not a little mortified and embarrassed with it, published an address in writing to the Catholics of *France*, on the 13th of *July*, in which he informed them of the arrogance of some Prelates, who had assumed to themselves a power of absolving the King of *Navarre* from the censures of the Church, and exhorted them not to look upon his conversion as real and sincere, nor to countenance the undue means that had been practised upon that occasion: in the last place, forbidding all men to assist or be present at those ceremonies, on pain of excommunication, and of being deprived of the benefices and ecclesiastical dignities which they possessed. But this was all to no purpose; for the spirits of the people were raised, and, now all religious scruples were removed, every one was disposed to acknowledge the lawful successor, in hopes of living for the future in peace and security. The chiefs of the parties themselves concurred in this general inclination; and though they resolved not to dissent from the Pope's judgment, and the declaration of the Apostolick See, yet they were not willing to proceed any further till they saw the issue of this conversion, and how the Pope approved of it: which resolution, encouraged by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and enforced by the necessity of affairs, was embraced even by the Duke of *Guise*, who thought that any endeavours to elect him in such a conjuncture, would make others ridiculous, and involve his own family in ruin, as he himself, attended by the Marshals *De la Chastre* and *St. Paul*, gave the *Spanish* Ministers to understand.

In the mean time above half the people of *Paris* ran out of the city to see the ceremony of the conversion, even from the day before the abolition, which was on the 25th of *July*, the festival of the Apostle *St. James*. At which time, the King, clothed all in white, and attended by the Princes, Lords, and the whole Court, with the guards before them under arms, went to the great church at *St. Dennis*, the gates of which they found shut: but as soon as the High Chancellor knocked, they were immediately opened, and the Archbishop of *Bourges* appeared, seated on his chair, in his pontifical habit, and surrounded with a great number of Prelates. At the King's approach the Archbishop asked him, "Who he was, and what he wanted?" He answered, "That he was *Henry of Bourbon*, King of *France* and *Navarre*, and that he demanded to be received into the bosom of the Catholick church." The Archbishop then asked him, "If he desired it from the bottom of his heart, and had truly repented of his former errors?" Upon which, the King fell upon his knees, and protested, "That he was sorry for his former errors, that he now abjured and detested them, that he would live and die a Catholick in the Apostolick *Roman* church, and would defend and protect it in all dangers at the peril of his life." After this, he read aloud the profession of faith that was presented to him in writing, and then was conducted into the church, amidst infinite acclamations of the people, and repeated salutes of the cannon. When he came there, he kneeled down before the high altar, and offered up the prayers that were dictated to him by the Archbishop; and having been admitted by him to secret confession, he sat down under a canopy of state, and assisted at high mass, which was celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*, to the inexpressible joy and consolation of every one: after which he retired to the palace, through an innumerable multitude of the people, and re-echoed shouts of *Long live the King*.

In this interval, as affairs had now taken so different a turn from what the States expected, they thought it was time to give an answer to the *Spanish* Ambassadors: for which purpose, they were introduced into the Assembly, where the Duke of *Mayenne* returned thanks in a solemn manner to his Catholick Majesty, not only for the assistance which they had already received from him, and the supplies he promised them for the future, but for the honour done to his family in offering the Infanta in marriage to his nephew the Duke of *Guise*: and told them at last, "That the Assembly, after mature deliberation, did not think it a proper time at present to proceed to the election, but prayed his Majesty to wait a little longer, till things were thoroughly ripe, and in the mean time not to fail them in his wonted protection, and the supplies he had been so good to promise."

1593.

After this declaration, which very much discouraged the *Spaniards*, it was determined in the States to endeavour to conclude a truce: and though the Legate strongly opposed it, and protested over and over again that he would leave them, yet he was at last so far prevailed upon, by the reasons that they alledged for it, and with the offer of causing the decrees of the Council of *Trent* to be received in the States, that he consented to stay in the city, especially as he was uncertain how his departure might be relished at the court of *Rome*. A general truce, therefore, was agreed upon in the conference at *Surenne*, to extend throughout the whole kingdom, for the three following months of *August*, *September*, and *October*, and it was published with infinite rejoicings amongst the people in all places. After which, the Duke of *Mayerne*, being desirous to dismiss the Assembly in an honourable manner, first caused a decree to be made for the receiving the decrees of the Council of *Trent*, and then calling them together again on the 8th of *August*, he made them all swear to persevere in the Union, and not to depart from it on any account whatsoever: and having desired them to meet again at the same place in *October*, to deliberate upon the State of affairs, and such instructions as they should receive from *Rome*, he at last dismissed them, to the great satisfaction of the Deputies, who immediately returned to their respective homes, and the care of their own affairs.

The End of the Thirteenth Book.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C I V I L W A R S
O F
F R A N C E.

B O O K X I V .

A R G U M E N T .

The means used by the King to make his conversion more beneficial. The continuation of the truce for two months longer, viz. November and December, at the end of which, Meaux is the first place that submits to the King. The Sieur De la Chastre follows its example with the city of Bourges, and Admiral Villers with Havre de Grace and Roüen. The Count De Brisac, Governor of Paris, makes a composition. The King is received into that city without any tumult, and drives out the Spanish Ambassadors and garrison : the Cardinal Legate also leaves the city, and goes out of the kingdom. Many other cities come over to the King. The Duke of Nemours is imprisoned, and the city of Lyons voluntarily surrenders. The Duke of Mayenne sets another treaty on foot with the Spaniards, and offers them fresh

terms to prosecute the war. He has an interview with Ernest, Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Low Countries, and at last goes into Picardy with Count Charles of Mansfelt and the army. The King lays siege to Laon: the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniards attempt to relieve it: after many efforts, to no purpose, they at last retire and the place is surrendered. The Sieur De Balagny goes over to the King, with the city of Cambray: the King is likewise received into Amiens and other towns in Picardy. The Duke of Montpensier takes Honfleur. Many encounters happen in Bretagne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphinè. The King returns to Paris, and is wounded in the mouth by a young merchant, in his own apartment, who is taken, confesses the fact, and is executed for it, and the Jesuits are banished out of the kingdom. The King publicly proclaims war against the Spaniards, and renews the negociation at Rome to obtain absolution from the Pope. The Marshal De Biron is declared Governor of Burgundy. He begins the war with success in that province, takes Autun, Auxerre, and at last Dijon, and lays siege to the castle. The Sieurs De Tremblecourt and D'Ossonville enter Burgundy in a hostile manner (which had put itself under the protection of the Crown of Spain) and take some places there. The Constable of Castile, Governor of Milan, marches with succours into that province: the King likewise marches to reinforce the army that was besieging the castle of Dijon. They meet and engage with various success at Fontain-Françoise. The Constable retires beyond the river Soane. The King follows him, passes the river, and another engagement ensues. The King returns to the siege of the castle, which at last surrenders. He concludes a truce with the Duke of Mayenne, in order to treat of an accommodation, and makes his entrance into Lyons. The Pope resolves to give the King his benediction: the ceremony is solemnized with great joy at Rome. The news of it is brought to court, where likewise good accounts arrive from Dauphinè and Languedoc.

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THE King's conversion was certainly the most proper and efficacious remedy that could have been administered in the distempered and dangerous condition of the kingdom, and the truce, so opportunely concluded, likewise served to prepare matters, and gave due time for so salutary a medicine to operate. For as the people on both sides began to taste the liberty and happiness that resulted from concord, at a season of the year too when the harvest and vintage made them more sensible of the blessings, they were so delighted and refreshed with it, that it was afterwards much more easy to remove all scruples and objections, and to inspire them with a desire of a lasting peace, and of shewing a ready obedience to their lawful Prince. After the truce took place, men presently began to enter into a free commerce again with each other,

as they were not only of the same nation, but many of them strictly allied either by friendship or kindred: so that all discords, and animosities, and factious interests, which had kept them so many years divided, now began to subside, and every one rejoiced to reunite himself with his acquaintance, to renew their former affection and familiarity, so unhappily interrupted, and to co-operate in their endeavours to remedy the griefs and misfortunes that had been occasioned by so long a war. There were frequent and friendly meetings amongst persons of all ranks; every one related his past sufferings, expressed his detestation of the causes of such unhappy discords, inveighed against the authors of those evils and misfortunes, and at the same time praised and magnified the blessings of peace and concord. In these conversations, where the King's cause was represented as most just, on account of his manifest right to the Crown, especially now all scruples of conscience were in a great measure removed by his conversion, the things that were urged in his favour were eagerly listened to by the people, and made them much more desirous to live in obedience to him, than to continue so ruinous a civil war, only to gratify the ambition of the Duke of *Mayenne*, or to promote the designs of the *Spaniards*, the end of which was now pretty well known to every one. Those of the King's party extolled the clemency and goodness of the Prince they served, the sincerity with which he had embraced the Catholick faith, his kindness and affability to all his followers, his valour and magnanimity in war, his wisdom and great abilities in matters of government, his conduct and happy success in all his undertakings: and further asked those of the League, Whether they were not yet sufficiently convinced of the ambitious views of the house of *Lorraine*, and the artifices of the *Spaniards*? gently reproaching them with making war against good and true *Frenchmen*, in favour of the inveterate enemies of the nation, and endeavouring, at the expence of their own blood, to establish the *Spanish* monarchy upon the wreck and ruins of *France*. So great a degree of blindness, they said, was indeed deplorable, and intreated them to remember their obligations, and the love they owed to their country, to have compassion upon themselves, and to take shelter under the benevolence of a Prince, who stood with his arms open, ready to receive and embrace them.

These things made a very deep impression upon the minds of men, who were tired out with the war, and sinking under the weight of continual miseries and afflictions. In the mean time the King himself took the utmost pains to please and oblige every one, receiving all those that came to wait upon him in a very gracious manner, and assuring them of his favour. He likewise artfully caused his most trusty Counsellors to disperse themselves into different places, under a pretence of going to see their

1593. their houses and friends again, and to use all their endeavours every where to conciliate the affections of the people to him. And because the Duke of *Mayenne* still kept a treaty on foot, either to conclude a peace or prolong the truce, the *Sieur De Sancy*, the Count of *Schomberg*, and President *De Thou*, went to *Paris* under that colour, where they staid many days, and made use of all their eloquence and address to gain the King as many adherents as possible. The Archbishop of *Bourges* went to that city to visit his diocese, and at the same time to find some means of conferring with the *Sieur De la Chastre*, who they already knew was much offended at the proceedings of the *Spaniards*. The High Chancellor took a journey into the territories of *Orleans*, as he said, to look into the state of his own affairs. The first President of the Parliament of *Roien* repaired to that city, to try if he could set some negotiation on foot with the Admiral *Villers*, for which purpose the King himself also advanced towards that part of the country. The *Sieur De Fleury* went to *Pontoise*, to treat with his brother-in-law Monsieur *De Villeroi*; and the Prelates, who had been concerned in the King's conversion, dispersed themselves into different provinces, to testify the sincerity of his repentance, and to enforce those arguments which they urged in justification of the authority by which they had given him absolution. In this manner the King's interests were promoted within the kingdom, whilst *Ludovico Gonzaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, who had been appointed Ambassador to *Rome*, was preparing to set out for *Italy* with a splendid train, to render obedience to the Pope in the King's name, and to solicit his Holiness to confirm what had been already done. With him the King resolved to send *Claude D'Angenes*, Bishop of *Mans*, a Prelate well known and respected at the court of *Rome*, on account of his great learning and wisdom, together with *James Davy* *Sieur du Perron*, now made Bishop of *Eurcux*, *Lewis Seguiere*, Dean of *Paris*, and *Claude Gouin*, Dean of *Beauvais*, two Canonists of high reputation. But as the Duke of *Nevers* could not be supposed to perform his journey with so much expedition as was necessary, both in regard to the quality of his person, and the bad state of health he laboured under at that time, the King dispatched the *Sieur De la Clielle* beforehand, with very humble and submissive letters to the Pope, in which he acquainted him with his conversion, and of the Embassy that he had appointed to ask his benediction, and to render him due obedience. The King thought the Duke of *Nevers* a very fit person for that employment, not only because he was much esteemed for his wisdom, and a Prince of the first rank and reputation in the kingdom, but because he was likewise an *Italian*, and, besides his thorough knowledge of that language, which would enable him to negotiate without the assistance of interpreters, he had much weight amongst the Princes of

Italy,

Italy, and great interest with many of the Cardinals. The Prelates were ordered to attend him, that they might be ready to vindicate and maintain what they had done in his absolution, by canonical and theological authorities: and he also thought it necessary to send *La Clielle* before them, not only to shew his impatience to be reconciled to the Apostolick See, but in hopes, as he was a man of great penetration and address, that he might dispose and prepare things in a proper manner before the Duke's arrival.

Such were the methods that the King took to advance his affairs. But the designs of the other party were neither so determinate, nor the means they made use of so proper to obtain them: for as the interests of the confederates were various, and often repugnant to each other, they did not always act in concert, nor direct their views to the same object. The Duke of *Mayenne* had acquainted the King's party, that he agreed to the truce, to see what should be resolved upon at *Rome*, and said he had no objection to a general peace, provided the Pope assented to it. He therefore still kept the treaty on foot, by means of Monsieur *Villeroy* and President *Jeanne*, with whom he afterwards joined the *Sieur De Bassompierre*, to shew that the Duke of *Lorraine* concurred with him in every thing. An accommodation was promoted with much earnestness by these agents, who promised, in his name, to send the Cardinal of *Juyeuse* and the Baron *De Seneçay* to *Rome*, to solicit the Pope's approbation of the King's conversion, and to prevail upon his Holiness, if possible, to acknowledge him, that so an end might be put to the civil war. This was proposed as the principal foundation of the agreement, though they treated at the same time about the establishment of the Catholick religion, and securing the interests of his family. But his real designs were very different: for as he had not yet quite laid aside his hopes of obtaining the Crown, and imputed all his past miscarriages to the malice of the *Spanish* Ministers, and not to the intention of his Catholick Majesty, he immediately dispatched his wife's son, the *Sieur De Montpezat*, together with *Bellifaire*, one of his most trusty agents, to the court of *Spain*, to remove the suspicions that had been occasioned by the misrepresentations of the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, and endeavour to regain the favour of the King and his Council; and further to propose, that the Infanta should be chosen Queen, provided she would marry his eldest son; and, if the King consented to it, to settle the conditions, and demand such supplies as were necessary to bring the undertaking to a happy conclusion. For this purpose he had acceded to the truce, and was desirous to have it continued, that there might be time to negotiate this affair, and to make sufficient preparations in *Spain*.

On the other hand, the *Spanish* Ministers were more than ever deter-

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mined in their resolution not to agree to his advancement, being well assured, that when he had once accomplished his ends, he would be ungrateful for the favour he had received, and a most bitter enemy to their Monarchy. Upon which account, they not only continued to shew great honour and respect to the Duke of *Guise*, and to promise him the Infanta in marriage: but the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra* contrived how to transfer the Duke of *Mayenne's* power upon him, to suppress his uncle by his means: and they carried their personal dislike and hatred to him so far, that sometimes they thought of having him assassinated. This, however, was opposed by *Baptista Tassis* and *Inigo de Mendoza*, men of greater moderation, who weighed things more coolly and dispassionately; and even the Duke of *Guise* himself was wholly averse to it: for as he was a young Prince of great honour and good sense, he abhorred the thoughts of entering into any conspiracy against his uncle, and at the same time knew he had neither forces nor reputation sufficient to cope with his maturer wisdom, and the well-grounded authority which he had established in his party. Those that had the chief hand in moderating the Duke of *Guise's* youth, and in confirming him in his good resolutions, were the Marshals *De la Chastre*, *Rosne*, and *St. Paul*, who had all been formerly preferred by his father: and as they had likewise been afterwards advanced by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and were well acquainted with the artifices of the *Spaniards*, they dissuaded him from plunging himself into any such dangers, by representing to his consideration, that he had neither sufficient funds, nor men, nor cities, nor commanders, that depended upon him; that the *Spaniards* were reduced to extreme difficulties for want of money; that Count *Charles's* army was dissipated, the affairs of *Flanders* in a bad situation, and without any head that was able to conduct matters of so great importance: that, on the contrary, the Duke of *Mayenne* had all the cities and fortresses of the party in his own hands, that he was in possession of a long established authority amongst the people, and was highly esteemed for his valour and prudence: that all the *French* forces depended upon him, that the Duke of *Lorraine* was joined with him, that the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf* were at his devotion, and the Parliament of *Paris* entirely in his interest: so that to suffer himself to be carried away by the persuasions of strangers, would be to expose his own fortune to inevitable ruin, only to gratify the malice of two spiteful Ministers, who endeavoured to spread flames and discord to satiate the hatred they had unreasonably conceived. These considerations, added to the weakness and ungracious behaviour of the *Spaniards*, made such an impression upon the Duke of *Guise*, that he began to be disgusted at them, and was highly exasperated that they should endeavour to impose upon him, by a pretence of giving him the Infanta in marriage,

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and take the advantage of his youth to make a tool of him only to ruin his family. 1593.

The Cardinal Legate for his part, did not altogether assent to what the *Spanish* Ministers were plotting against the Duke of *Mayenne* : though he was much displeased at him for having prevented the election of the Infanta and the Duke of *Guise*; by which scheme he thought he had shewn himself a very able politician, and not only firmly secured his Catholick Majesty in his own private interest, but provided for the establishment of the Catholick religion, to the utter suppression and exclusion of the King of *Navarre* (which were his three principal objects) and that he had also pitched upon a person of the same nation, generally liked by the people, which was a point that was chiefly recommended to him, and enjoined by the Pope's commission. But now he saw those designs frustrated, and a truce formally concluded with the other party, he was so mortified and incensed at it, that he still persisted in exhorting the confederates not to build upon or make any account of the imaginary conversion of the *Navarrese*, as he yet contemptuously called him, and took great pains to bring them to an agreement amongst themselves, that when the States met again, they might perfect *the re-establishment of royalty*; for so they styled the joint election of the Infanta and the Duke of *Guise* to be King and Queen of *France*.

He likewise endeavoured to inculcate these notions at *Rome*, by frequent letters, penned as his passions dictated. But the Pope, who was a man of mature wisdom, did not suffer himself to be absolutely governed by the Legate's intelligence; for as he was informed of every particular by the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, he neither approved of the Infanta's election, nor her marriage with the Duke of *Guise*. But when he saw the thing itself was so difficult, and thwarted by so many impediments, he thought it in a manner impossible to be effected; and therefore did not care to declare himself, seeming only to give his consent, that he might not alienate the King of *Spain* from him, with whom he found it necessary to keep up a good understanding, lest he should precipitate the affairs of religion and the church into further dangers and troubles. He would have been glad, from the beginning, to have seen one of the Princes of the house of *Bourbon*, who was a true Catholick, elected King (as he had often signified to his Ministers) and to such a Prince he would have consented that the Infanta should be married; for by the election of a Prince of the Blood, all the Catholicks of *France* would have been reunited in one body, and by the alliance with the King of *Spain* his assistance would have been secured: so that neither the temporal state of the kingdom would have been in danger of falling into the hands of foreigners, nor the spiritual of being oppressed by the *Hugonots*. For the same reasons, he disapproved of the

1593. Duke of *Guise's* election, concluding, that the Catholicks of the King's party would never be prevailed upon to acknowledge and obey him, and consequently that the war was not likely to be ended by those means. He likewise was of opinion, that his Catholick Majesty never really designed to give his daughter to a weak, indigent, and ill supported Prince, especially as he might be almost certain, that she would never be Queen any further than in name: besides which, he was aware that an election so generally disliked, would gain the King of *Navarre* many adherents, and bring more cities over to his devotion in one day, than he could reduce by force in the whole course of his life. One thing only kept him in suspense, which was, the unsuitness of those persons that were nearest in Blood: for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was a man of but weak understanding, and very unhealthful: the Prince of *Conti* incapable of having children, as it was said, or of governing, on account of his other natural defects: the Count *De Soissons*, though otherwise a man of good understanding and generous courage, was so desperately in love with the Princess *Catherine* (the King's own sister, and an obstinate heretick) that the Catholicks durst not trust him: and the Duke of *Montpensier*, though a young man of great worth and valour, was considered as the furthest removed of them all in the degrees of royal consanguinity. As soon, therefore, as he knew the King was disposed to return into the bosom of the Catholick church, he began to favour his advancement, as he thought it would be the most expeditious way to compose all differences, and put an end to the distractions of the kingdom. But it was a thing not to be determined upon without great deliberation, not only that he might be sufficiently convinced that a lion was not disguised in sheep's clothing, but because it was not yet known how the *French* themselves would relish that change: so that it behoved him to consider well, and to be thoroughly assured, both that the King was a true and sincere Catholick, and that the people would chearfully acknowledge him: for if the King should only pretend to be converted, for interests of state, religion would be left exposed to manifest danger: and if the people should not be willing to acknowledge him, the Pope would suffer no less in his own reputation, for having been more hasty and inconsiderate than even the common people, in approving the conversion of a relapsed heretick. Besides, the regard that was by all means to be shewn to the King of *Spain*, who was already honoured with the title of Defender of the Catholick faith, and Protector of the See of *Rome*, and who, it was well known, had poured out so much of the blood and treasure of his kingdom to support the Catholick religion in *France*, made it necessary to proceed very slowly, and with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in a matter of so great importance, as it was certain his Catholick Majesty's supplies had prevented the

the King from entirely suppressing his adversaries, whilst he was yet an obstinate *Hugonot*; and therefore much gratitude and recompence were due to him for the conservation of the *Gallican* Church, and great care to be taken not to establish an exasperated and powerful enemy, who might afterwards give him continual disturbance in the possession of his own dominions.

These motives determined the Pope not to comply hastily, much less to give his assent at the very first, but to be governed by the event of things: and yet, that he might lay a foundation to proceed upon in his designs, he thought it necessary to give some glimpse of hope to those who were secretly negotiating at *Rome* for the King, whom they styled there *the King of Navarre*. The Pope had a respect for a principal officer in the household of his nephew Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, whose name was *Giacopo Sannesio*, a man of an obscure family, born at a castle in the marshes of *Ancona*, who had long assisted the Cardinal's father in his studies, as it was said, whilst he was employed as an Advocate in the * *Rota Romana*; and because he was very faithful, and not of too inquisitive a temper, but a person of few words, he committed the care of all his domestick affairs to him. This man was acquainted, and sometimes admitted into conversation, with *Arnaud d'Ossat*, a man born at *Auche* in *Gascony*, of mean parentage, but of excellent parts, and very decent and gentlemanlike behaviour, who having been first brought to *Rome* by Monsieur *De Foix*, Ambassador from *France*, afterwards continued there in the family of Cardinal *D'Este*, and besides his singular learning and eloquence, was, by the experience of many years, exceeding well versed in the court of *Rome*. He, as a private man, and long accustomed to be seen at court, was not particularly observed by any body, and whilst he solicited spiritual affairs there for the Queen Dowager of *Henry* the third, as licences for erecting monasteries, grants of indulgences, and other things of that kind, might easily have an opportunity of negotiating with *Sannesio*, in a corner of the anti-chamber, without seeming to be engaged in matters of any great importance, but merely in common conversation. The Pope, therefore, who was desirous to proceed with secrecy, and by degrees, ordered *Sannesio* to enter into a particular conversation about the King's affairs, with his *French* acquaintance, whom he very well knew to be a man of sense and worth, and to do it in such a manner that it might seem to proceed entirely from his own curiosity. These conversations at last produced a private negotiation, which was so far advanced, that when Monsieur *De la Clielle* arrived, many overtures had been already made on both sides.

* The *Rota*, or *Ruota*, is a particular court or jurisdiction that takes cognizance of beneficiary matters, &c.

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That Gentleman was now come to *Rome*, with letters from the King to Monsignor *Serafino Olivario*, Auditor of the *Rota*, a Prelate who was descended from *French* ancestors, and for that reason had ever been well affected to the Crown, and desirous to promote the King's cause. And though he knew it would be very difficult not only to obtain an audience of his Holiness for *La Clielle*, as he required, but to introduce any sort of treaty concerning that matter, yet, as he was a very good-natured and agreeable man, of handsome address, humorous in conversation, and therefore acceptable to the whole court, and even to the Pope himself, when he had obtained an audience, under a pretence of other business, he at last brought that upon the carpet, and before he left him, desired leave to present the letters which the King had written to his Holiness. But the Pope, who was either surprized at so sudden and unexpected a thing, or intended to persevere some time in his dissimulation, or was vexed that he should be in a manner compelled to discover his designs to any one but the persons he had fixed upon for that purpose, seemed highly displeased, and would have entirely put an end to all conversation of that kind, if the Auditor had not found means to sooth him again, by talking sometimes in a serious manner, sometimes with a degree of pleasantry, and concluded with saying, "He thought one ought to lend an ear even to the Devil himself, if it was possible to believe that he might be converted." Upon which, the Pope likewise grew less serious, and entertained himself a long time with *Serafino*, who still pressing him for an answer, and that he would be pleased to admit *La Clielle*, not as the King's Agent, but as a private Gentleman, from whom perhaps he might learn many secret particulars worth his knowing, the Pope at last replied, "He would consider of it." The same evening, however, he ordered *De Offat*, by *Sanneio*, to wait upon the Gentleman that was come from *France*, and to give him good hopes of success in his negotiation, with advice, as from himself only, not to be discouraged at any difficulty whatsoever that he should meet with in the course of it.

The next night *Silvio Antoniani*, the Pope's Chamberlain, went to *Serafino's* house, and taking only the Sieur *De la Clielle* into his coach, introduced him by a private way into the Pope's apartment, where, after he had acquainted him that the King of *France* had sent him to kiss his Holiness's feet, and to present those letters to him (which he had in his hand) the Pope, without staying to hear what he had to say further, fell into a passion, and complained that he had been imposed upon, as he thought he was to have admitted a private Gentleman, and not an Agent from a relapsed and excommunicated heretick, and commanded him to depart out of his presence. But *La Clielle* was not at all disconcerted at this, and remembering the advice that had been given him, presently replied,

replied, in terms of great submission and humility, " That as he could do no more, he would leave his Master's letters, and a copy of his commission, which he had brought with him in writing: and though the Pope angrily commanded him to take them away with him, yet he left them upon the table; and after he had kissed his foot, was carried back to the place where he had been taken up. 1593.

The day following he had orders to confer with Cardinal *Toledo*, which he did three several times; but after much conversation at each meeting, he was still told, " That the Pope could not comply with the King's desire, because he had formerly applied to the Apostolick See upon the like occasion, and yet had returned to the vomit of heresy: so that after the Cardinal had particularly informed himself of the King's affairs, and the state of *France* in general, nothing further was done in that matter. But the night before *La Clielle* left *Rome*, he had an answer given him, with great secrecy, by means of *De Ossat*, who was ordered to exhort the King to proceed in shewing himself truly converted, and to give further proofs of his being a sincere Catholick; for though the Pope was resolved not to countenance the Duke of *Nevers*, out of regard to his own conscience, and to make a trial of the King's steadiness, yet, at a convenient time, he would at last comply with his request.

With this answer, *La Clielle* set out for *France*, without communicating it so much as to Monsignor *Serafino*, as the Pope was desirous to have it believed by every one, that he was firmly determined not to approve of the King's conversion, which the greater part of the court of *Rome* thought had been conducted in a manner highly prejudicial to the authority of the Pope, and that a few Prelates had licentiously arrogated a power to themselves, which belonged only to the Apostolick See. This had occasioned many to write and publish treatises, in which they argued, that a relapsed heretick, and one declared excommunicated, could not, by any means, be suffered to reign over a Catholick kingdom, and that the step which the *French* Prelates had taken, in giving him absolution, was schismatical, and liable to the censures of the tribunal of the Holy Office, as they call the court of the Inquisition. *Arnaud de Ossat* himself answered these writings, and maintained, by many arguments and authorities, taken out of the sacred Canons and Doctors of the holy church, and other Christian considerations, that the Pope not only might, but absolutely ought to approve of the King's conversion, and admit him into the bosom of the Catholick church. And though there was nothing in his treatise that was in the least contrary to the tenets of the Catholick church, and notwithstanding it was written with the utmost modesty, yet he could not get leave to print it, and was obliged to be content with shewing copies of it to discreet and sensible persons, for which he was so far from being reprehended,

1593. reprehended, that it was secretly approved of by the Pope, who was not displeased that mens ears should by little and little be inured to this doctrine.

But the Legate, being altogether of a different opinion, and more than ever solicitous to promote the *Spanish* election, was wholly taken up in setting all engines to work, that might in any wise conduce to accomplish that design. For this purpose, besides many exceeding long letters, and several circumstantial informations which he sent to the Pope, and to some of the Cardinals, he at last also dispatched *Pietro Francisco Montorio* to give them more particular intelligence, and to thwart the King's Embassy. But the cunning that he made use of upon this occasion, had a very contrary effect to what he expected, and was of great prejudice to his own designs. For *Montorio* being taken sick at *Lyons*, resolved to send his dispatches by an express to *Rome*, that they might arrive there before the Duke of *Nevers*. In these the Legate advised them to amuse the Duke, by such means as should be thought most proper, and endeavour to protract the affair, till it could certainly be known whether the *Spaniards* were likely to succeed in their election after the expiration of the truce, and to have sufficient forces in readiness to support it: and in the mean time to keep the King of *Navarre* also in suspense, that he might not apply himself with his wonted spirit to make preparations for war again. This advice afterwards served the Pope for a pretence to admit the Duke of *Nevers*, who in this interval had passed *Langres*, and was proceeding in his journey towards *Italy*, through *Switzerland*, and the country of the *Grisons*: but when he arrived at *Poschiavo*, a town in the *Valtelline*, he was met by Father *Antonio Posservino*, a Jesuit, who was sent by the Pope to let him know, that he rejoiced at the report of the King of *Navarre's* conversion, but that he could not admit an Embassy sent in the name of a King, whom he did not yet acknowledge as such, and therefore he might spare himself the pains of coming any further. The Duke, however, though much mortified, was not absolutely discouraged from pursuing his journey, not directly to *Rome*, but to *Mantua*, from whence he sent *Posservino* back, with many arguments in writing, to the Pope, and the Cardinal Nephews, by which he endeavoured to obtain leave to execute his Embassy. The Marquis *De Pisani*, Cardinal *Gondi*, and Monsieur *De Metz*, resident Ambassador for the King at *Venice*, likewise came to him there, and both wrote and negociated many things with common consent, which were promoted at the court of *Rome* by the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, in which they were also favoured and assisted by the good offices of Cardinal *Toledo*.

The Pope, taking advantage of the advice which had been sent him by the Cardinal Legate, in order to cover his secret intentions more effectually, shewed that article to the Duke of *Sessa*, Ambassador from the
King

King of *Spain*, and to many Cardinals who were of that party, pretending to be much moved by those considerations, and that he could not therefore absolutely refuse to receive the Duke of *Nevers*. And though both the Duke of *Seffa* and the *Spanish* Cardinals strenuously opposed it, and affirmed, that his Catholick Majesty would certainly have such forces in readiness at the end of the truce, as should be sufficient to establish the proposed election: yet the Pope took a middle course, and resolved to admit the Duke of *Nevers* to an audience, not as an Ambassador from the King of *France*, but as a Catholick Prince and an *Italian*. For which purpose, he sent *Possentino* back again to him at *Mantua*, to let him know his final resolution, and that he must come to *Rome* without much state or ceremony, and with a small retinue, that he might not be looked upon or acknowledged in the quality of an Ambassador, but of a private person. The Duke indeed did not much relish this, and promised himself no great success in his Embassy from so indifferent a beginning: yet he determined to proceed, that he might not seem to slight the counsel of the *Venetian* Senate, and other Princes who were the King's friends, or to be wanting in any endeavours that might tend to promote a negotiation of so great importance.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the League met with a new misfortune in *France*, besides their usual discords: for the city of *Lyons* unexpectedly took up arms against the Duke of *Nemours*, who was governor of it, and proceeded so far as to make him prisoner in the castle of *Pierre-Sifé*. The Duke of *Nemours* was a Prince of great courage, but of a haughty, imperious disposition, and much elated with his successful defence of *Paris*, which city he had left, and was come to his government of *Lyons*, where he had begun to form a secret design of reducing it to a free Signiory, together with *Beaujolois* and the territory of *Foretz* (which three precincts were jointly under his command) and to add as many other places and towns to them, as he could make himself master of: and as his brother, the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, had the government of *Dauphiné*, he designed to unite that province also to them, and so join his state to that of the Duke of *Savoy*, from whose house he was descended, in expectation of being assisted and supported by him. But as he knew that neither the Nobility nor the people would ever willingly consent to detach themselves from the Crown of *France*, and submit to his tyranny, he had long been contriving means to obtain his ends by force. For this purpose, under different pretences, he had driven many of the principal citizens out of the city, and exposed the Nobility to such dangers, that many of them, that were most able to oppose his designs, perished, to his great satisfaction. But not thinking this sufficient, he had, upon several occasions, caused a great number of forts and citadels to be built,

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built, which entirely surrounded the city of *Lyons*, beginning at *Toissy*, *Belleville*, and *Tify*, and going on to *Charlieu*, *St. Bonnet*, *Montbrison*, *Vitrieu*, *Coindrieu*, *Pipet*, and, lastly, to finish the circle, had bargained with the *Sieur De St. Julian* for *Quirieu*, in consideration of fifty thousand crowns, in order to build another fort there also: and then passing from the circumference to the center, he was going to rebuild the ruined citadel of *Lyons*, and a design was actually ready drawn for it. In these strong places he kept garrisons of horse and foot that depended upon his will: and not having enough of his own to maintain them, he was forced to support them by oppressing the people, and by ravaging and plundering the country in a licentious and horrible manner. His other actions very well corresponded with these: for he kept a numerous retinue of strangers about his person, who were continually insulting and abusing the Nobility of the country; and in all publick writings and instruments no longer used the title of Governor, but barely that of the Duke of *Nemours*, as if he had been an absolute Sovereign. At the time when the States were assembled at *Paris*, to which place he was invited, he would neither go nor send thither; he took every opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of the actions and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*, his brother-in-law by the mother's side: and when the truce was concluded, though he declared that he acceded to it, as far as it concerned the King, yet he would not dismiss the least part of his soldiery, but, on the contrary, raised new forces every day, by which the country was more harassed during the cessation of arms, than ever it had been before, even in the heat of the war. So that the leading men in those parts, and the inhabitants of *Lyons* were provoked to such a degree, by all these things, that they resolved to complain of him to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, for the security of the city, and the support of his own reputation, thought proper to oppose the ambitious designs of his brother: and therefore, under a pretence of sending the Archbishop of *Lyons* to *Rome*, with the Cardinal *De Joyeuse*, he caused him to go directly to that city, with orders to maintain the liberties of the people, and to give him advice of every particular, that he might be able to provide accordingly against the danger. This remedy only hastened the breaking out of the distemper: for as the Duke of *Nemours* had no good understanding with the Archbishop, and saw the citizens run in multitudes to him, he resolved to bring some more companies of soldiers into the town for his own safety, and to bridle the people, who were already in an uproar. But when this came to be known amongst the citizens, and was exaggerated, as usual, by common report, they immediately rose in arms, and barricadoed the streets in such a manner, that the Duke was shut up in a corner of the town. In this distress he desired to confer with the Archbishop, though he would not vouchsafe

vouchsafe to see him before. But the event did not by any means answer his expectation: for the Archbishop, at that time, shewing but little regard either to his compliments or professions, which he knew were extorted merely by necessity, continued to exhort the people to defend their liberties, and gave them directions how to conduct themselves upon this occasion. So that when the barricadoes were drawn into a narrower compass, and a greater number of men assembled together in arms, the Council went armed to him, and told him, “ That, for the security of his own person, and of the city, which was in danger of being plundered, now the people were in a mutiny, they thought it necessary for him to retire to the castle of *Pierre-Sifé* :” And as he was not in condition to make any resistance, he was conducted to that place, and committed to close custody, under a very strict guard. After these proceedings, the principal men of the city and country assembled in Council, and made a decree, by which they deprived both him and the Marquis his brother of their governments, (though they acknowledged they had never received any injury at all from the latter) and committed the government of the city to the Archbishop, which was afterwards confirmed to him by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

When this news arrived at *Paris*, many were exceedingly affected with it, and the *Spanish* Ministers seemed much dejected at the loss of one of the most powerful promoters of their designs: but Madam *De Nemours* was in greater affliction than any of the rest at the sudden ruin of her son, and the danger his person was in at that time. Several were of opinion, that the Duke of *Mayenne* was at the bottom of all this, not only out of a desire to humble the arrogance of his brother-in-law, but to get the city of *Lyons* into his hands, and unite it to his government of *Burgundy*, that he might be master of it, whatsoever the event of things should be: for it was well known, that in all the treaties he had ever entered into, either with the King or the *Spanish* Ministers, he had constantly demanded that both *Lyons* and *Burgundy* should be granted to him: so that though he affected to appear vexed and concerned at the misfortune that had happened to his brother, yet no one thought him really so, when they saw that he did not give himself the least trouble about obtaining his release, though he talked much of it; and that he had also confirmed the Archbishop in the government which the citizens had conferred upon him.

This dissension occasioned fresh distractions and troubles, at a time when affairs seemed likely to have taken a more pacifick turn: for the Duke of *Mayenne* had at last reunited himself and compromised matters with the Duke of *Guise*, at the instances of their common friends, who had made them sensible, that their disagreement would infallibly ruin them both in

1593. the end. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, to clear himself of the aspersions of thwarting his nephew's advancement; and the Duke of *Guise*, that he might not shew himself regardless of his uncle's labours in supporting the party, mutually agreed, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* could, by any means, obtain the Crown for himself, the Duke of *Guise* should keep united with him, and assist him with all his forces: but in case the Duke of *Mayenne* could not make sure of the kingdom for himself, or one of his sons, then he should aid the Duke of *Guise* in getting it, either by the marriage of the Infanta or some other way.

This accommodation was excessively disgustful to the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego D'Ivarra*, who now ~~for~~ themselves deprived of the only instrument that could create jealousy in the Duke of *Mayenne*, and by that means enable them to humble him when occasion required. *Baptista Tassis*, however, at his return from *Flanders*, where he had been to confer with *Don Pedro Henriquez* of *Toledo*, *Condè de Fuentes*, who was Deputy Governor of the *Low Countries* till the arrival of the Arch-duke *Ernest*, exhorted them to reunite with the Duke of *Mayenne*, according to the advice and desire of their principal Minister, who plainly perceived, that without his concurrence and assistance all other attempts would prove fruitless: and though the *Spanish* Ministers at *Paris* thought themselves deluded and ill treated by him, yet the *Condè* did not judge it a proper time to take revenge, but to conduct things with patience and dissimulation, since they had seen, by experience, that the principal Deputies of the States depended upon the will and authority of the Duke of *Mayenne*. For this purpose, at the arrival of *Tassis*, they began a treaty, in which the Legate himself assisted, though he was much more inclined to favour the Duke of *Guise*: but he did not care to oppose the King of *Spain's* resolution, on account of the dependence which he had long had upon him, and because there was no breaking friendship and a good understanding with him, in that situation of affairs, without endangering the Catholick religion.

Tassis, in the first place, represented to him how well the *Condè de Fuentes* was affected to him; and in the next proceeded, of his own accord, to condemn the perverse behaviour of his colleagues, and hinted, but did not positively declare, that the King his master would consent to give the Infanta to one of his sons, provided they could agree in other matters. After this conference, the other *Spanish* Ministers, and even the Legate himself, began to alter their manner of proceeding, and to shew more respect to the Duke's person and authority, by which he easily perceived they had received fresh instructions from the court of *Spain* in his favour, as indeed they had: for King *Philip* had finally resolved to get the Infanta elected, if it could be done by means of any husband

husband whatsoever, and was persuaded, that if the Duke of *Mayenne* 1593. still persisted in his pretensions to the Crown, he would submit to conditions that would be very advantageous to his kingdom.

But what made the thing still more difficult, was the weak condition his Catholick Majesty was in at that time; for his treasury was so thoroughly exhausted, that he could not make any such preparations as were necessary for so great an undertaking, and his credit was at so low an ebb, that the merchants would no longer accept his bills of exchange, and the *Genoese*, to whom he was indebted many millions, refused to advance him any more money. This weakness, however, was concealed by his Ministers with all possible care, and they continued to assure the Duke of *Mayenne*, that twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse should be in readiness to enter *Picardy* at the end of the truce, and that an hundred thousand crowns should be paid him every month to maintain the same number of *French* forces: and, to gain the greater credit to these promises, they with much difficulty raised him twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and gave him bills for sixty thousand more upon their own bottom, endeavouring to gratify him in every thing, and to feed him with fresh and still greater hopes every day.

This reunion with the *Spaniards*, and the compromise with the Duke of *Guise*, interrupted the treaty of peace with the King's Deputies, in which both Monsieur *Villeroy* and President *Jeannine* had taken great pains, but nothing was concluded on. For the King began to suspect that the Duke of *Mayenne* dissembled, and did not in reality desire to come to any agreement: and this suspicion was occasioned by some letters from the Legate to the Pope that had been intercepted, in which he spoke very ill of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and said it was entirely owing to his malice and ambition that the Infanta and the Duke of *Guise* were not elected, but that he had now tied up his hands in such a manner, that it was not in his power to conclude any agreement with the King of *Navarre*, if he should be so disposed, for he had taken a secret oath to that purpose, and confirmed it in a writing, signed by himself, the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbæuf*, the Count *De Brijac*, the Marshals *De Rboisne* and *St. Paul*, and many other principal men of the League, a copy of which writing he inclosed in the same letters: When *Villeroy* therefore went to the King to continue the treaty of peace, he refused to proceed any further in that matter, and shewed him the letters and the writing, of which he also gave him a copy for the Duke of *Mayenne*, who said he could not but own he had taken such an oath indeed, but thought there was no occasion to make any excuse for it, as it had always been his intention, if ever he concluded a peace with the King, to do it with a proviso, that the Pope approved of it; for in such case the obligation of that

1593. oath would immediately become void. Nor did any thing that the Le-
 had written concerning his malice and ambition at all divert him
 from his present purpose; as those prejudices were now grown out of
 date, and the orders which were lately come from *Spain* had given a
 new face to things. So that he resolved to unite himself more strictly
 than ever with the *Spanish* Ministers, and instead of treating any longer
 about a peace, only endeavoured to have the truce prolonged, that he
 might have more time to bring his designs to maturity. And this was
 effected without much difficulty, for the two next months of *November*
 and *December*; because the King was also desirous to see the event of the
 Duke of *Nevers's* Embassy, and the Pope's determination, before he pro-
 ceeded any further.

But this accommodation betwixt the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniards*
 made the Pope more cautious in listening to the King's entreaties,
 as he did not care to admit of his reconciliation, whilst there was any
 reason to apprehend, that the *French* of the League would dissent from
 his judgment, and continue the war in conjunction with the *Spaniards*.
 He considered likewise, that for the reputation of the Apostolick See,
 the security of the Catholick religion, and the satisfaction of the world,
 it behoved him to be the most circumspect, the most resolute, and the last
 man that approved of the King's conversion; lest those evils which might
 proceed from the establishment of a Prince not yet well settled in his re-
 ligion, should be imputed to his levity and credulity. For these reasons,
 when the Duke came near *Rome*, the Pope sent *Posservino* to him again, to
 acquaint him, that he did not intend to let him stay above ten days in
 the city, and that he had forbidden all the Cardinals either to see or
 confer with him: which usage indeed seemed very harsh to the Duke;
 yet, as he was resolved to persist in his undertaking, and thought this was
 only dissimulation and outside shew to enhance the value of the favour,
 he proceeded in his journey, and entered the city, in a private manner, on
 the 20th of *November*, at the *Porta del Borgo*.

The same evening he went privately to kiss the Pope's feet, and at his
 first audience only desired that the time of his residence might be pro-
 longed, as the term of ten days was too short for a negotiation of so
 great moment; and that he might have leave to visit the Cardinals, and
 deliver the letters he had for them from the King, offering to enter into
 a full discussion of the matter in the presence of his Catholick Majesty's
 Ambassadors and the Duke of *Mayenne's* Agents, and to shew them how
 unreasonable it would be to reject the obedience and submission of a
 King of *France*, who was actually converted, and sued in so humble a
 manner to be admitted into the bosom of the church. The only answer
 that he received to this from his Holiness, was, "That he would con-
 sult

sult the Cardinals, and act according to their advice." But in his subsequent audiences, the Duke represented to him, with great strength of reason and eloquence, that as Pope and Vicar of *Christ*, he could not reject one that was converted and reconciled to the church: and in the next place, that, as a wise and experienced Prince, he ought not to slight the obedience of the stronger and more powerful party: and finally, that, as protector of the common liberties of *Christendom*, it was his duty not to suffer the kingdom of *France* to run the hazard of being divided and dismembered by the continuance of a ruinous and desperate war, to the manifest danger of the liberties of all Christian Princes, and particularly of the Holy See. He expatiated upon the first article with many proofs drawn from the Scripture, the example of the primitive church, and the authority of the Fathers: but as he very well knew the main difficulty did not lie there, he enlarged himself much more upon the other two points; and imagining that the Pope persisted in his obduracy, because he thought the King was so weak, that the Catholics of the League, united with the King of *Spain*, would easily be able to suppress him, he took much pains to convince him, that most of the Parliaments of *France*, all the Princes (except those of the House of *Lorraine*) the flower of the Nobility, and two thirds of the kingdom, followed his party; that his enemies were few and of mean quality, quarrelling amongst themselves and reduced to despair, so that nothing was wanting to give the finishing hand to the King's establishment, and to restore the general tranquillity, but the consent of the Apostolick See and his Holiness's benediction. Here he recapitulated the King's victories, in which, he said, if the King had shewn the utmost valour and conduct himself, he was nevertheless much obliged to the power and spirit of the Nobility and people that followed him: he represented the weakness of the *Spaniards*, who might indeed keep civil discord alive by art and industry, but could not support them by their arms: he shewed the artifices they made use of, that their ultimate aim was to usurp the Crown of *France*, and that they had at last sufficiently discovered their secret design by proposing the Infanta: he conjured the Pope, by his well known piety and love of justice, not to make himself the author of violating the *Salic* law, and the other fundamental constitutions of the kingdom, not to countenance those who laboured to deprive the lawful heir of his Crown, nor to suffer the sanction of his name to be made use of, only to sow discords, to the utter destruction of a most Christian kingdom and first-born of the church: and concluded with saying, he had brought some of those Prelates with him who had given the King absolution, and were desirous to present themselves at his feet, to give him an account of what had been done, as they were in hopes of making it appear they had not deviated from their obedience to the

1593. the Apostolick See, nor from the rites and customs of it, but had acted conformably to the sacred canons and the spirit of the holy church.

But the Pope was fixed in his determination, and though the Duke's arguments made some impression upon him, yet being resolved not to be too precipitate, and so much the rather, because the Duke seemed to insist that the absolution given to the King in *France* should be confirmed and approved, but did not propose that the King should submit to the censure and judgment of the Apostolick See, he said, "He would consider of an answer." Two days after, as he did not care to talk any more with the Duke, or to answer his arguments, he acquainted him, by *Silvio Antoniani*, that he could not prolong the term of ten days, lest he should give cause of discontent to those Catholics, that were not only obedient to the church, but had at all times supported, and did then support religion, and that the term was sufficient, since there was nothing else to be transacted: that it was by no means proper he should speak to the Cardinals, now he had been received like a private man and not an Ambassador: and for what concerned the Prelates that came along with him, he could not admit them into his presence, unless they would first submit themselves to Cardinal *Santa Severina*, the Grand Penitentiary, to be examined by him.

This was the Pope's final resolution: and though the Duke obtained another audience, it was to no purpose: for he afterward sent Cardinal *Toledo* to him again, who, after a long conference and repetition of what had been said before, assured him, that his Holiness would not vary from what he had at first determined upon. And notwithstanding the Duke was very much indisposed with a catarrh, and was obliged to stay there longer than ten days, he could make no further progress: so that when he was introduced to his last audience, after he had repeated his former arguments at large, he fell upon his knees in the Pope's presence, and entreated him at least to give the King absolution as far as his conscience was concerned. But he could not obtain even this, and therefore took his leave in great discontent, after he had made a heavy complaint, and with much more freedom and spirit than he had done before, of the wrongs that were done to the King, and the indignity that was offered to himself, who, without any regard to his ill state of health, his age and quality, had undertaken so long a journey, merely to re-establish peace and security amongst fellow Christians.

After he had left the Pope, Cardinal *Toledo* came to him again, and told him, "That since the Prelates seemed to have such a dislike to the face of Cardinal *Santa Severina*, they should be heard by the Cardinal of *Arragon*, chief of the congregation of the Holy Office:" but the Duke answered, "That as they came jointly with him in quality of Ambassadors,

dors, he did not design they should be treated like criminals, but that the Pope should admit them into his presence, and to him, as head of the church, they would give a good account of their actions:" to which the Cardinal replying, "That it was not decent for them to enter into arguments and disputes with his Holiness;" the Duke added, "That he would be content if the Pope would only give them leave to kiss his feet, and for the rest, they should be responsible to Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his nephew:" But this likewise was refused.

The Duke of *Nevers*, therefore, and the Prelates, after they had committed to writing the particulars of what had been done in the course of this Embassy, departed from *Rome*, and went to *Venice*, where the Bishop of *Mans* printed a little treatise, in which he set forth the reasons that had induced the Prelates to absolve the King: one of which was, that the canons allow the Ordinary, whom it concerns, to absolve from excommunication, and indeed in every other case, where the penitent is hindered by a lawful cause from coming to the Pope's feet himself: and another, that in danger of death the penitent may be absolved by any one; in which danger the King manifestly was, as he was daily exposed to the accidents of war, the persecution of his enemies, and their wicked and treasonable conspiracies. To these arguments he added many others, from whence he concluded, they had power to absolve him *ad futuram cautelam*, that is, provided he would afterwards acknowledge and make his submission to the Pope with all due obedience, which he now fully tendered him.

When the Duke was gone, the Pope assembled the Cardinals in the Consistory, and declared, "That he had refused to admit of the King of *Navarre's* excuses and tender of obedience, because his conscience would not suffer him to lend an ear so easily to one, that had violated his faith before: that to establish him in so potent a kingdom, without the utmost precaution and deliberation, would have argued a very great degree of levity; and as he was certain many would have acquiesced and confided in his determination, he should have been highly culpable, if he had proceeded blindly in guiding the blind, and had led the good *French* Catholics to the brink of ruin and damnation: that therefore they might assure themselves, he would continue inflexible, and not suffer himself to be imposed upon by artifice and dissimulation in an affair of so great consequence." With this declaration the *Spaniards* were very well satisfied, and the Catholics of the League contented; yet the King was not at all discouraged or diverted by it from his first resolution, as the *Sieur De la Cliche's* report had prepared him to dispense with so bitter a potion.

The King at this time was at *Melun*, in which town one *Pierre Barriere* was taken, and committed to prison, for conspiring to assassinate him,

1593. him, but at whose instigation is not well known. He was meanly born in the city of *Orleans*, and followed the occupation of a waterman in one of those boats that usually ply upon the *Loire*: but as he was known to be a man of a brutal and barbarous disposition, he had been employed in the perpetration of many villainies, by which, and a dissolute course of life, he was forced to wander about like a vagabond, and at last resolved upon this fact, which he communicated to two Friars, one a *Capuchin*, the other a *Carmelite*, by whom (as he said) he was earnestly exhorted to prosecute his design: but being yet in some measure doubtful and wavering, he thought fit to reveal the secret to *Serafino Bancki* also, a *Dominican* Friar, who was born at *Florence*, but lived at *Lyons*. The Priest, struck with horror at the boldness and wickedness of such a proposal, dissembled, however, and told him it was a thing that ought to be well weighed, and not suddenly resolved upon, and desired him to come again the next day for his further advice and determination, which he would then let him know. In the mean time, he began to consider with himself after what manner he could privately inform the King of it, and at last sent to desire the *Sieur De Brancaléon*, a servant to the Queen Dowager, who was then in that city, would come to him, on the day and hour he had appointed *Barriere* to return for his answer. At that hour they both came, and after he had made them stay and converse together some time, that *Brancaléon* might know the man perfectly, he told *Barriere*, that the affair he had consulted him in was so full of doubts and difficulties, he could not well tell what advice to give him at present, but dismissed him, and immediately discovered the whole to *Brancaléon*, desiring him to acquaint the King with it, that he might take proper means to secure himself against so horrid an attempt. Upon this, *Barriere* left *Lyons*, and came a few days after to *Paris*, where he conferred about it, first with the Curate of *St. Andrew*, and then with Father *Varade*, Rector of the Jesuit, who (as he affirmed) encouraged him to commit the fact: with which resolution he went to *St. Dennis*, and staid there amongst the King's attendants, waiting for an opportunity of putting it in execution. But when the King left that place, and went to *Melun*, he followed him thither also, where he was met by *Brancaléon*, who knew him again, and discovered him to the Archers of the *Grand Prevôt*, by whom he was seized, and committed to prison. On examination, and being confronted with *Brancaléon*, he confessed, he once had a design to assassinate the King, and that he had conferred about it with a *Dominican* Friar at *Lyons*: but that afterwards, when he heard of his conversion, he had laid it aside, and was going to *Orleans*, where he was born, with a resolution to put himself into a Convent of *Capuchins*. These things he declared with an air of boldness and contempt, that plainly shewed him guilty,

guilty, especially as there was a large two edged knife also found about him at that very time. So that after he had been many times examined, and put to the torture, he was condemned to die: at the news of which sentence, and earnest exhortations to a sincere confession of his crime, he discovered the whole, and gave a distinct account of every particular before he was led to the place of execution, where, after he had confirmed all that he had said before, he suffered the punishments due to so atrocious and execrable a design.

In the mean time the truce was almost at an end, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, who endeavoured to gain as much time as was possible, had again dispatched the *Sieur De Villeroy* to the King, to desire it might be prolonged; but as he was not able to obtain that, he sent the Count *De Belin* also, who flattered himself with better success. The King, however, would not by any means consent to it, being very well convinced, that they only wanted to interpose delays, not to see what resolution would be taken at the court of *Rome*, but in expectation of receiving the supplies that were raising by the *Spaniards*, and to give them sufficient opportunity to make all necessary preparations. This determined him not to suffer himself to be amused any longer, especially as his own friends had been promoting his interests in every part of the kingdom, but to begin the war again immediately, that he might see the effect of their labours: so that though the Duke of *Mayenne*, amongst many others, employed *Sebastiano Zametti* also for that purpose (who had been a *Piedmontese* merchant, but now was become an Agent of some reputation at the courts of Princes) and notwithstanding the President *De Thou* and the Count *De Schomberg* met him at *Paris*, yet it was not possible by any terms, how specious soever, to prevail upon the King to prolong the cessation even for a few days.

At the expiration of the truce, the effects of the King's conversion, and of the negotiations which his Ministers had so opportunely set on foot, began to appear: for Monsieur *De Vitry*, Governor of *Meaux*, who had great arrears due to him, and had been with the *Condè de Fuentes* during the time of the truce to get them paid off, was not only disappointed in what he thought highly reasonable to demand, but obliged to wait many days before he could be admitted to tell his business (a behaviour very disgusting to the natural impatience of the *French*) and at last came back full of disdain and resentment, often declaring, *Point d'argent, point de Vitry, No pay, no Vitry*, which afterwards passed into a proverb. He took occasion, therefore, from his inability to pay the soldiers himself, to call the people of the town to a parley, and told them, "He had constantly followed the party of the League whilst the dispute was about religion; but now the King was turned Catholick, he would pay him due

1593. obedience, and no longer adhere to those that were for carrying on the war only out of ambition and private interests; that he would deliver up the keys of the town into their own hands, and leave them at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased; but for his own part he was determined to go directly over to that side which he saw was now manifestly in the right." With this resolution, he not only put on a white sash himself, but made all his officers do the same, and was going to march out of the town with his men: but the people, animated by this short speech, and the example of their Governor, unanimously cried out, *Long live the King*, and immediately chose four Deputies to go and surrender the town to him.

This place was of great service to him, both on account of its nearness to *Paris*, and because it shut up the passage of the river *Marn*; but the example which it had set to all other towns that adhered to the League was still of much greater consequence: for as it was the first that submitted to the King since his conversion, it was likely to open a way to revolutions of such importance, that very much depended upon it. The King, however, after he had advised with his Council, as he usually did in such cases, what course was to be taken, and what terms should be granted to the citizens, seemed to be in some doubt, when he saw his Counsellors divided in their opinions. Those that were warmest, and could not forget the past insolence of the common people, nor to soon lay aside the inveteracy of party (amongst whom were some of the *Hugonots* who yet came to Council) would have had those that returned to their obedience, bridled with rigorous conditions, to oblige them to make amends for their former disloyalty and transgressions by a severe repentance, and out of a desire to revenge their old animosities, and to triumph over enemies, whom they already looked upon as vanquished. But those that were wiser, and more moderate, represented, that the inhabitants of *Meaux* had returned to their obedience voluntarily, and by free choice, without being forced to it by the miseries of a siege, or the apprehension of any other calamity: that it was necessary to begin with an example that might invite and allure other places of greater importance to come over, and serve as a pattern for further capitulations and agreements: that since the King was resolved to use all possible means to engage the people to acknowledge him, it would be a preposterous manner of proceeding to terrify them at such a juncture with pains and penalties: that it would be his best policy to encourage this tendency to obedience in his subjects, to overlook their errors and failings, and to confirm them in their good resolutions by mild and gentle treatment: that it was worthy of remembrance, how prejudicial the pardon granted to the *Flemings* by the Duke of *Alva* had been to the *Spanish* interests, from his want of sincerity, from the reservations,

reservations, ambiguity, and severity of his terms, which made the pardon so dubious, that more cities were alienated from his Catholick Majesty by those conditions, than by all his former unmerciful and sanguinary proceedings: for which reasons, they advised his Majesty to avail himself of the folly of his neighbours, and to beware of those errors which were still a daily reproach to the *Spanish* nation. 1593.

This advice was certainly the most proper and salutary at that time, and most agreeable to the King's own disposition, who was always inclined to clemency and gentle means: and as he knew that his enemies, though weak and divided, were not yet utterly suppressed, he resolved to open the door in such a manner, that others might cheerfully come in at it. For which purpose, when the Deputies came to wait upon him, he received them very graciously, and granted the citizens of *Meaux* all the conditions they well knew how to ask, and amongst the rest, that the exercise of the Catholick religion alone should be allowed in their town: he likewise exempted them from many imposts, and confirmed the immunities granted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the antient privileges of the place: he continued Monsieur *De Vitry* in his government, and gave the reversion of it to his eldest son, besides a handsome sum of money to discharge his debts, and not only paid the soldiers, that were under his command, all their arrears, but took them into his own service.

The report of this well-timed clemency and liberality was presently spread all over the kingdom, and made many other places resolve to follow the example of *Meaux*, in hopes of finding that security and repose under the King's benevolence, which they vainly sought amidst the distractions of war: especially, when they saw an edict published by the King, on the fourth of *January*, one thousand five hundred and ninety four, wherein he amply confirmed the above-mentioned conditions, which edict was also received without any kind of demur, and approved of by the Parliament. 1594.

About the same time, the Sieur *D'Eustrumel*, brother-in-law to Monsieur *S^t. Luc*, and Governor of *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, three considerable towns in *Picardy*, agreed for himself and those places to submit to the King: but to give a better colour to the thing, he first made a truce with him for several months, by the conditions of which the afore-said towns were to remain neutral. The Sieur *D'Alincourt* and Monsieur *De Villeroi* did the same for *Pontoise*, the King consenting to a particular truce, by which they were to stand neuter, that so he might make use of *Villeroi* to promote the treaty of peace, which was still kept alive with the Duke of *Mayenne*. But Monsieur *De la Chastre*, one of the principal men of the League, declared boldly for the King, and without any reserve, in the beginning of *February*: for as he had in vain demanded sup-

1594. plies of men and money from the *Spanish* Ministers, he was so provoked — at the refusal, and so tired of the dissensions which he saw in his party, that he agreed with the King, by means of the Archbishop of *Bourges*, for himself and the cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, obtaining the same conditions for them that had been granted to *Meaux*; and for himself, the confirmation of his rank as Marshal of *France*, conferred on him by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of the governments he had in possession, which after his death were to descend, by agreement, to his son, the Baron *De la Maison*.

In the same month the city of *Lyons* also made a composition: for the people of that place, having long expected that the Duke of *Mayenne* should either come thither himself, or send some person of great authority, to accommodate matters with the Duke of *Nemours*, and to remove him from that government, by giving him some equivalent: and as he could neither leave *Paris* in the temper it was then in, nor had any equivalent to give the Duke of *Nemours* (for the government of *Guyenne*, which he would have accepted of, was already promised to the Duke of *Guise*, and the Marquis *De Villers*, who commanded there, would not hear of submitting to any other person) he could neither prevent the defection of that city, nor was able to make head against the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, who, in order to get his brother released, not only plundered all the country round *Lyons*, and made terrible havock there, but also very much distressed the city itself: so that after the people had waited many months to no purpose, and could not tell what course to take, they at last resolved to send for Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, who was not far off with a good body of men, and having let him into the city, they first pulled down and demolished the arms and colours of the League in every part of it, and then boldly set up the royal standard.

Not long before, the city of *Aix* had been closely besieged by the Duke of *Espernon*; and the Count *De Carffy*, who had married the Duke of *Mayenne's* daughter-in-law, and was not only Governor of that place, but commander in chief of all the forces of the Province, finding he was not likely to receive any relief, either from the Duke of *Savoy* or any other quarter, took a resolution to submit to the King now he was turned Catholic, but upon condition, that the Duke of *Espernon* should not come into it, to whom both the citizens and the Count himself professed a particular dislike; in which point they were satisfied, by means of Monsieur *Les Diguieres* and Colonel *Alphonso Corso*.

In this ferment amongst the Chiefs and principal cities of the Union, the Cardinal Legate was in great fear and anxiety: for as he had assured them at the court of *Rome*, that the King's conversion would occasion no great alteration in affairs, he was now afraid, the Pope would look upon

upon him as a man of little foresight, and not to be depended upon : and ^{1594.} since he had been very urgent with his Holiness not to receive the King's embassy, he was apprehensive, that all sinister events that might afterwards happen, would be imputed to his counsel. At the same time he was not a little mortified, that so much pains, and so many endeavours as he had used to conduct the affairs of the League to the conclusion he desired, should now prove vain and fruitless, and that all his contrivances and machinations should be baffled in a moment. After long consideration, therefore, he published a writing, in which he informed and assured the people of *France*, that the Pope looked upon the King of *Navarre's* conversion only as counterfeit and dissembled, and had neither approved of it, nor admitted the Duke of *Nevers* as his Ambassador, but in a private manner, and as an *Italian* Prince. He likewise declared, that the Pope never would approve of that conversion, nor admit the King into the bosom of the church : for which reason, he exhorted all good Catholics not to depart from the judgment of the Apostolick See, nor from the Union, nor their obedience to the Pope. This writing he thought would lay a restraint upon those that were inclined to submit to the King, and imagined that scruple of conscience would act more powerfully in deterring them from such a resolution, than the consideration of temporal laws would prompt them to persist in it. But it had an effect very different from what he expected : for the people in general were offended, that the voluntary conversion of so great a Prince should be rejected, when the church always had heretofore taken such pains to convert the meanest sinner, and to embrace him with so much tenderness, when he was converted : and the people, now desirous of peace and repose, and abhorring the civil discords that had been attended with such ruinous consequences, both to the publick and every private man, were so much the more inclined to shelter themselves under the King's protection. The Legate, however, who either was still of the same opinion, or could not bear the thoughts of retracting what he had written and advised at *Rome*, continued firmly to support and defend the League, both with the Pope, and amongst the *French* Lords themselves, with whom he was every day in close consultation.

The King of *Spain's* Ministers were in no less uneasiness and apprehension, when they saw that some of those whom they accounted most staunch and trusty had left them. And though they had patched up a sort of an accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, yet they did not build much upon it, especially as the Duke of *Guise* himself was not very well satisfied with it : so that they knew all their hopes would be at end, if some vigorous measures were not speedily taken in the present exigency, which it was very difficult to do, both on account of their want of money, and the bad situation of their affairs in the *Low Countries* : and though they

1594. they used their utmost endeavours, they could not find any one that would either accept their bills of exchange, or have any dealings at all with them. To stay for supplies that would be so long in coming from *Spain*, was a remedy too late and at too great a distance; they resolved therefore to avail themselves of the succours that were nearest at hand, which were the forces in *Flanders*, and dispatched many messengers to order the army there to march into *France* with all possible expedition; for which purpose *Baptista Tassis* also went thither himself. But they had no money to pay those forces, for want of which, some of the *Spanish* troops and great numbers of the *Italian* horse had mutinied. Count *Charles of Mansfelt* also, who was to command the army, interposed many difficulties and delays, and did not care to leave *Flanders*, either because he could not endure to be commanded by the Duke of *Mayenne*, or thought he was not like to get much honour with such a handful of men, and no means to pay them: so that the *Spanish* army, which was not only a small one, but ill provided and discontented, durst not advance from their own confines.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was in still greater perplexity than any of the rest. He saw the Count *De Carisy* and Marshal *De la Chastre*, in whom he used to confide more than in any others, had utterly abandoned him: the city of *Lyons* was lost, to which place he had resolved, whatever should happen, to retire with the remains of his fortune: his Brother the Duke of *Nemours* was no longer the city's prisoner, but the King's: *Meaux* and *Pontoise* were in his Majesty's hands, towns that lay so near, and were so effectual a check upon the *Parisians*, who allured, on one hand, by the blessings of peace and plenty, and moved, on the other, by their ancient principles and regard to conscience, began to waver, and it was uncertain what resolution they would come to at last. For all these reasons he often thought of making his Peace with the King before he was deserted by every body; in which he was encouraged by Monsieur *De Villeroy* in frequent letters, who had a commission to offer him very honourable and advantageous terms, which he told him he must not expect to obtain when he was reduced to a lower ebb, but would be forced to capitulate, not as the Head of the Union, or Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but as a particular Prince and a private person. But, on the other hand, he was very loath to give up his old pretensions, in which the *Spaniards* used all their endeavours to confirm him: and to make his peace without the Pope's approbation, to whose judgment he had referred himself, seemed so dishonourable a thing to him, and so likely to tarnish his reputation, that he could not prevail upon himself to submit to it, and resolved, whatever turn things should take, rather to perish than to shew that the late wars had been fomented by him out of ambitious

ambitious views, and not for the support of religion. He seemed to make little account of his own ruin and the destruction of his family, in comparison of the loss of his honour, which he thought he should forfeit if he departed, in never so small a degree, from the will and determination of the Pope and the Apostolick Sec. Upon which considerations, he took a resolution to govern himself entirely by the information that he expected from *Rome*, and the court of *Spain*: and in the mean time sent Monsieur *De Mefme* into *Flanders*, not only to hasten the march of that army, but that he might be truly informed by him of the strength and certainty of those supplies, which he might expect from that quarter.

In this interval, the Cardinal *De Joyeuse*, and the Baron *De Senecay*, whom he had last sent to the Pope, and the Abbé *De Orbais* dispatched by the Duke of *Guise*, arrived at *Rome* on the twenty-second of *January*, and when they were admitted to an audience by his Holiness, after they had given him an account of every thing that had lately happened, the bad success of which they imputed to the sinister designs, and too manifest ambition of the *Spaniards*, they beseeched him to use his good offices and endeavours to know the King of *Spain's* positive and final determination; and that he himself would be pleased to succour the Catholick religion and the cause of the League, in the imminent danger they were then in, with supplies both of men and money, as his predecessors had always done. To these requests, the Pope, after he had related what had passed with the Duke of *Nevers*, answered, "That he would endeavour to know his Catholick Majesty's last resolution, and to confirm him in the laudable design of defending religion and supporting the League; but excused himself from assisting them with men and money as they desired, by saying, that he was necessitated to exert his whole strength for the safety of *Chriſtendom* in general, on so urgent an occasion as the war with the *Turk* in *Hungary*; that, however, he would not fail to lend his assistance, as far as he was able, in the affairs, of *France*. It was no very difficult matter for the Ambassadors, and particularly the Baron *De Senecay*, a man of great sagacity and penetration, to comprehend the Pope's meaning; and they plainly saw, that he neither cared to part with his money, nor was much pleased with the affairs of the League: so that they wrote to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he must have recourse to other means of furnishing himself with supplies, for there was little or nothing to be expected from the Pope.

The negotiation in *Spain* was attended with no better success; for though the Sieur *De Montpezat*, after many delays, had been at last admitted to a conference with the King himself, and besought him to declare his pleasure as well in regard to the election and marriage of the Infanta, as the supplies of men and money for the establishment of the Prince

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Prince that should be elected, and also as to the conditions he would grant the Duke of *Mayenne*, without referring him to his Majesty's Ministers in *Spain* in any of these articles; yet he could draw no other answer from him, but that he would write to the Pope and the Archduke *Ernest*, to see what they would agree to do, and that it was necessary to wait for an answer from them both. This coldness and irresolution plainly shewed, that the King was either so weak, or so tired of the war, that he was not much inclined to prosecute it any further: but on the other hand, as Don *Bernardino Mendoza*, who had long resided in *France*, and was well acquainted with the affairs of that kingdom, had wrote before this to the *Sieur De Rambouillet*, that if the house of *Bourbon* would send somebody to negotiate at the court of *Spain*, in their name, it was very probable that his Catholick Majesty would agree to a peace: the King, resolving not to neglect such an opportunity, had ordered the *Sieur De la Varenne*, a Gentleman of great abilities, good address, and in whom he put much confidence, to join in *Montpezat's* retinue, and to go with him to the Court of *Spain*, under a pretence of travelling to see the world, according to the custom of the *French*; and whilst he was there, to confer privately with *Mendoza* and others of the Council of state: which he did frequently, and at his return informed his Majesty, that the *Spaniards* would certainly agree to a peace, if means could be found to bring it about consistently with their reputation. And though this was imputed to the artifice of that Council, that they might employ the same engines against the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he made use of against them, yet, when he was informed of it, either purposely, or by accident, it confirmed him in the suspicion he had conceived from the doubtful answers which his Ambassador had received from the King's own mouth.

But whilst the Pope referred a final resolution to the Court of *Spain*, and in *Spain* it was said to depend upon advice from *Rome* and *Flanders*, the temper of the *French*, naturally impatient of delay, worked so powerfully in the King's favour, that things were in great commotion every where, and the Union of the Confederates began to dissolve of itself in all parts. The people of *Paris* murmured and made heavy complaints of scarcity; and the sweets of plenty, which they had tasted during the time of the truce, made their present sufferings seem more grievous and intolerable: the dearth increased every day, and the interruption of commerce and manufactures had reduced the common people to extreme misery for want of provisions: so that now religion was out of danger, of which pretence the Chiefs of the League had principally availed themselves, to keep them firm in their attachment to the Union; and since it evidently appeared that the King's conversion was sincere and unfeigned,

every

every one was desirous of peace, to put an end to his own misfortunes, and the hardships he had undergone for so many years. They saw that in such places as submitted to the King, the Catholick religion was maintained, the revenues of the clergy restored, the garrisons withdrawn from those towns that belonged to the church, the exercise of the *Hugonot* religion excluded, the corporations supported in their privileges, the Catholicks continued in their offices and employments, the governments confirmed to the same commanders, and that there appeared no signs of innovation or danger of any kind whatsoever. It was every where reported how well affected, and even how zealous, the King was for the establishment of the Catholick religion; that his Council was composed of Prelates, and other persons brought up in the same faith: his clemency and benevolence, his magnanimity and contempt of revenge, were every where extolled, and the plenty and repose enjoyed by his party, not a little envied by those of the League in the extremity of their sufferings. The niggardliness and disgustful behaviour of the *Spaniards* had filled every one with discontent: the discords that reigned amongst the heads of the faction, made all sensible men despair of seeing any happy conclusion of their troubles and misfortunes by adhering to the Union. The people, therefore, began to form meetings and assemblies in every part of the city, at which the *Politicks* were very industrious in endeavouring to make converts to their party, by such arguments and considerations as were adapted to persons of every rank and quality: nor did the Count *De Belin*, whose duty it was, as Governor, to discourage those proceedings, seem to give himself any trouble about the matter, either because he was dissatisfied with the conduct of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Spaniards*, or thought it impossible any longer to keep the city from revolting: on the contrary, he resolved to make his peace with the King, in hopes of being confirmed in his government.

But as the Duke himself was there at that time, he presently began to see how the Governor was inclined, and at the instigation and importunities of the Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassadors, resolved to remove him from his government, which was strenuously opposed, when it came to be known, by the Parliament; but to no purpose: for the Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had reprimanded the Counsellors of the Parliament in very harsh terms, insisted upon having the Count the *Brisac* accepted as their Governor, to satisfy him for the loss of his government of *Poitiers*, which had been violently wrested out of his hands not long before by the Duke of *Elbæuf*. But in this he was very much disappointed: for *Brisac*, though he had been an old follower and dependant upon his family, and had spent all his fortune in the Duke's service, was so exasperated when he was deprived of the only government he had set his heart

^{1594.} upon, and sometime enjoyed, that he privately resolved with himself to take the first opportunity of re-establishing his fortune: especially as he did not think the government of *Paris* a sufficient recompence, when he considered the expence that attended a post of that dignity, which would not by any means better his present circumstances. Nor was he certain that he should long continue in it: for it was already, in a manner, agreed, that the Government of the Isle of *France* should be conferred on the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*; and though the Count was assured that the city of *Paris* should be excepted out of that grant, yet he thought it was more than probable that the Marquis would obtain the government of the city also, by the interest of his mother.

The Duke, however, obliged him to accept of it; and as he put great confidence in him, resolved to leave *Paris* wholly to his care, and to go to *Soissons*, and from thence to the army; rightly judging, that lying idle in that manner was of prejudice to his reputation, and furnished the people both with excuses and opportunities to revolt: yet in any things seemed to make it necessary for him to stay were he was, and before his departure he began to entertain some suspicions of the new Governor's fidelity, and the correspondence which the *Prevôt des Merchants* held with many *Politicks* that were well affected to the King's party. The Legate and the *Spanish* Ambassadors exhorted him likewise not to go; but he paid little regard to what they said, imagining they were desirous he should continue in the city, only that they might confer the command of the army, and the management of the war upon the Duke of *Guise*: indeed he was something moved by the persuasions of his mother, Madam *De Nemours*, who told him, that every thing now wholly depended upon the preservation of *Paris*, and that she had discovered some secret practices betwixt the *Politicks* of the city and the new Governor. But even this was not sufficient to divert him from his resolution of going: for he thought it diminished his reputation, and prejudiced the course of affairs too much, to stand with his hands in his bosom, and suffer himself to be distressed to the last degree without seeking any remedy. He considered also, that if the King, who was now master of *Pontoise* and *Meaux*, and consequently of the rivers, and had *Dreux*, *Orleans*, and *Chartres* in his power, should think of besieging *Paris*, he should be blocked up in that city, and not be able to do any thing to relieve it: and as he had intelligence that the King had hired six thousand *Swiss*, which were ready to enter the kingdom, and knew that the Queen of *England* was going to send him fresh supplies of men and ammunition, he thought it necessary to draw the forces of the confederates together, to make an opposition in the spring, if the King should take the field with a powerful army: which could not be done except he exerted himself, as he did

not look upon the Duke of *Guise* or the Duke of *Aumale* to be persons of sufficient authority and experience either to raise or command the army, in which charge, the present disposition of the people, now much more suspected by him than ever, would not suffer him to trust any other person. For these reasons, and because he could not be persuaded that the Count *De Brisac* would desert him, and fall off from that fidelity which he himself, his father, and his grandfather, had ever shewn to him and his family, upon all occasions, he at last departed, and took his lady and children with him, leaving his mother, his sister, the Cardinal Legate, and the *Spanish* Ambassadors at *Paris*.

But he was no sooner gone, when the Governor, finding himself freed from that restraint, and making little account of all the rest that were in the city, sought that opportunity of raising his fortune again was not to be lost: upon which account, after he had drawn *John Viller*, the *Président des Marchands*, and the two principal *Eschevins*, *William du Ver*, and *Martin L'Anglais* *Sieur De Beaurepaire*, over to his party, he began to tamper with the first President and the Counsellors of the Parliament. These were all displeased with the Duke of *Mayenne*, because, on many occasions, and in particular, when he lately changed the Governor, he had used them, as they said, in a very cavalier and ungrateful manner, and openly ridiculed and abused them: and much more were they disgusted at the *Spaniards* for proposing the Infanta to be their Queen, to whose election they had publicly shewn the utmost dislike and aversion. This disgust was much increased by the ill usage which the Presidents and the Counsellors of the Parliaments (who were distrusted and looked upon as disaffected to them) received from his Catholick Majesty's Ambassadors, and from the *Italians*, *Walloons*, and *Spaniards* of the garrison that were dependent upon them, who not only had the insolence to threaten and treat them with opprobrious language to their faces, often reminding them * of President *Brissot*, but to abuse their servants and caterers in the markets, and even to take away by force whatsoever they had bought: of which they had often complained to the Duke of *Mayenne* without obtaining any redress, unless exhortations to patience might be so called. But their patience was now worn out, and they became not only exceedingly alarmed, but downright furious, when they at last perceived they were upon the eve of being made absolute slaves to a nation which they mortally hated, and how much better it would be to secure their liberty under the shelter of the stronger party, and put an end to all their troubles and afflictions: so that it was no difficult matter

* Who was strangled in prison, and afterwards ignominiously hanged upon a gallows, by order of the council of sixteen, at the instigation of the *Spanish* Ministers in the year 1591. See Book XII.

1594. to prevail upon them to concur with the rest, and consent to surrender the city to the King.

When things were thus ripe in the city, and the Governor thought he could sufficiently influence the people, he began to negotiate with the King, by means of his near relation and intimate friend, the Count *De Rochepot*; and after they had proceeded so far as to treat of the conditions, the Count *De Schomberg* and Monsieur *De Bellicure* were employed in the affair, who in a few days agreed upon what was necessary to be done, both to satisfy the Count *De Brisac*, and to take possession of the city without tumult or bloodshed. In the last place the Count himself also had a conference in the country with Monsieur *De St. Luc*, who had married one of his sisters, under a pretence of treating about her fortune, which had occasioned a long suit betwixt them: and there it was jointly concluded, That the publick exercise of no other religion but the *Roman* Catholick should be allowed in the city of *Paris*, the *Fauxbourgs* thereof, and ten miles round it, according to the tenour of the edicts published by former Kings. That the King should grant a general pardon to all such, of what rank or condition soever, as had favoured and assisted the League either by word or deed, excited the people to sedition, spoken evil of his person, written or printed any thing against him, thrown down and trampled upon his royal arms, or the arms of his predecessors, or were concerned in any manner in fomenting their defection, excepting those that had traiterously conspired against his person, or were accessory to the murder of the late King. That the goods and persons of the citizens should be exempted from violence and plunder, all their privileges, prerogatives, and immunities confirmed and preserved, in the same manner they used to be in the times of former Kings. That all places, offices, and benefices, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had filled up when they became vacant by death, as well within the Parliament as without, should be confirmed to the same persons, but upon condition, that they should take new patents from the King for that purpose. That all the present magistrates of the city should be continued in their respective offices, provided they would submit to, and obey the King. That every citizen, who was unwilling to stay in the city, might have free liberty to depart, and carry away his goods without further licence. That the Cardinal Legate, Cardinal *Pellevè*, and all the Prelates, might freely either stay or go, in what manner, and when they thought proper, with all their servants, goods, and furniture. That the Princesses and Ladies, who were in the city, might stay or go, in the same manner, with full liberty and security. That the *Spanish* Ambassadors might also have passports and safe-conducts from the King to go whither they pleased, with their attendants, goods, and families. That the soldiers of the garrison, whether

ther *French* or foreigners, of what nation soever, might march out of the city under arms and in military order, with their drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, to go whither they thought convenient. That two hundred thousand crowns should be paid to the Count *De Brisac* in consideration of his losses and expences, and that he should have an annual pension of twenty thousand franks, the rank of Marshal of *France*, conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*, should be confirmed, and the perpetual government of *Corbiel* and *Mante* granted to him; which things, and many other of less moment, being agreed upon, both sides applied themselves to the execution of them.

The King was then at *Chartres*, where he had caused himself to be crowned and anointed, or *consecrated*, as they call it: and notwithstanding some difficulties had been raised about it, yet they were happily removed by the authority of the Council. For though he was desirous to add this usual ceremony to his conversion, in order to take away all doubts and scruples in tender consciences, some objected, that the consecration, by ancient custom, could not be performed in any place but the city of *Rheims*, nor by the hands of any one but the Archbishop of that church. But when they had diligently searched the histories of former times, they found that many of their Kings had been consecrated in other places: and since that city was not in the King's power, it was unreasonable that he should continue uncrowned, when that ceremony was thought so necessary for his perfect establishment. After this difficulty was got over, another occurred, namely, how the King could be anointed without the oil of the *Sancta Ampulla*, which was kept in that city, and, as it is said, was brought down by an angel from heaven, on purpose to consecrate King *Clouis* and the other Kings of *France* his successors. But neither was there any absolute necessity for this, nor any other proof of it but bare tradition: so that it was determined, that since neither the city nor the oil was in the King's power, the oil should be made use of that is kept at the city of *Tours* in the convent of the Friars of *St. Martin*, which likewise, as many authors have affirmed, was brought down from heaven to anoint that Saint, when he fell from the top of a ladder to the ground and broke all his bones. Monsieur *De Sourvray*, therefore, Governor of *Tours*, caused that phial to be brought out in procession by the monks that had it in keeping, and having placed it on the top of a magnificent chariot, made for that purpose, with lighted tapers round it, under a rich canopy of state, and guarded by four troops of horse, he rode before it himself all the way till they came to *Chartres*. With this oil they anointed the King at his consecration; and after that was over, he caused it to be carried back again to its proper place, with the same veneration and ceremony.

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It was disputed likewise amongst the Prelates, to which of them it belonged to perform the act of consecration: for the Archbishop of *Bourges* pretended that office belonged to him, as Primate: and on the other hand, *Nicholas de Thou*, Bishop of *Chartres*, alledged, that as the ceremony was to be celebrated in his church, he could not be deprived of it. But the Council decided the matter in favour of the Bishop of the diocese, and accordingly the King was consecrated, on the 27th of *February*, with very great state and solemnity, and a numerous attendance both of Ecclesiasticks and military commanders, the twelve Peers of *France* being present at the ceremony, six of them ecclesiastical, and six secular, which were the Bishops of *Chartres*, *Nantes*, *Mans*, *Maillemais*, *Orleans*, and *Angiers*, representing those of *Rheims*, *Langres*, *Laon*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Châlons*: and for the secular Peers there assisted, the Prince of *Conti* for the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Count *De Soissons* for the Duke of *Guyenne*, the Duke of *Montpensier* for the Duke of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Luxembourg* for the Count of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Retz* for the Count *De Tholouse*, and the Duke of *Ventadour* for the Count *De Champagne*. The Archbishop of *Bourges* executed the office of Grand Almoner, the Marshal *De Matignon* of High Constable, the Duke of *Lougueville* that of High Chamberlain, the Count *De St. Paul* that of Grand Master, and the High Chancellor *Chiverny* sat on one side of the cloth of state, holding the seals in his right hand.

His Majesty, according to the custom of the Kings of *France* on the day of this solemnity, received the Sacrament in both kinds, took the oath which all the Kings of *France* are obliged to take, to maintain the Catholick faith and the authority of the holy church: and at his coming out of the church, touched those that had the King's evil, to the number of three hundred. From the church he went to the banquet prepared for him, where the twelve Peers that had assisted at the ceremony, sat down, according to custom, together with the Princess *Catharine*, the King's sister, all the other Ladies of quality that were at court, and the Ambassadors of the Queen of *England* and the Republick of *Venice*. After dinner the King went to *Vespers*, where he received the order of the Holy Ghost, and renewed his oath for the conservation of the faith, and the persecution of heresy; which ceremonies not only filled the hearts of his own party with very great joy, but inclined others more readily to acknowledge and obey him.

In the mean time, the negotiations at *Paris*, for the surrender of that city, were managed with great dexterity and secrecy by the Governor, the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and President *Le Maître*, but opposed with more vehemence than ever by the preachers, who were continually exclaiming from their pulpits, that the King's conversion was only counterfeit

terfeit and diffimulation, and that no body could acknowledge him with a good conscience. They were also somewhat retarded by the intrigues and boldness of *the sixteen*, who, since the death of President *Briffon*, had had little credit, and less power: but now they were spirited up by the Legate and the *Spaniards*, as well as by the Duchesses of *Nemours* and *Montpensier*, who artfully suited their sails to the wind that then blew, they began to rise again and had frequent meetings, where they endeavoured to stir up commotions, and openly proceeded against those that were suspected to be of the King's party. But the Governor, making use of his own authority as well as the Duke of *Mayenne's* name, took much pains to dissipate and suppress them, under a pretence that he would not allow of any such assemblies or gathering together in arms, at a time when there was so much reason for suspicion: and therefore, when he had so agreed with the Parliament, they caused a publick proclamation to be made, in which every one was forbidden, on pain of death and confiscation of goods, to go to any meeting that consisted of above five persons, except in the city-hall and in the presence of the magistrates. Upon the strength of this decree, the Governor began to use forcible and severe measures, and in a few days had so effectually suppressed the opposition of *the sixteen*, that he thought himself then able to dispose of the city as he intended; and determined to receive the King into it on the 22d of *March*. For which purpose, after he had caused a report to be spread that the Duke of *Mayenne* was sending more men and ammunition from *Soissons* to reinforce the city; under a pretence that it was necessary to send a convoy to meet them, he ordered *Giacopo Argenti* to march the day before with a *French* regiment, that he durst not trust in the city, towards *Beauvais*, by which road, he said, those supplies were coming. *Martin l'Anglois* had already, by a promise of a large sum of money, drawn over *St. Quintin* to his party, who commanded the *Wallons* that were in the town: but the Duke of *Feria*, either suspecting or being informed of it, caused him to be put under an arrest on the 21st, and removed that whole corps and the other of *Spaniards*, into the quarters near his own house, in *St. Anthony's-street*, which was at the greatest distance from the place where the Governor intended to bring in the King: so that, as it happened very luckily, the strength of the forces was quartered in the remotest part of the city. The *Neapolitan* division, under the command of *Alessandro de Monti*, was sent into that part of the city that lies beyond the river, under a pretence of being in readiness to receive a great quantity of provisions which was to be brought in from that side the next day. The *Germans* alone were suffered to stay in the quarters of *St. Honore* and *St. Dennis*, either because the Governor thought it would be a more easy matter to corrupt them, or, if that could not be done,

1594. done, to defeat them; or did not care to add to the suspicion that already began to increase exceedingly, by utterly stripping those quarters of all their strength and defence.

When the evening was come, the Governor, having assembled the *Prevôt des Marchands*, and such of the magistrates and leading men amongst the people, at his own house, as he hoped would concur with him, freely declared his intention to them, together with the articles of agreement made with the King, and the necessity they were reduced to of consenting to a peace, in order to put an end to miseries and dangers that had no other remedy: and finding them unanimously disposed to follow his advice, he exhorted them to do it freely and courageously, and to use their endeavours, that this revolution might be brought about, and the King admitted into the city, without tumult or commotion. To this every one present readily consented, and about nine of the clock at night they dispatched tickets, signed by the *Prevôt des Marchands*, to the greater part of the officers of the several wards, who had been lately chosen and modelled for that purpose, acquainting them, that as an accommodation was already made, and peace would be declared the next morning, it behoved them all to take care there was no uproar or disturbance, and joyfully to embrace a peace so necessary and so long desired, especially, as the goods and persons of the citizens were sufficiently secured by it.

After this order was given (which was done with as much secrecy as possible, and cheerfully executed by every one) the Governor proceeded to *Porte Neuve* about midnight, whither he sent for the *Germans*, and having drawn them up under arms, presently ordered the earth to be removed with which that gate had been blocked up long before. The *Prevôt des Marchands* did the same at the *Porte de St. Dennis*, and leaving *Martin l'Anglois* there to guard it, went himself to join the Governor at *Porte Neuve*. The night had been exceeding tempestuous, with much thunder and lightning, and very dark and rainy, which was the occasion that the King, who had marched with his army from *Senlis* to *St. Dennis* the night before, was two hours after the time appointed before he appeared. In the mean while, the whole city being in motion, the *Spanish* Ambassadors were so alarmed at the noise, that the Duke of *Feria* immediately drew up the infantry which lay nearest him under arms: and *Diego d'Ivarra*, mounting a horse, rode hastily to *Porte Neuve*, and told them, with his usual haughtiness, "He desired to know what business they could have there:" to which the Count *De Brisac* answered, in the same manner, "That he was not obliged to give him any account of his business, but would tell him, as a favour, that the supplies of men and ammunition, which they expected from the Duke of *Mayenne*, were to be

be received there that night, as they had taken a bye-road on that side to avoid falling into the King's hands, and therefore he might make himself easy about that matter, and go to his bed." Upon which *D'Ivarra*, either believing this to be true, or knowing that he could not make any opposition if it was not, retired to the quarter where the *Spaniards* lay.

It was already four in the morning, when Monsieur *De St. Luc* arrived, with the first troops of the army, at the gate of the *Tuilleries*, where he fired three rockets into the air, as the signal agreed upon: upon which the Count *De Brisac* advanced to meet and speak with him, and at his return to the place where the *Prevôt des Marchands* waited for him, they presently caused the gate to be set wide open. Monsieur *De St. Luc* entered first on foot, with a pistol in his hand, and posted Captain *Favas*, with an hundred armed men, drawn up in two ranks, to guard that gate, whilst he himself and the *Sieur De Vic*, with four hundred of the garrison of *St. Dennis*, advanced to take possession of *St. Thomas's-street*: he was followed by Monsieur *De Humieres*, the Count *De Bélin* (who had already gone over to the King, out of the disgust he had conceived at being turned out of his government) and Captain *Raulet*, all on foot with sword in hand, who proceeded with eight hundred men to secure *Pont St. Michael*. The next that entered was Monsieur *D'O*, Governor of the isle of *France*, and designed to be Governor of *Paris*, who with the Baron *De Salignac* and four hundred men went to make themselves masters of *Porte St. Honoré*. The Marshal *De Matignon*, who commanded the *Swiss*, seeing the *German* foot under arms at his entrance, called out to them aloud to lay them down: but upon their refusal, he ordered those that followed him to charge them with their pikes, and after they had killed about twenty of them, and pushed as many more into the river, the rest were disarmed and led to *St. Thomas's* church, from whence he extended himself with his *Swiss* as far as the *Croix du Tiroir*, in the midst of *St. Honoré's-street*. After him the *Sieur De Bellegarde* entered, and the Count *De St. Paul* with two more battalions, who made a stand over-against the *Louvre*, and then spread themselves as far as *St. Germain's* church. Then came in the King on foot also, completely armed, at the head of four hundred Gentlemen, flanked on each side by the archers of his guard: and meeting the Count *De Brisac* at the entrance of the bridge, he took off the white sash that he wore himself, and not only put it over the Count's shoulder, but embraced him tenderly: and at the same time the Governor crying out aloud, *God save the King*, it was first repeated by the *Prevôt des Marchands*, who stood behind him, and then re-echoed from one ward to another quite through the city, whilst even those that were not privy to the affair, joyfully reiterated the same. But the King passing forward through his own men, who lined the streets on both sides,

1594. commanded that no violence should be offered to any one on pain of death, and with the same attendance went directly to the church of *Nôtre Dame*, where he was received by the Clergy with no less demonstrations of joy than he had been in other places. The last that entered was the Marshal *De Retz*, and advancing in excellent order to the farthest parts of the city to secure those quarters, was met by *Diego d'Ivarra*, who was coming towards the noise with two companies of *Spaniards*: but upon seeing the King's forces pouring in so fast, and in such numbers, they thought fit to retire to the place where the rest of their countrymen and friends were lodged, and the Marshal took possession of *St. Martin's-street*, that of *St. Dennis* having been already secured by Monsieur *De Vitry* and the Sieur *De la Noüe*, who entered at that gate. When the King came out of the church again, the people, who were now thoroughly apprised of all that had happened, repeated their shouts of *God save the King*, much more loudly, and with greater rejoicings than before, beginning to vie with each other who should be the first in putting white ribbons and crosses of the same colour in their hats, and most early in opening their shops, which they did without the least fear or reserve: so that in two hours the city was as quiet again, as if there had been no such change.

Before the King went to the *Louvre*, he sent Monsieur *Du Perron* (who was lately returned from *Rome*) to acquaint the Cardinal Legate, "That he was at perfect liberty either to go or stay, but desired him to contrive by some means, that they might have a conference; and added, that perhaps he might meet with more satisfaction and respect from him than he had done from the League." But the Cardinal declined any conference with him, as the Pope had refused to admit his Ambassadors, and said, "Since he was left at his liberty, he would not only go out of the city, but entirely leave the kingdom." And though the King endeavoured to dissuade him from that resolution, it was all to no purpose, both because he was desirous to avoid entering into any treaty with a Prince who was not acknowledged by the Pope, and thought he could not stay any longer consistently with his old principles and inclination, which he took no pains to dissemble, and perhaps looked upon it as meritorious, to shew such a degree of firmness and constancy, at a time when the affairs of the League were reduced to so desperate a condition. He was treated, nevertheless, with great regard, during the six days that he afterwards continued in the city, and was attended when he set out by the same *Du Perron* as far as *Montargis*, from whence he pursued his journey to get out of the kingdom.

At the same time that the King entered *Paris*, Cardinal *Pellegrè* was drawing his last breath; but when he heard of what had happened, he said, with some emotion, "He hoped the arms of the *Spaniards* and other

good Catholicks, would yet be able to drive that *Hugonot* out of the city," 1594. and had scarcely spoke the words, before he departed this life.

The Count *De Brisjac* was likewise sent by the King, with orders to the *Spanish* Ambassadors, in his Majesty's name, to set *St. Quintin* at liberty, which they complied with; and after they had recalled *Alessandro de Monti* to join the *Spanish* forces, they determined to leave *Paris* that very day. For this purpose, being attended by the Baron *De Salignac* and Monsieur *St. Luc*, they drew up their forces in the afternoon, and marched in the midst of them towards *St. Martin's* gate, at the entrance of which, the King waited on horseback to see them depart. When they came there, they bowed exceeding low to his Majesty, and were courteously saluted by him again: after which they left the city without any further ceremony, and were escorted by the King's forces to *Bourget*, from whence they took the rout of *Soissons*, and continued their march toward the frontiers.

With the same complaisance, the King sent the High Chancellor and Monsieur *De Bellicure* to wait upon the Duchesses, and to desire they would excuse him, if he had not time that day to visit them in person. But when they had settled their affairs, they left the city, having been treated with much respect whilst they staid there, and honourably attended out of it; the King's goodness and courtesy prompting him to perform more than he had promised.

The Bishop of *Sens*, one *Orleans* an Advocate, *Boucher* a Curate, *Nicholas Verade* a Jesuit, *Christopher Aubrey* Curate of *St. Andrew's*, *Pelletier* Curate of *St. James's*, *James Culli* Curate of *St. Germain's*, *John Hamilton* Curate of *St. Cosme*, Father *Guerin* a *Franciscan*, and many others of the Preachers and *Eschevins* of the city went away, some with the Legate, and some with the *Spanish* Ministers: all the rest of the people, and even several of those that had been the King's most bitter enemies, ventured to stay behind: to whom, according to the promise he had given, he would not suffer any violence to be offered.

The *Bastile* was still in the enemy's hands, under the command of the *Sieur Du Bourg*, who, for the first and second days, seemed so far from being inclined to surrender it, that, on the contrary, he endeavoured to annoy the town with his artillery, and fired several shot through it: but after a battery was raised against him, and he found he wanted provisions and ammunition, he gave it up to the King on the fifth day, and followed the rest of his party.

Thus without tumult, without opposition or bloodshed, the city of *Paris* entirely submitted to the King; who having caused a general pardon to be proclaimed, sent his army to quarter out of the town, recalled the Parliament, opened the passages for provisions, to the great comfort and

1594. refreshment of all ranks and conditions of men, so that in a few days the city was restored to its former splendor, as much frequented, and as full of people as ever.

The example of *Paris* was followed by Monsieur *De Villers*, Governor of *Roüen*, who, after he had treated with the King, by means of *Maximilian de Bethune* Sieur *De Rhosne*, agreed about the same time to acknowledge his Majesty, and to give up *Harfleur*, *Havre de Grace*, and the other places of *Upper Normandy*, by which a free navigation was opened again upon the *Seine*. This treaty had been attended with some difficulty: for *Villers* insisted upon being confirmed in the office of High Admiral, which had been conferred upon him by the League; and the Baron *De Biron*, who not long before had obtained that dignity of the King, was very unwilling to part with it. But at last, as it seemed necessary to allure others to obedience by a confirmation of the offices and governments of which they were in possession, the Baron was obliged to resign it, and had the rank of Marshal given him in lieu of it, which his father had long enjoyed before him. And though the King likewise made him a present of twenty thousand Crowns, with a promise of several other governments, yet he was exceedingly disgusted, as he pretended to have been the chief instrument in all the victories which the King had obtained, and thought it very unjust to deprive him of his honours and revenues, to give them to his enemies; often saying, with his usual liberty of speech, "That he should be glad to exchange the title of Marshal for a hackney worth fifty crowns." All these remonstrances, however, could not make the King alter his resolution; at which he conceived such a degree of resentment, as afterwards produced very great mischiefs and troubles. But when *Villers* was established in the office of High Admiral, and had obtained a confirmation of his government, service, and pay for the *Provençal* soldiers that followed him, and the government of *Havre de Grace* in reversion, for his brother the Chevalier *D'Oyse*, he declared himself for the King in the end of *March*, and delivered all those places into his hands, which had such terms granted them, as were satisfactory and sufficient for the security of religion and their own particular interests.

Thus the whole province of *Normandy* was reduced into the King's power, except *Harfleur*, which stands in the lower part, and still adhered to the party of the League. That town is situated in an angle, which like a peninsula juts out into the sea over against *Havre de Grace*, lying on the other side of the *Seine* where it falls into the sea: so that betwixt the two fortresses there is nothing but the current of the river, which is so increased by the tide, that it is above two *French* leagues over in that place. The Commendatory *Grillon* was the Governor of this town, who, being a *Provençal*, had a strong garrison of his countrymen to defend it: and one

of the sons of the Sieur *De Fontaine Martel*, a principal man in the country of *Caux*, Captain *La Tour*, a valiant and expert soldier, Captain *Gleff*, nephew to the Governor of *Carn*, one *Truville*, who from a Priest was become an eminent Commander, and many other Officers and Gentlemen that followed the same party, being there with him, they had made it their principal retreat, and from thence over-ran and plundered the whole country, making prisoners of all that they met without distinction of persons, imposing taxes upon the rich, and taking all vessels that passed the mouth of the river, with their barks, of which they had a great number well manned and armed; and by these means had filled the place not only with soldiers, and all manner of warlike provisions, but also with immense riches. The Duke of *Montpensier*, therefore, being desirous to remove this nuisance, which was in his government, and to secure the neighbouring country from such ravages, resolved to lay siege to it in the beginning of *April*: for which purpose he summoned all the *Noblesse* of the province together, and with two thousand *English* foot, that were lately landed to go into *Bretagne*, eight hundred *Germans*, who had served a great while in those parts, four *French* regiments, drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons, which consisted of three thousand three hundred harquebushiers on horseback, and eight hundred Gentlemen, he marched from *Issieux* on the 10th of *April*, and appeared in sight of the town on the 11th in the morning.

The town, on that side that looks toward the land, is surrounded with a moat forty yards broad, through which the sea ebbs and flows under a bridge of wood that is thrown over it, upon stone piers, which the Duke expected to have made himself master of immediately at his arrival: and with this design, whilst the rest of the army came up more slowly, Colonel *La Lizerne* advanced with his regiment towards the bridge, supported by Monsieur *De Fervaques* with two hundred and fifty horse. But those in the town foreseeing the danger, had planted two small pieces of cannon upon the bridge, which were loaded with flugs and pieces of old iron, and had committed the defence of it to *Truville* the priest, with a command of an hundred men: so that when the King's infantry arrived, there ensued a very hot skirmish, to which Captain *La Tour* advancing from the town with another hundred of their best men, *La Lizerne's* foot began to give way, when the Sieur *De Fervaques* (perhaps with more courage than discretion) pushed forwards as hard as he could go to repulse the enemy, who had now possessed themselves of an open place before the entrance of the bridge. But *Truville* and *La Tour*, when they saw him so near that he was within reach of their cannon, made so seasonable a use of them, that they killed above twenty of his men at one discharge, and wounded twenty more, amongst whom, *Henry Davila*, who wrote this history, had

1594. had his horse killed under him, and was in very great danger of being slain himself. But *Ferrvaques* wheeling off, the *English* came up to the skirmish, which (being supported and renewed, sometimes by the *French* foot, sometimes by the harquebusiers on horseback, and sometimes by *Ferrvaques*, who frequently returned with his horse) continued all that day; at the end of which, the King's forces were not able to drive those of the town from the bridge.

The same night Monsieur *De Surenne*, one of the Marshals of the field, caused a fort to be raised over against the bridge; which, though very much annoyed by the artillery of the town, was yet made defensible the next day, and when he had planted four pieces of cannon in it, they made so hot a fire upon the enemy, that *Truville* the Priest was killed with a culverine ball, and the rest obliged to quit the bridge: but they were so resolute, that they would not leave it to retire into the town, till they had seen all the wood-work either burnt or thrown into the water. The three following days were employed in planting the artillery, which, to the number of fourteen, battered that part of the wall that extends from the gate to the sea-shore on the west side: of which the besieged made so little account, for the three first days, that Captain *La Tour* appeared often upon the wall during the time of the hottest fire, nor could the cannoniers, who thought he did it in derision of them, either hit him or fright him away, though they used their utmost endeavours: and yet, in five days, they had made so large a breach with their artillery, that on the 22d the foot advanced to make an assault.

The moat had not been sufficiently reconnoitred (an omission generally more fatal in assaults than at any other time) and the Commanders thought the bottom of it had been of such sand as the tide throws up, and sound enough to bear the weight of their men: so that the *English* and *French*, taking the opportunity of the ebb of the tide, entered the moat in two different places, when the water was at the lowest; but though they found firm sand at the first, and therefore proceeded, yet when they came to the middle, they sunk so deep into the mud, that many of them stuck fast, and could not possibly get out again, but, like wild beasts entangled in a net, were pelted to death by the enemy's small arms from the walls, with many taunts and insulting speeches. Captain *Gasconet* was slain there, with eighty of the *French*; and of the *English* above an hundred and fifty, with their Lieutenant Colonel.

The Duke was so chagrined at this unhappy accident, that he resolved to be present himself at all future attempts, and with great art and industry caused several bridges to be built of a moderate length, which reached from the edge of the moat as far as the mud, each having a small gabion in the front of it filled with earth, under the shelter of which they endeavoured

voured to fill up the deep part of the moat, by throwing large fatcines, stones, and other rubbish into it, though it was done with great danger, and the loss of many of their best men, by the continual showers of musket balls, heavy stones, fire-works, and other contrivances, with which the besieged never ceased to annoy them. But when they had finished this piece of work, which took up four days, they found the enemy had thrown up a large trench within, with which they had repaired and covered all that part of the wall that had been beat down: so that, upon viewing the place, it was judged very difficult, if not impossible to enter it. The Duke, therefore, employed all his men that night in repairing the bridge that had been broken down, and caused it to be so pieced up again with new beams and planks that it might be passed, though with some difficulty, and but few in front, which was effected, contrary to every one's expectation: for the night was short, and they had no other light to work by, except what they received from the fire-works, which the besieged threw amongst them in great plenty, to discover what they were doing. The same night five pieces of cannon were pointed that way from the next battery, and began to fire with such fury at the break of day, that they beat down the tower of the gate, and a great part of the gate itself, before the enemy had time to throw up any works there. Scarce was the breach wide enough for two or three men to enter a-breast, when the *Sieur De Pompierre* and the *Baron D'Aly* ran furiously to the assault, with two companies of their best men: but meeting with an obstinate resistance, there ensued a short but furious action, in which, as both the Commanders that made the assault were grievously wounded, the townsmen had the advantage, and in half an hour obliged the two companies of foot to draw off from the walls; to prevent the repairing of which, the artillery began to play again without intermission: so that toward the evening *Colonel La Lizerne* and *Colonel Colombiere*, two brothers, renewed the assault in the same place, which was resolutely sustained by the besieged. But as the stoutest of the *Provençals* were slain, *Captain Glessé* wounded, *Fontaine Martel* lamed, their fire-works totally expended, and four of their best cannon spoiled, *Commendatory Grillon* began to think of surrendering, especially as he received intelligence by sea, at that very juncture, that *Admiral Villers*, and the cities of *Rouën*, *Montvillers*, *Harfleur*, and *Havre de Grace* had declared for the King: and seeing he could not now expect any relief from them, he resolved to secure the vast treasures they had amassed in that place; for which purpose it was necessary to make a composition, and not to stay till he was reduced to extremities. After he had sent, therefore, to desire a parley with the *Sieurs De Fervagues* and *Surenne*, he agreed to surrender, upon condition, That they should have liberty to march out with their effects and persons untouched,

upon

1594. upon advancing twelve thousand crowns for the payment of the King's forces, and to go into the towns on the other side of the river, which yet adhered to the League. Thus, after this town was delivered up to the *Sieur D'Alleret*, Governor of *Tuques*, and a dependant on the Duke of *Montpensier*, the whole province of *Normandy* was reduced into the King's power: for *La Fontaine Martel*, Governor of *Neufchâtel*, in the country of *Caux*, likewise submitted about the same time.

But the people and Governors, already harrassed out with the calamities of war, and allured by the King's clemency, the generous terms, and ample satisfaction that he granted to every one that came over to his party, were exceedingly inclined in all places to acknowledge him; and the court was full of agents, that were making overtures, either for their friends and dependants, or for cities and towns that were disposed to submit. *Abbeville* and *Montreuil* in *Picardy*, followed the example of those that had already surrendered. *Troyes*, a large and populous city in the province of *Champagne*; *Sens*, a city and archiepiscopal see in the confines of *Brie* and *Burgundy*; *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*, and at last the city of *Poitiers*, was brought over to the King by *Scevole de St. Marthe*, Treasurer of *France*, a man of great learning and eloquence, and of much knowledge and experience in civil affairs.

Charles of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Elbauf*, agreed also, by means of the same *St. Marthe*, to come over to the King's party, upon a promise that he should have the government of that town, and a pension of thirty thousand franks; but desired the agreement might be kept secret some time, in hopes that the Duke of *Mayenne* himself would come in at last, and because he was unwilling to separate himself from him if it could be possibly avoided.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* had very different thoughts: for as he could not yet give up his old pretensions, or thought he was obliged, in point of honour, he resolved to try his fortune, and not to come to any terms of accommodation, except the Pope first approved of and consented to them. With this determination, after he left *Paris*, he went directly to *Soissons*, where he began, with the utmost diligence, to re-assemble his forces and put them in order again, and had sent to desire the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale* would come and confer with him, at any place they thought convenient, that they might concert some measures to support their common interests; still hoping, that if they kept united with him, they might gather so many forces together again as would enable them to re-establish their affairs, or at least to obtain advantageous and honourable terms, in case the Pope should approve of the King's conversion, especially if they were assisted with supplies from *Spain*.

In consequence of this invitation, the Duke of *Lorraine* came to *Bar le Duc*, on the confines of his territories, where he was met by the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*: but the Duke of *Guise* could not be at the meeting, as the province of *Champagne* was all in an uproar, not only upon the expulsion of his brother, the Prince of *Jainville*, from his government of *Troyes*, which city had declared for the King, but because the Count *De St. Paul*, who was a dependant on his family, and had formerly been preferred by it, was suspected of meditating new designs: upon which account, and that he might not seem to abandon the places that still adhered to him, he was obliged to stay in that province, and to send *Pelicart*, his father's old Secretary, to the conference. The opinions of those that met there were very different: for the Duke of *Lorraine*, tired out with the war, and of seeing his territories ravaged and laid waste, by the passing and repassing of foreign armies, was wholly inclined to peace. But the Duke of *Aumale*, on the contrary, who was a man of a fiery and obstinate disposition, was more eager than ever to prosecute the war, and had determined rather to put himself, and the government which he held, under the dominion of the *Spaniards*, than submit to obey the King. The Duke of *Guise* kept his designs more secret; and as he was not there himself, his Secretary, under a pretence of informing him of what had passed, and of expecting his orders thereupon, avoided any explicit declaration at that time. The Duke of *Mayenne*, upon whom every thing in a great measure depended, and who thought he could influence all the rest, was firmly resolved not to make any composition without the Pope's consent: and as he imagined that might easily be obtained, upon proper application, he was in doubt which way to proceed, and whether it would be more adviseable to try the hazard of war, or agree to peace upon secure conditions. But when he found the Duke of *Lorraine* inclined to peace, and thought the Duke of *Guise* seemed also to lean that way, he took a middle course, and whilst he consented that the Duke of *Lorraine* should carry on a treaty of agreement in the names of them all, he prevailed upon them jointly to determine that their forces should unite, and that supplies should be earnestly solicited from *Flanders*: by which they might not only gain sufficient time to see what effects the Pope's decision would have, but be enabled to extort more advantageous terms of agreement, by the reputation of their arms. The Duke of *Lorraine*, therefore, immediately dispatched Monsieur *De Bassompierre* into *France*, to treat of an agreement with the Count of *Schomberg* and *Villeroy*; and at the same time gave orders, that two hundred lances and three hundred harquebusiers on horseback should march to *Laon*, to join the forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who, after he had been treating, in this interval, by means of Monsieur *De Rhosnè*, with the

1594. Arch-duke *Ernest*, lately made Governor of the *Low Countries*, went to *La Fere*, from whence he sent the Vice-Seneschal, *De Montlimar*, and his Secretary, *Des Portes*, to him.

The *Spanish* Ministers were no less embarrassed, and yet their opinions were very different from what he expected: for Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, and Count *Peter Ernest* his father, a man of long experience and much reputation, President *Ricardotto*, and the greater part of the *Flemish* Counsellors, were of opinion, that they ought at last to give up the vain and ruinous hopes of making themselves masters of *France*, and to agree with the King upon good terms: after which, they might employ their whole strength to support their own interests in the *Low Countries*, where the United Provinces, taking the opportunity when their army was gone, and their Commanders at a distance, had made such an amazing progress in a few years, that his Catholick Majesty might very well be said to have lost his own dominions by attempting to take away those of others. On the contrary, the *Condè de Fuentes* and the rest of the *Spanish* Counsellors, who had been misinformed of the affairs of *France* by the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, still persisted in their designs of endeavouring to get the Infanta elected, or at least to make themselves masters of some strong places, and to get good footing in *Picardy* and *Burgundy*, provinces that border upon *Flanders*, which, in the end, would be ceded to the Crown of *Spain*; or, if the King of *France* had a mind to compound for them, he would be obliged to give a large sum of money in exchange, to indemnify his Catholick Majesty for the vast expences he had been at for so many years. Whilst the Counsellors were in this state of suspense and irresolution, the news of the loss of *Paris* arrived, which determined the Arch-duke to follow the latter opinion: for since it could not be hoped that the League would be able to subsist any longer, now they had lost the city of *Paris*, their first foundation and principal support: and, on the other hand, as he thought the King of *Spain* could not easily obtain, nor indeed ought, for the sake of his reputation, to sue for peace, he judged it the most advisable way, in the first place, to disengage themselves from the incumbrance of the League, in which they were obliged to be at endless expences, to support many who at last proved either perfidious, or at least of no manner of service to them: and in the next place, to make war in his Catholick Majesty's own name, to employ all their forces in one place, and to spend their money in their own interests and concerns; and since it would be ridiculous to talk any longer of the Infanta's election, to take the advantage of the present opportunity, to get such places in *Picardy* and *Burgundy* into their hands, as might serve for a barrier to *Flanders*, and in some measure make amends for their past expences.

With

With this resolution, he presently entered into a treaty with Monsieur *De Rhofne*, who agreed to serve the King of *Spain*, for an annual pension of eighteen thousand crowns; and without much difficulty, prevailed also upon the Vice-Seneschal *De Montelimar*, in consideration of thirty thousand crowns, and the office of Governor for himself, to receive a *Spanish* garrison into *La Fere*, the most important fortress in *Picardy*. He negociated, at the same time, with the Duke of *Aumale*, who was more ready than any other to follow their banners, and came over to them with the towns under his command, besides an hundred cuirassiers, and two hundred light horse, for which he was to have a pension of forty thousand crowns settled upon him. He likewise tampered with the other Governors in both provinces; and, to give life to those practices, he ordered Count *Mansfelt* to draw his army together without delay, and advance to begin a vigorous war upon the confines of *Picardy*.

Of all this the Arch-duke gave a particular account to the Court of *Spain*, representing it as the most proper and advantagious resolution that could be taken in the present situation of affairs: but at the same time offered to his Catholick Majesty's consideration, that it was absolutely necessary to send fresh supplies both of men and money to support it: that they had hitherto been lavishing their treasure in vain to gratify the instability of the *French*, who, as long as they had been able to suck their milk, had grown fat at the expence of others, and now they saw the breast dry, fell off and revolted from them, according to their usual practice: that their inveterate hatred to the *Spanish* nation, added to their natural levity, would never suffer them to persist long in any thing that they thought either for the honour or advantage of the Crown of *Spain*. That the proposal of electing the Infanta, though born of a daughter of *France*, and the offspring of a King, who had drained his own kingdoms to succour them in their necessities, seemed as strange and monstrous to them, as if a *Scythian* or an *Indian* had been proposed to rule over them: that when they had offered that she should marry a *Frenchman*, to make the thing more palatable, and to shew the more evidently that there was no design of subjecting them to the *Spanish* dominion, the discords and ambition that reigned amongst them, had not suffered them to agree to it, but, on the contrary, had induced them to think of making peace with their common enemy, rather than to give way to one another. That a little seeming backwardness to glut their insatiable greediness any longer with *Spanish* gold, had in a moment not only disgusted, but made them absolutely rise in arms: that their natural impatience had induced so many cities and so many leading men amongst them, to submit, without any reserve, to the faith and discretion of their enemy, that the main foundation of the League was already destroyed: the cities of *Paris*, *Orleans*,

1594. *Rouën, Bourges and Lyons*, were revolted: the Admiral *Villars*, the Count *De Brisfac*, the Marshal *De la Chastre*, and the Sieur *De Vitry*, Chiefs of the Union, and who had principally sustained the weight of the late war, were gone over to the King's party; and the Duke of *Elbauf*, though he was of the house of *Lorrain*, and notwithstanding his bitter and inveterate enmity to the house of *Bourbon*, was either treating, or had already made an agreement: that therefore his Majesty ought no longer to refer the Infanta's rights to the arbitraments of the *French*, but to support them by force of arms, and to prosecute the undertaking in his own name, and upon his own bottom. That the *Spanish* forces were at present powerful and formidable in *Bretagne*, a separate member of the *French* dominions, which the *Salic* law did not extend to, and if they were opportunely reinforced by sea, they would be able to maintain themselves in the possession of that province. That in *Picardy* they had gained many places, by the assistance of the Duke of *Aumale*, *Montelimar*, and *Rheims*: that proper means ought to be used to draw the Duke of *Mayenne* also over to their interests, not as head of the League, but as Commander for the King of *Spain*, as many places in the Duchy of *Burgundy* might be secured by his influence: that the same course ought to be taken with the Duke of *Guise* and the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, for the acquisition of the towns in *Dauphinè* and *Champagne*; that the Sieur *De Montpezat* should be treated with in *Spain*, for some places, to give them good foothold in *Provence*. That Count *Charles* had already advanced with his army to the confines of *Picardy*, in which province they might make a very great progress before the King could draw an army together strong enough to oppose them: but that it was necessary to proceed with expedition, to raise money as soon as possible, to make levies in *Italy* and *Germany*, to augment the army, to labour now in good earnest to do themselves service, and no longer to support the interests of others. That by making themselves masters of several places upon the confines, work would be cut out for the King of *France*, which would oblige him to spend many years in regaining his own, and keep him so thoroughly employed at home, that he would not have time to think of meddling in the affairs of the *Low Countries*, or of recovering the kingdom of *Navarre*. And, in the last place, if it should be necessary or convenient for the Crown of *Spain* to conclude a peace, his Catholick Majesty would be able to make himself satisfaction in some measure for his losses and expences, by having those pledges in his hands: so that, as the honour and advantage, which would immediately result from such a manner of proceeding, was evident and easy to be attained, the execution ought likewise to be sudden, and the supplies quick and vigorous.

These representations were very conformable to the temper and designs of

of the Council of *Spain*, and induced them to take a resolution to prosecute the undertaking in the manner he had recommended. For which purpose, though the *Sieur De Montpezat* took great pains to obtain a favourable answer to the Duke of *Mayenne's* demands, yet he was told, in a more peremptory manner than before, "That instructions were sent to the Arch-duke *Ernest* in *Flanders*, and as all matters were to be adjusted there, the Duke of *Mayenne* was so near him, that he might be present at those deliberations if he so pleased." The King of *Spain* himself was so fond of this plan, that he turned his attention wholly upon it, and promoted the execution with uncommon dispatch, contrary to his natural temper and usual method of proceeding; for he gave immediate orders in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and to his own Council, to proceed with vigour and expedition in making all necessary preparations.

But this design, which, from many circumstances, was more than suspected by the Duke of *Mayenne*, gave him still greater disquietude, when he saw himself reduced to the choice of two evils, and absolutely necessitated either to come to an accommodation with the King, without waiting for the Pope's determination, or to throw himself, his liberty, and the places that depended upon him, into the hands of the *Spaniards*, contrary to the firm resolution he had made from the beginning. On one hand, he was grieved that the Duke of *Elbeuf* had made his peace with the King: on the other, that the Duke of *Aumale* had come to a composition with the *Spaniards*: and in this perplexity, sometimes, he inclined to follow the Duke of *Lorraine's* counsel, and conclude the treaty that *Bassompierre* was carrying on; sometimes, to confer with the Arch-duke, who had invited him to come to *Mons*, that they might consult together about their common interests. But before he determined to make any agreement with the King, he thought it would be the best way to stay for fresh information from the Cardinal *De Joyeuse* and the Baron *De Senecay*: and before he conferred with the Arch-duke, he was desirous to hear once more from *Montpezat*, that he might certainly know what was resolved upon in *Spain*. Amidst these doubts, he was well pleased that *Madam De Guise* should apply to her sister the Duchess of *Nevers*, to use her good offices to bring about an accommodation betwixt her son and the King, and he was glad to hear that the Queen Dowager was gone into *Bretagne*, to treat of an agreement with her brother the Duke of *Merceur*: nor was it disagreeable to him, that his mother, *Madam De Nemours*, and his sister, *Madam De Montpensier*, after they had left *Paris*, where they met with frequent opportunities of conversing with the King about the present affairs, were now come to him to propose conditions of peace: yet in all these negociations he not only interposed delays, but secret obstacles and impediments to protract things,
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that so, whilst the course of the war was in a manner suspended, and the towns that still remained of his party, grew cooler in their inclinations to revolt, he might gain the benefit of time, which he constantly used to avail himself of upon all occasions, and now thought the only remedy that was likely to produce salutary effects. But what had the greatest weight in determining him not to make an absolute agreement with the King, was the obduracy of the Pope, who, though he had consented that Cardinal *Gondi* should come to *Rome*, after the Duke of *Nevers* had left that city, for fear of utterly breaking off the treaty about the King's absolution, did it with an express command, that he should not once mention the affairs of *France*; so that the Pope kept his designs entirely secret, and appeared still determined not to comply with what the King so earnestly requested. On the other hand, what made him the most averse to any agreement with the *Spaniards*, was the continued ill usage he met with from the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*; who, after their departure from *Paris*, had a conference with him at *Laon*, where they imputed all their miscarriages and disappointments to his ill conduct, and not only treated him with the utmost disrespect, but proceeded to open menaces: which the Duke, not being able to bear, retorted the charge of ill conduct upon them, and affirmed, that the want of success in their undertakings was owing to their own imprudence and folly; after which he returned their threats, and treated them with the highest contempt both in his words and actions.

But his doubts were at an end, and he was under a necessity of coming to some resolution, when he heard that Count *Mansfelt* had actually entered *Picardy* with an army of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a proportionable train of artillery: and though the Duke of *Aumale* advised him to march into that province and lay siege to *Cerbie*, yet he resolved to make an attempt upon *La Capelle*, a town upon the frontiers of the duchy of *Tirache*, esteemed tolerably strong, but at that time, as they were informed, in great want of ammunition, though there were vast quantities of other provisions of all sorts laid up in it: upon which accounts, they hoped the taking of it would not only prove very easy, but of great service for the future sustenance of the army.

La Capelle, situated upon a spacious plain, is of a quadrangular form, of no large extent, and flanked in the angles with four bastions. It had a deep moat round it full of water, which is fed by a rivulet that runs through the plain, and dammed up by a bank raised upon the edge of the moat. It was likewise surrounded by a covert way, and a counter-scarp in the modern manner; so that, considering the strength of the fortifications, if there had been plenty of ammunition in the town, and sufficient resolution in those within it, it might have held out a long time

against the *Spanish* army. But the approach was sudden and entirely unexpected: for it was generally imagined at first, they would either not have entered *France* at all without being joined by the Duke of *Mayenne*, or, if they did, that they would sit down before *Corbie*: and when they arrived, those that were to defend it, had either so little courage, or so little conduct, that *Agostino Messia's* division of *Spaniards*, and the *Italians*, commanded by the Marquis of *Trevico*, immediately made themselves masters of the counterescarp without any opposition: and yet, as they had not lodged themselves in the space that was enclosed within the dam, they were warmly engaged for two days, and lost a great number of men before they succeeded in that: for the besieged had built their chief hopes upon the maintenance of that ground, and endeavoured to drive the enemy from it by showers of granadoes, and an incessant fire from their small arms and artillery. But on the third day, Colonel *La Berlotte* made so sudden an approach with his *Walloons* in another place, that he advanced to the very moat, and after he had demolished the banks and flood-gate that dammed up the water, he employed the pioneers to make such a descent for it, that it was presently emptied and laid quite dry. The two next days were taken up in finishing the trenches and raising a platform, which was no difficult matter, as the soil was light and soft, and in planting fourteen pieces of cannon upon it, ten of which being pointed against the curtain, and two against the bastions at each flank of it, presently beat down those fortifications. After the artillery had fired upon the town twelve hours, without cessation, and the breach had been reconnoitred, *La Berlotte* advanced, with his *Walloons*, to the assault. But the besieged, in the mean time, had pulled down an old tower, and thrown the ruins of it into the moat, which dammed up the water again in such a manner, that at last it forced its way, and burst down upon the assailants with such impetuosity, that it drowned above seventy of them, and made it very difficult for the rest to escape, especially as they were fired upon in their retreat by two pieces of cannon loaded with grape-shot, which the besieged had pointed upon the breach. The next day they drew off the water again by another sluice with less difficulty, though they lost seven Captains and above an hundred private men in that undertaking. But when the moat was thus laid dry, which was the defence that the besieged most confided in, and the greatest part of the wall was demolished, the *Sieur De Mailleray*, Governor of the town, who was not sufficiently provided to sustain a general assault, agreed to surrender, upon condition that he himself and the garrison might be allowed to march out of the place, without annoyance or molestation of their persons or effects, and accordingly delivered up the town into the hands of Count *Charles*.

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In the mean time, the King laboured, with the utmost diligence, to put the affairs of *Paris* in good order again; where, to give general satisfaction, it was necessary to increase the number of the Parliament and of the other magistrates, as he was unwilling to break his word, or to shew himself ungrateful to those Presidents and Counsellors, who, though appointed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, had yet effectually endeavoured not only to prevent the election of the Infanta, but to reduce the city to his devotion: and, on the other hand, he could not think of excluding those members that had constituted his Parliament at *Tours*, and followed his fortune in his greatest dangers and troubles. It was agreed, therefore, that *Le Maître*, who had been the first President, should give place to President *Harlay* and his other seniors, and take the seventh place: *John l'Huillier*, *Prévôt des Marchands*, was created President of the * *Chambre des Comptes*, *Martin l'Anglois*, *Sieur De Beaurepaire*, and *William du Ver*, *Sieur De Naxet*, were made Masters of the Requests of the Palace Royal. After the Parliament was thus reformed and established, the High Chancellor and the Officers of the Crown assisting there, it was solemnly decreed, that obedience should be rendered to *Henry* the fourth, as lawful successor to the kingdom, declaring all such to be rebels as should refuse to acknowledge and obey him: and by another decree, they deprived the Duke of *Mayenne* of the title and office of Lieutenant-General to the Crown. A decree to the same purpose, was also made by the College of Divines of the *Sorbonne*, who, to the number of seventy, declared the absolution that had been given to the King to be good and valid, and that no body could refuse to pay him the obedience that had ever been rendered to the other most Christian Kings, without being guilty of mortal sin. After which, they all went together to the *Louvre*, and did homage to him with great solemnity, *James d'Amboise*, Rector of the university, speaking for them all: which ceremony was the more acceptable to the King, as they were a body that had always most strenuously opposed his title and succession to the Crown.

The affairs of *Paris* were hardly settled, when he received intelligence, that Count *Charles* had laid siege to *La Capelle*: upon which, he immediately dispatched the Marshals *De Biron* and *Matignon* to draw his army together, and went himself, with Monsieur *De Givry*, two hundred Gentlemen, and four hundred light horse, towards *Picardy* the same day that he received that news. But when he came to *Chaumy*, he was informed that the place had surrendered; to make amends for which loss, he resolved to go upon some other enterprise.

If the advice of the siege and taking of *La Capelle*, was very disagree-

* The Court of Accounts or Exchequer: there is one of them in every Parliament.

able to the King, it was no less unwelcome to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who plainly saw, that since the *Spaniards* had made no application to him, they were determined, for the future, to carry on the war upon their own bottom, at which he was not a little mortified, because it not only put an end to what hopes he had left of obtaining the Crown, but deprived him of that strength and reputation, by dint of which he expected to have gained very advantageous terms, if ever he should be obliged to come to an agreement with the King: and as he thought all this proceeded from the malice and misrepresentations of the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, he resolved to lay aside all other considerations, and to have an interview with the Archduke, to see if he could accommodate matters with the *Spaniards* again.

The Archduke was also very desirous of such a meeting, not with the same view that the Duke of *Mayenne* had, but to try if he could prevail upon him to put himself under the protection of his Catholick Majesty, as the Duke of *Aumale* had done, and to deliver up those towns and fortresses into his hands which yet adhered to him. For this purpose, he sent several messages and letters in the most complaisant and affectionate terms, to invite him to come to *Brussels*, which the Duke thinking absolutely necessary in his present circumstances, left his second son, the Count *De Sommerive*, at *Laon*, with part of the forces commanded by Colonel *Du Bourg* (late Governor of the *Basile*) and went with the remainder as far as *Guise*, at which place he dismissed them, and pursued his journey with only sixty horse, to meet the Archduke, who received him with demonstrations of the highest respect, though he shewed himself very averse to the demands which he made, from the very beginning. This the Duke imputed to the ill offices of the same *Spanish* Ministers, that had given him so much trouble, and so constantly thwarted his designs in *France*: and therefore, at a private conference with *Baptista Tassis* and President *Riccardotto*, he began to recapitulate the particulars of what had passed, and to shew at large, that the ill success of their affairs was wholly owing to the imprudence and perverse behaviour of those Ministers. At these imputations, and several others, of which they were called upon to exculpate themselves, they were so enraged when they were told of them again, that they advised the Archduke to detain the Duke of *Mayenne* prisoner, and to commit the management of affairs in *France* to the Duke of *Guise*, accusing the former of perfidy, low cunning and dissimulation, and as one who had no regard to any thing else but the gratification of his own ambition and private interest, and was a much greater enemy to his Catholick Majesty than to the King of *Navarre*. But the Archduke not only thought such a manner of proceeding base and unworthy of him, and such as was likely to gain him the hatred of every

1594. one, but that the Duke of *Mayenne* seemed to have reason on his side in many respects, and that those Ministers had behaved very indiscreetly in abusing him in so outrageous a manner: nor did it appear at all strange, since they had put such a slight upon him, and seemed inclined to make any other person King of *France* rather than him, that he should repay them in their own coin, and chuse to concur in any other resolution sooner than to gratify the *Spaniards*. And as he was a Prince of great goodness and a lover of justice, he thought it an unreasonable thing, that the head of the League, and one that had done so much to support the common cause, should be deprived of the principal honour and reward. He likewise thought those Ministers judged very weakly, when they talked of taking away the management of affairs from a person of so great reputation, so much wisdom and experience, to put it into the hands of the Duke of *Guise*, a young man, of great courage indeed, but in no wise equal to so important a charge, on account of his youth and want of experience. He further considered, that the Duchess of *Guise* was soliciting, with great earnestness, to make peace for her son with the King, which the Duke of *Mayenne* often took an opportunity of mentioning, when he thought it might be of any service to his interests, though it was well known before at the Arch-duke's court. For these reasons, after many conferences betwixt the two Princes, the negotiation began to take another turn: for the Arch-duke knew that the Duke of *Mayenne* was not yet reduced so low, that he would easily submit to the *Spanish* yoke: and yet perceived, that the present exigency of his circumstances made him abate much of his former pretensions. So that they both determined at last to avail themselves of such opportunities as should afterwards offer; that in the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* should march with his forces to join Count *Mansfelt*, and that they should carry on the war in concert, to oppose the progress of the King's arms, leaving all terms and conditions, and the plan of their future proceedings, to be settled at another time.

The King being joined by the Duke of *Nevers*, who was lately returned out of *Italy*, and by the Duke of *Bouillon*, had already marched from *Chauny* with twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a resolution to lay siege to *Laon*, whither the Duke of *Mayenne's* son, the Count *De Sommerive* (who was very young) had retired for safety, with the greater part of his father's effects. But that he might come upon it the more unexpectedly, and not give those that were in it time to make sufficient preparations for a defence, he marched further off from it with his army, and taking the rout of *St. Quintin* and *Cressly*, advanced pretty near to *La Capelle*, seeming as if he intended to attack the *Spanish* camp. But whilst he fronted the enemy at no great distance, and sometimes
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amused them with skirmishes, he ordered the Marshal *De Biron* to file off with the rear, and go back to invest *Laon*, whither he likewise sent the *Sieur De St. Luc* for the same purpose a few hours after, and then the Baron *De Salignac*; and the next morning he himself and the Duke of *Nevers* marched away and came last of all before the town.

There were several commanders of great reputation in the place, under Colonel *Du Bourg* and the Count *De Sommerive*, with six hundred *French* foot, two hundred *Germans*, three hundred *Neapolitans*, sixty cuirassiers, and two hundred light horse, besides the townsmen, who cheerfully joined the garrison for the defence of it. They were provided with great plenty of ammunition and fireworks, and the commanders, who had expected a siege some time, had made such preparations for it, and fortified it on all sides in such a manner, that the undertaking seemed likely to be attended with great difficulty, and the success of it very uncertain: especially as the *Spanish* camp lay so near, that it might easily disturb and annoy the King's army, and it was taken for granted, that the Duke of *Mayenne* would exert his utmost strength to relieve and disengage his son.

The King, therefore, resolved, in the first place, to make himself master of the several passes by which any succours might be sent to relieve the town: for which purpose, he sent Monsieur *De la Chastre*, with the troops under his command, to lie upon the road that leads from *Rheims* and other places in *Champagne*, apprehending that the Duke of *Guise*, with what forces he had in that country, and perhaps reinforced by the Duke of *Lorraine*, would attempt it from that quarter: on the other side, the Duke of *Nevers* posted himself upon the highway that leads from *Soissons* directly to the town: the Duke of *Longueville*, with the troops which he had in the province, took possession of the road to *Noyon* and *La Fere*; and all of them were ordered, not only to scour the country round with great care, but to hold themselves in readiness to oppose any one that should advance, either with provisions or other supplies, for the relief of the besieged. The principal pass by which the *Spaniards* might advance directly to the town, still remained open, and of this the King possessed himself. And as there was a hill upon the road, which had a wood on the right hand, and a large village on the left, he took up his quarters in the village, and ordered the Count *De Soissons* and the *Sieur De Vic* to encamp on the other side, at the entrance of the wood. On the top of the hill where the high road was, Monsieur *D'Humieres* lay with three hundred cuirassiers, and the Baron *De Giwry* with five hundred light horse: besides all which precautions, that the enemy might not come upon him unexpectedly, he sent the *Sieur De Clermont* of *Amboise*, with five troops of harquebusiers on horseback, to lie at *Cressy*, and had

1594. strengthened the garrison of *St. Lambert*, a castle that stands upon the same road, through which the enemy must pass, if they took the direct way to the town.

When the passes were thus secured, five redoubts were begun, in order to make their approaches to the foss. The care of the first was committed to the Marshal *De Biron*, of the second, to Monsieur *De St. Luc*, of the third, to the Baron *De Salignac*, of the fourth, to Monsieur *De Montmartin*, and of the last, to the Count *De Grammont*; in every one of which the infantry, and many of the country people, were employed and wrought with extreme diligence, though the besieged used their utmost endeavours to annoy and impede them in their works at every post, both with the fire of their artillery, and by making vigorous sallies, with such success, that during the two first days, before the King's forces had time to cover themselves, they had above four hundred men slain, amongst whom was the Sieur *De Fercade*, one of the Marshal *De Biron's* Lieutenants; amongst the wounded was the Baron *De Tennes*, who lost a leg, and the Marquis *De Cœuvres*, who died a few days after of his wounds.

In the mean time, the *Spanish* army had received orders from the Arch-duke to use their utmost efforts to relieve *Leuven*, in such a manner as the Duke of *Moyenne* should think proper to direct: for which purpose, after they had left *Cressy* and *Lambert* on the left hand, they marched away to the right, and arrived on the 13th of *June* within a league of the King's quarters. The Duke and Count *Charles* intended, as soon as their army had entrenched and fortified their camp, to make themselves masters of the wood that lay in their front, under the cover of which they hoped to advance so near the town, that they might be able to relieve it, without exposing themselves to any very great hazard. The Sieur *De Montkuet* had already fortified himself in the wood with four companies of foot; and when two Captains, or an *Italian*, and the other a *Spaniard*, advanced with fifty men, on the 15th, to reconnoitre the nature and situation of that place and of the high road, he presently drove them back again without much difficulty, as they were but few, and did not come with a design to take post there at that time. The next morning, however, he was attacked with very different success: for *La Berlotte*, entering suddenly into the wood with two thousand foot, after a short resistance, drove out *Montkuet* in his return, who was also taken prisoner, as he was making his retreat in the rear of his men: and the King's regiment of guards having advanced to oppose the enemy, three Captains and a great many of the best men in it were slain in the first encounter: so that after they had been handled in this manner, they would certainly have quitted the place, if Monsieur *De Vic* had not
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opportune come up to their assistance with the regiments of *St. Ange* 1594. and *Navarre*. But the two divisions, commanded by *Agostino Missia* and the Marquis *De Tresvico* likewise advancing, there ensued a very hot action at the entrance of the wood: to sustain which, the Count *De Soiffons* and the Baron *De Givry* advanced one after another, on the King's side; and on the other, the Duke of *Mayenne* presented himself, with his own troop and the light horse of *Lorraine* at the entrance of the wood, to support the infantry of his party there. But the King's infantry was not so good as that of the enemy, and his horse were so entangled in a narrow place, full of trees and shrubs, that they could do but little service; and as they had already suffered very much in the action, they began to give way, especially when they saw the Duke of *Mayenne*, with sixty horse, had fallen upon a command of musketeers that were advancing to their assistance along an open lawn, and had cut them all to pieces: for then they thought themselves in the utmost danger, not only of being forced out of the wood, but of being entirely defeated and destroyed by the enemy. Things were in this perilous situation when the Marshal *De Biron* arrived at the field of battle, and seeing the infantry pushed so hard, that they could not long maintain that post, he immediately dismounted with his usual courage, and having caused the Count *De Torigny* and the Sieur *De la Curée's* troops to do the same, he placed himself in the front of the battle, where he bravely sustained and repelled the fury of the *Spaniards*. At the same time the King came up, and notwithstanding the embarrassment of so many trees and hedges, he ordered the Baron *De Givry* to advance with all his horse, to attack the *Lorraine* cavalry, by which he was gallantly received (as the Duke of *Mayenne* himself was with that corps) and the contest was hot and bloody: for, Count *Mansfelt* came into the wood, the Sieur *D'Humiers* descended from the top of the hill, and supplies hastening from all parts to assist each side, the action became in a manner general; and though indeed, all their forces were not actually engaged, yet the greater part of them was either so, or prevented from it by the roughness of the place. The battle continued, with different success and various turns of fortune, till the evening, at which time the King, having caused all his infantry to lodge themselves upon the same high road near the wood, and in the front of the enemy, to oppose their passage, sent back his horse to their former quarters. But the Duke of *Mayenne* and Count *Mansfelt*, considering that most of their foot had advanced to maintain the possession of the wood, by which their quarters were left so weak, that they would be in great danger if they were attacked by the King in the rear, especially if he should resolve to do it in the night-time, they

1594. they quitted the wood by little and little, and drew off their men to the camp, leaving the wood open to the incursions of both armies.

Whilst the King's forces were fully employed here in this manner, the Duke of *Mayenne* had ordered *Nicolo Basti* and the *Sieur D'Ecluseaux*, Colonel of a *French* regiment, to move from *Noyon* with a large quantity of provisions and ammunition, and endeavour to throw it into *Laon* for the relief of the place. But the Duke of *Longueville*, who scoured the roads on that side, having received intelligence of it, laid an ambush for them not far from the town; and though it was discovered by the scouts which they sent before them, yet the guards of the convoy, either frightened at so unexpected a rencounter, or imagining that all the King's cavalry was there, resolved to retire. But as they could not do that with any great speed, nor without much confusion, on account of their carriages, the *Sieur D'Ecluseaux*, who retired in the last ranks, was overtaken, his men routed, and he himself made prisoner. After which, the powder was divided amongst the King's soldiers, and the carriages of provisions burnt, but *Nicolo Basti* escaped safe to *Noyon*.

The greatest difficulty that the *Spanish* camp laboured under, was the want of provisions, without which, they could not possibly lie long in that place: and yet, whilst they did stay there, they harrassed the King in such a manner, that he was not able to prosecute the siege. This determined the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had caused great plenty of provisions to be gathered together at *La Fere*, to have them brought to the camp, by the nearest and straightest road, which lay almost directly behind them. For which purpose, six hundred *Spanish* foot, a thousand *Italians*, and an hundred light horse, were detached thither, the commanders thinking that a sufficient convoy, as they concluded the King would not dare to pass by their camp and leave it in his rear, to advance to a place at such a distance, and so dangerous to attack them in. But the event proved very different from what they expected: for the Marshal *De Biron*, attended by the *Sieur De Montigny* with eight hundred *Swiss*, and as many *French* foot of the regiments of *Navarre* and *St. Ange*, two companies of *English*, the Baron *De Givry* with the light horse, and four hundred of the horse commanded by the Count *De Torigny* and the *Sieur De la Curée*, left the camp before *Laon* in the night, and marching with very great silence till they came within a league of *La Fere*, he ordered the horse to conceal themselves in two little woods that lay on each side of the road, whilst he with the foot lay close in the fields, which being full of corn, at that time almost ripe, gave them an opportunity of waiting there unperceived. The *Spanish* camp was not above two leagues from that place, and as people were continually going from thence to *La Fere* and back again, the ambush would soon have been discovered,

if

if the Marshal had not shewn more patience upon that occasion than he usually did, and prevented his men from stirring or making the least noise, who, after waiting there many hours, began to be so hungry, that he found it a very difficult matter to keep them any longer quiet and in due order. They held out, however, till towards the evening, at which time some of the carriages began to appear, having set out with an intention to travel all the night: upon sight of which, it was still more difficult to restrain the *English* from attacking the enemy before it was a proper time: but as soon as ever some of the carriages had passed by them, they rose up on a sudden, and fell furiously upon the guards on all sides. The van, consisting of *Italians*, made a brave resistance, and the *Spaniards*, who composed the main battle, behaved with no less resolution: but the rear, which had not advanced so far from *La Fere*, began to retire with great precipitation, yet with such ill fortune, that it fell in with the horse (which had already sallied out of the wood) and was cut to pieces in a moment. Their defeat was of very great prejudice to the rest, who had drawn up close together and gallantly sustained the fury of the King's infantry: for being left exposed in the rear, they were attacked on that quarter also by the harquebusiers on horseback, and yet, by making a front every way, and availing themselves of the shelter of their carriages, they supported the charge a considerable time, with no small damage to those of the King's party (many of whom were wounded, and amongst the rest Colonel *St. Ange* and Monsieur *Faveroles*, Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment of *Navarre*) and still advancing, fought desperately with their pikes and swords, being in some measure covered and defended by the carriages, till the Marshal *De Biron*, who was afraid, if the *Spanish* camp was alarmed with the report of the firing, he should be attacked in the rear by their whole army, resolved to make an end of the matter as soon as possible. For which purpose, he caused the Gentlemen that were with him to dismount, and advancing at the head of the *Swiss*, charged with such violence, that the enemy, who was much inferior in number, was at last forced to give way; but in such a manner, that the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, still making an obstinate resistance, were all slain upon the spot: the horse that fled, were pursued by the Baron *De Givry* to the very gates of *La Fere*, and of those that had guarded the carriages, very few were taken prisoners. Above two hundred were killed of the King's side, and almost as many wounded, the most considerable of whom, were the Sieur *De la Curée* and Monsieur *De Canisy*, son-in-law to the Marshal *De Matignon*, who had advanced into the heat of the battle. In this action *Henrico Davila*, who was one of those that dismounted with the Count *De Torigny*, dislocated his ancle in so dangerous a manner, as he was climbing over one of the carriages,

1594. carriages, that it was feared he would have been lame ever afterwards. After the engagement was over, the Marshal *De Biron*, considering the enemy was so near, that he was liable to be attacked every moment, resolved to burn the carriages, as he did, to the number of four hundred, and having destroyed some of the horses that drew them, he brought off the rest, and retired with the utmost expedition the same night.

When the *Spanish* army was disappointed of this relief, the commanders saw they could no longer support themselves where they then lay, and therefore determined to decamp before they were reduced to extremities. But they could not agree about the manner of their retreat: for Count *Mansfelt* would have raised the camp by night, for greater security; and the Duke of *Mayenne* thought it better to make their retreat by day-light, to avoid confusion, and for fear of diminishing their reputation. But as Count *Mansfelt* persevered in his opinion, he consented that the vanguard, conducted by the *Sieur De la Motte*, and the main battle under the command of the Count himself, should march away with the heavy artillery before it was light, and he with the rear undertook to make his retreat by day. The valour and soldiership of the Duke of *Mayenne*, which for the most part had been obscured by ill fortune in his military enterprises, appeared very clearly upon this occasion: for though he had four leagues to retire through an open country, and in the sight of the enemy, who was so much superior to him in cavalry, yet he did it with such order and resolution, that he sustained no damage at all in his retreat. In drawing up his forces, he placed eight corps de garde with their front to the enemy, part *Italians* and part *Spaniards*, commanded by *Ceccho di Sangro* and *Don Alonzo Mendozza*; in the rear of these, and at some distance, he posted a flying squadron, with its front the contrary way, in the last ranks of which he was himself with his pike in his hand, together with the Prince of *Avellino*, the Marquis of *Trevico*, *Agostino Messia*, *Don Antonio de Toledo*, *Don Juan de Bracamonte*, and above an hundred reformed officers: at a little distance from the front of this squadron, *La Berlotte* had drawn up his division of *Wal-loons*, who had six field pieces ready to be turned against the enemy. As soon as it was broad day-light the *Wal-loons* began to march; and after them, the flying squadron: at which time the King (being immediately informed of their motions by *Parabiere*, and encouraged by the Marshal *De Biron*, who assured him he had left so many broken carriages, and such numbers of dead bodies upon the road, that the enemy would find it extremely difficult to make their retreat) advanced with his cavalry to attack them in the rear. But the eight corps de garde, which were the last that moved, retired in admirable order: for as the musketers in the wings gave their fire, they fell back into the rear of the pikes, without facing

facing about either to the right or left, but still fronting towards the enemy. The harquebusiers in the center did the same; so that at last the rear ranks came to be the front, and whilst they were delivering their fire, the rest of the division retired by degrees, though without turning their backs. The other corps drew off in the same manner successively, and retired by little and little to the rear of the flying squadron: and when the Baron *De Givry*, the Count *De Soissons*, and the rest that were at the head of the King's cavalry, came up to attack them there, they received them so gallantly with their pikes, and poured such furious volleys of musket-shot upon them, that they repulsed them effectually; and though the cavalry kept wheeling and firing at a distance, they durst not return to charge them more closely. In this manner the retreat was continued, with very great honour to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who being a tall, soldierlike man, and compleatly armed, wonderfully animated his men both by his words and example, for he threw the *Sieur De Percy* to the ground with his own hand, who had courageously advanced to charge his squadron with a troop of light horse. At last, when they were almost spent with heat and fatigue, they arrived in narrower defiles, where *La Berlotte* had planted his artillery upon the banks of ditches on each hand, in such a manner, that the King's horse were obliged to make a halt, and suffer the whole army to march away safe to *La Fere*. Nor were they at all embarrassed in this retreat by broken carriages or dead bodies, as the Marshal *De Biron* expected they would have been: for it was conducted in so masterly a manner, and without any confusion or precipitation, that the pioneers had sufficient time to clear the way of all incumbrances.

When the enemy's army had thus left the King master of the field, he returned directly to the siege, and began to batter the town: and whilst the artillery plaid warmly upon the walls, he caused a mine to be wrought from every redoubt to blow up the rampart on the inside of them, and to make a breach with more expedition and security. But the besieged, being resolved not to give up the town without making a proper defence, made a sally on the 1st of *July*, and attacked the Marshal *De Biron's* and the *Sieur De Montmartin's* trenches with such violence, that they got possession of the redoubts and made a very great slaughter there, leaving eleven Captains and above two hundred of the King's soldiers dead upon the spot. But the Marshal *De Biron* coming up in great haste as soon as he heard of the skirmish, and soldiers running armed from all parts to the trenches, the enemy was at last driven back again into the town, and forced to have recourse to another expedient; which was, to raise a counter battery, from whence they made so hot a fire, that they dismounted and spoiled many of the besiegers cannon. Every thing, how-

1594. ever, was presently repaired with the utmost diligence, and a great part of the wall already beaten down : but the rampart within appearing very high, it was necessary to stay till the mines and works under ground were finished. Whilst these were carrying on with great application and industry, under the inspection of the Baron *De Givry*, he received a shot in the head from a musket, of which he died in the flower of his age, to the extreme concern of every one, as he was indeed a Gentleman not only of true courage and the strictest honour, but of so engaging a behaviour, so agreeable in conversation, and master of so many excellent accomplishments, besides a considerable knowledge of letters, that he was generally beloved, and extorted praise even from his very enemies.

When the mines, which had been hard wrought at for many days, were at last perfected, they had very different effects : for the water which got into the *Sieur De St. Luc's* made it entirely useless : the Count *De Grammont's* had vent given to it by the besieged : the *Sieur De Montmartin's* threw down the wall, but did no damage at all to the rampart : the Marshal *De Biron's* and the Baron *De Salignac's* had very great effects : and yet when the wall was assaulted by Colonel *Grillon*, and the rampart by the Count *De Torgny*, they were resolutely maintained by the besieged, who at the same time sprung a * fougade, and blew up many of those that had too hastily advanced upon the rampart. The next day the assault was renewed several times, under the conduct of the Duke *De Bouillon* and the Marshal *De Biron* : and though the assailants could not lodge themselves upon the rampart, yet the besieged lost so many men, that it was not possible for them to hold out any longer without relief. Upon which account they began to capitulate, and on the 22d of July agreed to surrender, if the Duke of *Mayenne* did not either raise the siege, or throw six hundred foot into the town in the space of twelve days : but in such a manner, that the besieged should by no means assist in bringing in that relief, any further than by setting open their gates when it arrived, nor should receive less than three hundred men at a time. As soon as a copy of these articles was sent to the Duke, his Majesty dispatched the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Admiral *Villers*, and the *Sieur De Balagny* (who had lately made his submission) to take possession of the roads as far as *La Fere*, and to secure all the passes by which any such relief could possibly be sent. But no succours arriving in the time prescribed, the Count *De Sommerive*, Colonel *Du Bourg*, President *Jeannine*, and the whole garrison, marched out with their arms and baggage, and were convoyed to *La Fere* by the King's order, who shewed particular marks of honour and kindness to the Duke of *Mayenne's* young son.

* A mine about eight or ten feet square, covered with stones, pieces of timber, bricks, and other such things as may do most mischief to the assailants when they come upon it.

The besieged had entertained hopes, that the Duke of *Guise* would attempt to send them some relief from *Champagne*, and indeed the King himself expected it. But the affairs of the province were in such distraction, that it was not in his power to move at that juncture: for at the same time that negotiations were carrying on in every town, and with every Governor, in favour of the King, and the people in general seemed inclined to acknowledge him, as plainly appeared from the commotion at *Troyes*, even those of the Duke's own party, were forming still more destructive and pernicious designs against him himself.

Monsieur *De St. Paul*, a man of mean birth, from a subaltern, had raised himself by degrees to the rank of Colonel, whilst the Duke of *Guise's* father was alive, whom he had served with so much valour and fidelity, that he not only thought him very worthy of his favour and of a still higher command, but had used his interest to obtain an exceeding rich widow in marriage for him, and established him in the possession of a very affluent fortune. After the Duke was killed at *Blois*, as an old dependant on the house of *Lorraine*, he followed the Duke of *Mayenne's* party, and continued to serve with so much assiduity and good success, that he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of *Champagne* under the Duke of *Guise*, at that time a prisoner, and some time after created and declared a Marshal of *France* by the Duke of *Mayenne*. During the siege of *Paris*, he gathered together a vast quantity of provisions in the province of *Brie*, and whilst the King was held at bay by the Duke of *Mayenne*, he luckily found an opportunity of conveying them into the city, where he sold them at such an advantage, that, with his wife's fortune and the gratuities that he received from the *Spaniards* (who at first gave liberally, and with an open hand) he found himself master of an immense sum of money, which procured him many followers and dependants, and increased his interest and reputation to a very high degree. But his change of fortune was attended with such pride and insolence (as it generally happens) that when the Duke of *Guise* was at liberty and came into that province, this man, who had been used to rule and domineer himself, was very loath to submit to his command: and as he could not for shame absolutely refuse to obey him, on account of the many obligations he lay under to his family, and the greatness of his birth, he endeavoured to keep at a distance from him, and whenever the Duke sent him any orders or commissions, he put his own interpretation upon them, and only executed just what he thought proper, excusing himself for the rest with various pretences. The declining state of the League still added to his presumption; and when he saw the Princes of *Lorraine* disagreeing amongst themselves, and but feebly supported, he grew bolder every day, and at last formed a design of making himself

1594. absolute master of certain places then under his command, as Deputy-Governor of the province.

He began with seizing upon the duchy of *Retel*, which belonged to the Duke of *Nevers*, and, with an insupportable degree of arrogance, assumed to himself the title of Duke of *Retelois*. But this did not content him, for he proceeded in his design of making himself master of *Vitry*, *Rheims*, *Roucroix*, and *St. Dizier*: and he was the more determined in this resolution, when he saw the *Spaniards* so intent upon gaining the *French* Lords and Commanders, and so solicitous to allure them into their service; intending, as soon as he had got possession of those places, to put himself under the protection of the *Spaniard*, and endeavour to establish himself in the dominion he had usurped.

For this purpose, he began, by degrees, to introduce a garrison of his own picking into the city of *Rheims*, with a design to build a citadel to bridle the citizens, and keep them in obedience to him. But as they were not accustomed to be governed by a military power, and at the same time jealous of their liberties, and fearful of being made slaves to the insolence and oppression of soldiers (whose rapine and extortions *St. Paul* connived at and overlooked, in order to keep them well affected and firmly attached to him) they made such heavy and frequent complaints of him to the Duke of *Guise*, that the Duke wrote several letters to him upon that occasion, and finding there was little or no regard paid to them, he at last began to be aware of his artifices and designs: at which he was provoked to such a degree, that he left *Paris* as soon as ever the truce was expired, and went directly into that province, to provide against so imminent a danger. At his arrival there, he sent a peremptory order to Monsieur *De St. Paul*, not to bring any more soldiers into that city, as he had no manner of reason to suspect its fidelity. But he was so far from observing this order, that, on the contrary, he still persisted in bringing fresh reinforcements into the town every day, either out of fear of the Duke of *Guise*, or in order to prosecute his design: and as the citizens began to be more alarmed, and were continually making fresh remonstrances to the Duke, he at last went thither himself, with a numerous attendance, to frustrate so audacious an attempt, and to curb his insolence, which filled him with indignation, and enraged him in such a manner, that he resolved not to bear it any longer. Soon after his arrival at *Rheims*, as he was coming out of a church one morning, he accidentally met Monsieur *De St. Paul*, who had endeavoured to avoid the sight of him, and asking him what was the reason that he still continued to bring more soldiers into the city, contrary to his positive orders, *St. Paul* answered, "That he did it for the common safety, and because he had notice of some secret practices that were carrying on in the town."

• But the Duke, being desirous to pick a quarrel with him, replied, in an angry and disdainful manner, that “Those were only pretences and lies” of his own making, and that he would teach him to obey:” at which imputations *St. Paul* was touched to the quick, and told him, “That as he was a Marshal of *France*, he acknowledged no superior in matters of war:” and at the same time, either out of vanity or defiance, clapt his hand upon the hilt of his sword: upon which the Duke drew his, and run him through the body in such a manner, that he instantly dropped down dead. Such was the end of his ill founded greatness: but the soldiery regretted the loss of him; for as he had been very indulgent to those under his command, and given them an opportunity of enriching themselves by plundering the citizens, they loved and honoured his name. And though the citizens rejoiced at his death, they were far from being satisfied afterwards: for when the Duke of *Guise* saw the affairs of the League declining so fast, he resolved not only to keep the soldiers there, but to prosecute the design of building a citadel.

The condition that *Rheims* was in; had such an effect upon all the other cities and many Governors in the province, that they were in a great commotion, and seemed inclined to submit and put themselves under the King’s protection, to shelter them from further dangers. So that the Duke of *Guise* found it a very difficult matter to prevent disturbances and insurrections in his own government, much less was he able to assist others in their exigencies. Nor was his residence there, and the great pains that he took to keep them all firm in their attachment to him, by any means sufficient: for the *Sieur De Pessay*, Governor of *Chasseau-Thierry*, made a composition with the King at the same time that *Laon* was surrendered, and having obtained such terms as were granted to the rest, with a promise of being continued in that government, he immediately went over to his party.

Much about the same time the city of *Amiens* likewise submitted, at the secret instigation of the King’s friends there, who had insinuated to the citizens, that as the Duke of *Aumale* had made an agreement with the *Spaniards*, it was very probable he would put the city under the dominion of foreigners: upon which suggestions they rose in arms, and endeavoured to drive the Duke out of that city where he then resided, but had no garrison in it; for the citizens, insisting upon their privileges, had refused to admit any. After this tumult had lasted four days, in which they came to no certain resolution, the Duke of *Mayenne* himself arrived, who being admitted with only one company of his guards, composed their differences, as he thought, and reconciled the chief citizens to the Duke of *Aumale*. But after he was gone back again to the army, the people took up arms afresh, and publicly cried out, *For the King,*
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1594. *for the King*: and after they had brought Monsieur *D'Humieres* into the city, they drove the Duke of *Aumale* out of it, who having now lost all hopes of being able to re-establish himself there, thought it the best way to leave them entirely, lest they should seize upon his person.

The *Sieur De Balagny* was already gone over to the King's party with the city of *Cambray*, which had been in the hands of the *French* ever since the time of the Duke of *Alençon*, after whose death the Queen his mother had taken possession of it, as inheritrix of what her son had acquired, and put it under the government of *Balagny*, who, after she was dead, and the kingdom of *France* involved in civil discords, chose to take part with the League, that he might not be molested by the *Spaniards*, and from being Governor only, by little and little made himself absolute master of that noble and flourishing city, and of that most fertile territory which lies round it. But now he saw the affairs of the League declining, and was desirous to keep possession of that state, he began to treat with the King, and offered, provided he would declare him Prince of *Cambray*, and protect him against the *Spanish* forces, after such a declaration, not only to submit to obey him, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Crown of *France*, but also to receive the King's garrisons into the city and castle, obliging himself to serve him, in time of war, with two thousand foot and five hundred horse: and on the other hand, that the King would advance seventy thousand crowns yearly to pay his own garrison. It was no difficult matter to obtain these conditions from the King, who was very desirous to retain the sovereignty of that principality in the Crown, and thought the city was a very good barrier on the frontiers that bordered upon the enemy: and though these motives were plain and obvious, yet many did not scruple to say, that the King agreed to give that principality to *Balagny*, which was already in the power of the *French*, only to gratify Madam *Gabrielle d'Estree*, of whom he was passionately enamoured, and who was nearly related to *Balagny*. Howsoever that might be, the King having ordered the patent to be expedited and confirmed in the Parliament before he left *Paris*, sent the Marshal *De Retz*, about this time, to cause him to be declared and acknowledged Prince of *Cambray* by the citizens, confirming the title to his wife, his sons, and his posterity, and after the taking of *Laon*, he entered, personally, into *Cambray* with his army, where he received homage from the citizens, and having fixed a garrison and settled affairs in the city, he went to *Amiens*, and being received with very great pomp there, he granted the same terms to the inhabitants that he had generously granted to other cities. In this expedition the King created two Marshals of *France*, the Duke of *Bouillon* and the *Sieur De Balagny*, with an intention

tion to employ them both in the war, which he had already determined to declare against the *Spaniards*. 1594.

In the mean time the news of the King's success, which was sent to *Rome* from many different parts, seemed to affect the Pope very much, though in reality he was not at all displeased at it : for as he already had secretly given the King hopes that he would grant him his benediction, and signified his intention to him, not only by the *Sieur De la Cluelle*, but also, in terms that admitted of a double interpretation, to *Paolo Paruta*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, who was a man of great penetration, and presently comprehended the Pope's meaning : he was glad to hear things were taking such a turn, that he might not anticipate, but be anticipated, by the desires of the people, and be enabled to accomplish his ultimate design in such a manner as should seem to be the effect of necessity, and could not furnish the *Spaniards* with the least pretence to accuse him of having been too forward and inconsiderate in his proceedings, or of want of inclination to promote their interests and grandeur. For this purpose, he had permitted Cardinal *Gondi* to come to *Rome* in the beginning of the year, and though he did it with an express injunction, that the Cardinal should not presume to make the least mention of the affairs of *France*, yet he gave him leave, in their private conferences, to explain the nature of the King's rights and pretensions to him at large, to represent the disorderly and necessitous state of the Clergy, to point out the dangers which the Catholick religion would be exposed to if his Holiness should not comply with the King's request, and, in short, to inform him of every minute particular, that he might make a proper use of them to further his design. For the same reason, he was not offended at the decree made by the *Parisian* Divines in favour of the King (though he knew of it) but, on the contrary, was well pleased, that those very men, who had been so earnest to have him excommunicated, were now so active in paving the way for his reconciliation : and though he seemed to be much incensed, and made use of threatening expressions in publick, yet he behaved in a very different manner in private, and rejoiced when he heard that his perseverance was interpreted obduracy, telling the *Spanish* Cardinals and Ambassadors, who were continually at his ear, that his reputation suffered very much, and that he exposed himself to general censure, because he was unwilling to thwart or contradict them in any thing. In the mean time he also satisfied his own conscience, by assuring himself of the King's sincerity and the reality of his conversion, and took an opportunity of letting him know, by means of *Sannesio* and *D'Ossat*, that many conditions were requisite before he could grant his benediction, and particularly, that as he had no legitimate male heir, the young Prince of *Condé*, who was next in succession to the Crown, ought

1594. ought to be taken out of the hands of the *Hugonots* and educated in the Catholic religion; that so, whatever should happen, they might not relapse into their former dangers and troubles. This was also intimated in conversation both to Cardinal *Gondi* and the *Venetian* Ambassador, who not only informed the King of it, but advised him to remove that scruple, lest it should hinder the progress of their negotiation. He therefore began to consider by what means he might get him out of the *Hugonots* hands, who, after the King's conversion, had in a great measure transferred their affections to that Prince, in hopes of raising up to themselves another chief and support of their faction.

But Cardinal *Gondi* thinking himself now fully informed of all things that were necessary to be done, to remove the Pope's doubts and facilitate the King's reconciliation, resolved to return into *France*, and endeavour to have them put in execution, by representing them to the King himself in person: for which purpose, when he arrived at the camp before *Laon*, he passed two whole days in close conference with his Majesty; from whom he went to *Paris*, and boldly commanded the Clergy there to make use of those prayers again that had always been offered up for the most Christian Kings, and expressly to acknowledge *Henry* the fourth for their true and lawful Sovereign. And as there were some of the Regulars that presumed to oppose it, he gave them a severe reprimand, and ordered them to depart out of his presence: and though an account of it was sent directly to *Rome*, and there exaggerated, as usual, the Pope did not seem to be much moved, and only said, "*Gondi* was not a good Cardinal, and that he would take a proper opportunity of chastising him for his misconduct: adding, that in the state which the affairs of *France* were at that time, there was no occasion to throw fresh fuel to a flame that already raged with so much fury; and that the Catholic union seemed in such a languishing condition, that it would be no easy matter to support it for the future." But when the news arrived of the reduction of *Laon* and the retreat of the *Spanish* army, his Holiness pretended to be extremely offended: and as he affected to think it was the fault of the *Spaniards* themselves, he told the Duke of *Sessa*, "That his Catholic Majesty seemed to expect that the Holy See should carry on the war with spiritual weapons alone, whilst he himself was so backward in using temporal arms: that he ought to remember, that excommunications, though destructive to the souls of the hardened and impenitent, have not always the same effect upon their secular interests: that whosoever was desirous of securing success in such undertakings, must unite the two swords, and act with both hands at the same time: that he perceived, or, at least, thought he perceived, that the King of *Spain* was sick of the expences of the war, and if he was really so, he would oblige him much

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in letting him know it, that he might provide in good time, and the best manner he could, against the danger with which the Catholick religion was threatned, since the *French* union was in a great measure already dissolved, and the *Spanish* army was either not able, or not willing, to support it." The *Spaniards* were stung to the quick by this reproach, and as they suspected the Pope's design, they determined not to furnish him with the handle which they thought he was seeking, but wrote not only into *Spain* in very free terms, to represent the necessity his Catholick Majesty lay under, either of giving the matter up entirely, or of exerting himself in a more effectual manner, but also to *Brussels*, to acquaint the Archduke, how necessary it was for him to send speedy succours to the assistance of the League, which was visibly declining every day for want of them.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, went back to that court after the loss of *Laon*, to concert measures with the Archduke for the support of their common interests, in which both parties now gave up something of their pretensions to the exigency of the times, and began to treat with more unanimity and greater satisfaction to each other. For the Duke, knowing himself in a weak condition, had abated much of his first demands; and the Archduke, being sensible it was no time to exasperate him, for fear it should drive him to despair, and finding that he would not bear to hear of submitting to the dominion of his Catholick Majesty, as Monsieur *De Rbesne* and the Duke of *Aumale* had done, resolved to amuse him with an offer of very advantageous terms, and by seeming to treat with him upon an equal bottom, still maintaining the Infanta's pretensions, as he knew he could order things as he pleased when she was once elected; and in the mean while to conduct himself in the prosecution of his secret design in such a manner, as time and opportunity should direct. So that after a long treaty betwixt President *Jeannine* and President *Riccardotto*, and after the Princes themselves had often conferred together, they at last came to an agreement that seemed just and honourable to both parties.

The substance of this agreement was, That the King of *Spain* should continue to treat the Duke of *Mayenne* as Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of *France*, and that he should be so acknowledged in all places and armies where he should happen to be. That the ten thousand crowns a month should continue to be paid, which had been assigned to him by his Catholick Majesty from the beginning. That he, on the other hand, should carry on the war in such parts of the kingdom as he should think most proper, and particularly in the province of *Burgundy*, for the support of which, a certain number, both of horse and foot, should be granted him. That what places soever he should take, should

1594. be held by him, in the name of the King that should hereafter be elected by the joint consent of the *French* confederates, of the Apostolick See, and of the King of *Spain*. That the said King should be obliged to reinforce his armies, in order to make war in *Dauphinè*, *Picardy*, and *Bretagne*: that the territories which should be conquered there, should also be held by *French* Governors in the name of the future King: and that the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Guise*, and the other Lords and Chiefs of the Union, should be exhorted to continue the war.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking he had warded off his ruin, at least for the present, by these conditions, ambiguous as they were, left *Brussels* in company with a Gentleman sent by the Archduke, and went directly to *Nancy*, to confer with the Duke of *Lorrain*. His intention was, to try if he could keep him united with the League, and to persuade him to continue the war. But he had already not only concluded a truce with the King of *France*, by means of Monsieur *De Bassompierre*, but, as he was desirous to disburden himself of their pay, had also permitted his soldiers to bear arms in his service: in consequence of which, the Baron *D'Ossonville* and the Sieur *De Tremblecourt* had put on white sashes, and were gone, with three thousand foot and four hundred horse, to serve his Majesty, having engaged to make an incursion into the county of *Burgundy*, which till then had been neutral, and not molested by either side. The Duke of *Mayenne*, therefore, finding things in this situation, and not having been able to divert the Duke of *Lorrain* from his inclination to peace, resolved to go into the duchy of *Burgundy* (which, it must be observed, is divided from the county, one belonging to the Crown of *France*, and the other, by ancient division, to that of *Spain*) and to endeavour to establish himself firmly there, as he already had possession of most of the towns, in quality of Governor of the province: for he had always resolved, whatever should be the event of things, if possible, to retain either the absolute sovereignty, or at least the government of that duchy. But after the treaty of peace was broken off, which had been carried on by means of *Villeroy* and President *Jeannine*, the King plainly perceived his design, and determined to oppose his attempts upon the duchy of *Burgundy*: with which view, and to recover those places, he appointed the Marshal *De Biron*, who was the most active and resolute Commander in his service, to be Governor of that province, and ordered him to be in readiness as soon as possible, to march thither with a proper force for that purpose.

In the mean time, *Tremblecourt* and *D'Ossonville* were gone into the *Franche Comptè*, or county of *Burgundy*, and after many sudden incursions into the country, took *Vexu* and *Jaunville*, and threw the whole province into very great terror and confusion; for the people thought themselves

themselves sufficiently secure, on account of their neutrality, and had no forces in the province able to make head against this invasion. So that they were obliged to send in great haste to demand succours both from *Savoy* and *Flanders*: from whence some few forces were sent to garrison the principal places; but as the winter was beginning, the *Spaniards* could do nothing further for them at that time: nor were they very anxious about it, because, when they considered how few forces the King of *France* had in those parts, they were very certain he could make no great progress there, especially at that season of the year.

But what served to disconcert the affairs of the League still more than all the rest, was, the defection of the Duke of *Guise*, who (either chagrined at the opposition which the Duke of *Mayenne* had made to his exaltation, or enraged that the *Spaniards* had tantalized him with a glimpse of royalty, and then had not only withdrawn their countenance, but excluded him from all other emoluments; and seeing the authority and grandeur that his father formerly enjoyed, now wholly transferred to the Duke of *Mayenne*, by which, he himself, on account of his youth, and because he had so few dependants, was obliged to give up his pretensions to the first place, and to be content with one of a much inferior quality) resolved, about this time, to make his peace with the King, and by means of his mother and the Marshal *De la Chastre*, agreed, in the name of himself, his brother the Prince of *Jainville*, and Monseigneur *Loüis*, another of his brothers, who was destined to an ecclesiastical life, to deliver *Rheims*, *Vitry*, *Roucroix*, *St. Dizier*, *Guise*, *Montcornet*, and other places in *Champagne*, and the adjacent parts, into the King's hands, provided he might have the government of *Provence*, four hundred thousand crowns to pay the debts contracted by his father, and some spiritual preferments for the third brother, lately enjoyed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who died a little before, after a long illness, which the physicians took for an hectic fever, though some suspected he was poisoned. It was a long time before this treaty of agreement could be concluded; for the Duke of *Guise* insisted upon retaining the government of *Champagne*, and the King was not willing to deprive the Duke of *Nevers* of it. There were great disputes likewise about the government of *Provence*: for the Duke of *Espernon*, who had seized upon it after his brother's death, and had established himself in the command by many successful enterprises against the Duke of *Savoy* and the League, was not willing to resign it. Nor were these the only impediments: for the High Chancellor and many of the Council, advised the King not to put that province into the Duke of *Guise's* hands, to which he pretended a right, as heir to the house of *Anjou*. But the King, on one hand, was desirous to have that government given up by the Duke of *Espernon*, who had

1594. thrust himself into it, at a time when every thing was in the greatest distraction, without any commission from him: and, on the other, he knew it was highly necessary to provide a remedy for the present evils, without being so unseasonably sollicitous for the future: the ingenuity, the candour, and moderation, of which the Duke of *Guise* had given so many proofs in his late transactions with the *Spaniards*, determined the King to confide in him. The agreement therefore was at last concluded; by which the King's party received a great addition of strength and reputation, whilst that of the League was not only much weakened, and reduced to a very languishing condition, but almost utterly dissolved.

Now the principal events, and such as seemed to be more immediately connected with the main designs of the several parties engaged in the war, have been related, it is time to give a brief account of what happened in the remoter parts of the kingdom. The party of the League was firmly established in *Bretagne*, and more powerful there than in any other place: for, besides the forces of the province, which were better united than the rest and followed the Duke of *Mercaur*, who had acquired a very high degree of reputation by the success of his arms, there were also five thousand *Spanish* foot, under the command of Don *Juan del Aquila*, who were in possession of *Blavet* and the places about it, and ready to assist wherever there should be occasion in that province. But they agreed together here no better than in other parts: for the Duke of *Mercaur* was offended that the *Spaniards* should act upon a separate bottom, and with private views of their own, and could not bear to hear of the Infanta's pretensions to that province, as contrary to the right which his wife *Margaret*, Countess of *Penthièvre*, likewise claimed to it. Nor was he less mortified when he saw they made it a constant rule not to concern themselves about any thing out of that province: so that, when the course of victory prompted him to some important enterprize in the neighbouring provinces, he found his wings clipt, by their refusing to stir out of the limits of *Bretagne*. They, on the other hand, were discontented that he confined them within the circuit of *Blavet*, and would not suffer them to take any further foothold in the province: and more particularly, that, when they had gone from that fortress, which is situated on the extremity of a peninsula, and begun to raise a fort in the isthmus of another peninsula, to shut up the passage on the land-side, and to prevent the entrance of ships into the harbour of *Brest*, a place much frequented by the northern nations, they perceived the Duke did not approve of it, and used many artifices to obstruct the progress of that fortification.

The Marshal *D'Aumont*, for his part, who was Governor in the King's name there, had more courage than strength: for the necessities of the adjacent provinces would not allow him to assemble more than one thousand

English

English foot, two thousand *French*, and four or five hundred horse of the volunteer Noblesse of the country. But after the King's conversion began to work upon the affections of the people in that province, and to give him more weight, he advanced to receive *Laval* into his protection, a town that had voluntarily submitted to him, and then laid siege to and took *Morlaix*, though the Duke of *Merceur* endeavoured to relieve it. From thence, with a reinforcement of some fresh *English* foot which had been in *Normandy*, under the command of Colonel *Norris*, he resolved to attack the new fort which the *Spaniards* were building, before it was completed, or they could have time to establish themselves in the possession of that fertile and populous sea-coast. For this purpose, he drew his army together, which consisted of two thousand *English* foot, commanded by Colonel *Norris*, three thousand *French*, under the conduct of the Baron *De Molac*, three hundred harquebusiers on horseback, and four hundred Gentlemen, and being abundantly furnished with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries by Monsieur *De Sourdiac*, Governor of *Brest*, who spared no expence to rid himself of the near neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, he came with his army before it on the eleventh of *October*.

It is situated upon a natural rock, and every way surrounded by the sea, except where the peninsula joins to the main land; and on that side they had raised two ramparts in the form of a tennaille, betwixt which was the gate with its draw-bridge, fosse, and counterscarp, all designed in a masterly manner, though not yet made quite defensible. Don *Tomas Prassedez* was Governor of this fort, who was an old experienced commander, and had four hundred *Spanish* foot with him, and plenty of provisions of every sort necessary for the defence of it. But the besiegers were presently aware how difficult a task they had undertaken: for as soon as they began to break ground, and to make their approaches towards the edge of the counterscarp, they found there were no more than two feet of earth before they came to the solid rock: so that it was necessary to have recourse to gabions, in filling, bringing up, and planting of which, they were employed nine days, and lost a vast number of men: for as the besieged had plenty of small pieces of cannon, which they made use of with great skill, and sallied out of the embrasures, sometimes of one rampart, sometimes of the other, they harassed the enemy day and night without cessation. At last, however, the resolution of the besiegers surmounted all difficulties; for having planted twelve pieces of cannon, they began to play upon the ramparts, and though their balls at first stuck in the earth, and did little execution, yet the continual fire which they kept from their batteries, after a while demolished the fascines that bound the ramparts together, in such a manner, that they tumbled down by degrees, till they filled the fosse, and afforded the besiegers a convenience of advancing to the assault.

The

1594. The Baron *De Molac*, therefore, with the *French* under his command, attacked the rampart on the right hand, and Colonel *Norris*, with his *English*, the other on the left. But the *Spaniards* received the assault, which was bold and vigorous, with so much courage, that after a very hot dispute, which lasted three hours, the assailants were repulsed and obliged to retire with so much precipitation, that they left above an hundred of their men dead upon the spot, besides three *French* and four *English* captains; a loss that was much increased by their cannoniers, who, during the retreat, fired upon the besieged on the ramparts with so little caution and judgment, that they blew up their own powder and destroyed many of their soldiers. This misfortune gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of repairing their works; for whilst the *French* waited till fresh supplies of powder and other necessities arrived from *Brest*, before they could make any further use of their artillery, they raised their ramparts again with the same earth, and fortified them with two strong palisadoes (or *fraises* as the *French* call them) which surrounded them on every side. As soon however as the batteries were furnished again, they renewed their fire, on the fourth of *November*, with greater fury than before; so that the palisadoes presently giving way to it, they began to clear the passage once more to advance to the assault. But whilst they were going up to it, there happened so sudden a storm of thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, that they were forced to defer it till the next day; during which interval the besieged cut an intrenchment on the outside of the ramparts, and covered themselves in such a manner, that they bravely sustained the assault which was made the next morning, with little damage to themselves and very great to the enemy; who were hardly returned from the assault, and gone to take a little rest, when the *Spaniards* falling out, to the number of seventy, suddenly made themselves masters of the *French* batteries, killed a Colonel and above two hundred other soldiers, whom they found asleep and defenceless, and nailed up three pieces of cannon; but upon the coming up of the Baron *De Molac*, they were driven back into the fosse with the loss of no more than eleven of their men.

After this the siege proceeded very heavily: for the Marshal *D'Aumont*, being far advanced in years, and overpowered with toil and fatigue, was visited with a dangerous sickness; and yet the garrison of the fort were so harrassed and worn down with continual duty, that they began to be exceedingly importunate for relief. But the Duke of *Merccœur* paid little regard to their solicitations: on the contrary, he rather wished that the fort might be taken, as he knew the *Spaniards* wanted to possess themselves of all that coast, which, abounding in islands, secure harbours, large populous towns, and lying very commodiously for the reception of supplies from a *Spanish* fleet, would furnish them with an opportunity of keeping up a
long

long and dangerous war all over the province of *Bretagne*. For this reason, 1594. though he had been obliged to let them take up their quarters at *Blavet*, he was extremely offended that they should attempt to extend themselves any further, and therefore endeavoured to excuse himself from sending them any relief, by continually raising fresh difficulties and impediments. Don *Juan del Aquila*, who had no cavalry with him, durst not move to relieve *Croisil*, as they called that fort: and yet, as he saw his countrymen in such distress, and thought it a shame to let them perish without any attempt to assist them, he advanced, with four thousand foot and two pieces of cannon, towards *Quimpercorantin*, to try whether the apprehension of losing that place would not induce the *French* to raise the siege. But as he happened to meet the *Sieur De Montbaraut*, who had posted himself upon that road, with two hundred cuirassiers and fifty carbineers, and retired by little and little till he got into the town, it was so secured by that reinforcement, that the fear of losing the place did not lay them under any necessity of rising from before *Croisil*: besides, he had neither artillery nor other provisions sufficient for such an undertaking. Upon which considerations, he turned off another way, and passing by the town, marched forwards till he came to the road that led directly from *Quimpercorantin* to the *French* camp, with a resolution to post himself in places of such advantage, that the cavalry should not be able to annoy him, and to try if his approach would not in some measure conduce to prevent the taking of the fort. But as *Montbaraut* pursued them in the rear with his cavalry, and the *Sieur Du Tremblay* was advancing from the camp with an hundred and fifty more horse, Don *Juan* was forced to march very slowly, and with great circumspection, lest he should be attacked in open places by the cavalry, especially as the *Chevalier De Postonville* and the *Sieur De Basternay* had joined them, with the rest of the horse that belonged to the camp; he thought it the best way therefore to take a large circuit, and endeavour to get into the peninsula by by land, whither he might have transported himself and his forces in less than an hour, if he had been provided with the convenience of shipping.

In the mean time Marshal *D'Aumont*, being recovered of his sickness, sent for Monsieur *Sourdiac* to the camp, and endeavoured to distress the besieged with his utmost power, and having battered the place from day break till the sun began to decline, on the eighteenth of *November* he ordered the Baron *De Molac* to make an assault; who being repulsed, Colonel *Du Bordet* made a fresh one, and he being likewise driven off, with greater slaughter than *Molac*, the *English* immediately stormed the rampart on one side, whilst a body of the bravest of the Noblesse renewed the attack on the other: and though *Martin Forbisber*, one of the *English* Colonels, and Colonel *Trescane*, a *French* commander, were killed in the first fury of the assault, yet the besieged, overpowered rather by fatigue than the valour of the

1594. the enemy, were at last all cut to pieces after a resistance of two hours, without stirring a foot from the defence of the rampart, upon which they fought desperately to the last man, and with so much loss to the assailants (of whom above six hundred of the best and bravest soldiers in the camp were slain) that if Don *Juan d'Aquila*, who was come very near, had advanced directly thither, it is probable the Marshal *D'Aumont* would have been utterly defeated, and the fort lost and recovered on the same day. But the fear of the cavalry having obliged him to stay encamped in an advantageous place, and yet so near, that he could hear the volleys of small arms whilst the action lasted, when he was informed, at the same time, of the heroic behaviour and total destruction of his countrymen, he resolved to retire the next morning, and, not being pursued by any one, marched back again to his former quarters at *Blavet*, without making any further attempt.

After this event the forces of the King's party increased in that province: for the Sieurs *De St. Luc* and *Montmartin*, leaving the siege of *Laon*, were come to its succour with five regiments of *Swiss*, three regiments of *French*, and three troops of harquebusiers on horseback, who having taken many weak towns, either by force or composition, in the course of their march, reduced the Duke of *Merceur* to a necessity of uniting with the *Spaniards*, to hinder these new forces from joining the Marshal *D'Aumont*, and attempting some enterprize of greater moment: so that, after the disgust was blown over that had subsisted betwixt them on account of fort *Croisil* (which was utterly demolished by Monsieur *Sourdiac* amidst a prodigious concourse of the people of that country) the Duke of *Merceur* resolved to unite all the forces in one body, and endeavour to make head against the King's, as he had done with very great success till that time.

At the beginning of this year, a little fire broke out in *Provence*, the sparks of which might have kindled a dangerous combustion in those parts, if timely care had not been taken to extinguish it. The *Provençals* and *Gascons* are ancient and natural enemies: which consideration, however, did not prevent King *Henry* the third from conferring the government of *Provence* upon the Duke of *Espernon*, though he was a *Gascon* by birth. This incensed the Noblesse and people of that province, to such a degree, that it became necessary to reduce them to their wonted obedience, by force of arms: which not only contributed to increase the followers and adherents of the League very much, but would have produced other evil consequences, if his brother, Monsieur *De Valette*, who was left to govern there as his Lieutenant, had not appeased their resentment with great address, and the mildness of his administration, and taught them to prefer merit and virtue to difference of birth. But after his death the Duke of *Espernon* himself, being come thither with a larger number of forces than

than ever his brother had, began to prosecute the war, and to exercise his authority with greater rigour, exacting a punctual obedience from those of the King's party, and persecuting the adherents of the League: amongst whom the Count *De Carfès*, with the City and Parliament of *Aix*, which he had beleagued, finding they were not able to resist so powerful an enemy, agreed to submit to Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, or Colonel *Alphonso Corfo*, in the King's name, but upon express condition, that the Duke should have no power nor authority in that town, which was promised. The Duke, nevertheless, being still more exasperated at the dislike which they shewed to his person, gathered fresh forces together, and began to build a fort, to command the city and keep it in subjection: at which the citizens were outrageously offended, and the same spirit of disaffection reigning through the whole province, they sent deputies to court to beseech the King to take the government from the Duke of *Espernon*, and give it to some other person. The King, who, on account of the uncertain situation of his affairs, had dissembled till that time, and even then was unwilling to alienate the Duke's affections from him; and, on the other hand, saw how discontented that province was, and what troubles were likely to ensue, thought it the best way to refer the matter to Marshal *D'Anville*, Governor of *Languedoc*, whom he had lately created High Constable of the kingdom. For as the *Provençals* were well affected to his person, and the Duke of *Espernon* had married his niece, he thought *D'Anville*, with his usual prudence and address, would find out some middle course, by which the people might be satisfied, and the Duke at the same time removed in an honourable manner from that government. But when he saw the Duke resolved to maintain himself in his authority, and the Constable tardy in providing a remedy, he ordered *Les Diguieres* to march, as he was wont, from *Dauphinè* into *Provence*, with as much expedition as possible, to oppose the Duke of *Espernon*, whose designs did not seem sufficiently clear to him. *Les Diguieres*, always ready upon such occasions, and desirous to give the *Provençals* satisfaction, having assembled seven thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, immediately marched to the banks of the river *Durance*, with an intention to pass it, and to enter *Provence* in a hostile manner, against the Duke. But when he arrived there, he met Monsieur *De la Fin*, a prudent man, and well versed in the affairs of the court, who came from the Duke to persuade him not to advance any further, since the Duke, he said, was ready to obey the Constable's orders, according to the King's intention and command, without having recourse to arms: which being credited by *Les Diguieres*, he resolved to continue in the same quarters, as he was unwilling to proceed to extremities, in a matter which possibly might be accommodated in a few days, though it was afterwards protracted by his being seized with a fever,

1594. which obliged him to stay much longer in that place. But though *La Fin* passed often betwixt them, and also went to know the Constable's pleasure, yet no means could be found to reconcile such jarring interests: for the Duke pretended, that he had acquired that government by his arms, and ought to be continued in it, for having defended it in the most dangerous times against the Duke of *Savoy*, and the League, at his own expence, with his own forces, and with the blood of his own brother, and therefore declared he would maintain it at all events. On the other hand, *Les Diguieres* insisted, that he would be highly in the wrong to reduce the whole province to despair, and force it to throw itself into the arms of the Duke of *Savoy*, or the *Spaniard*, and that the Duke of *Espernon* had already so many governments, that he might be very well contented without usurping this, to the manifest disturbance of the King's affairs. And as the difference of their religions sharpened them both, *Les Diguieres* being a *Huguenot*, and the Duke a sincere *Catholic*, they were very severe upon each other: besides, one of them having been a favourite, and the other an enemy, of *Henry* the third, whose party he had constantly opposed, during the course of his reign, there was a private enmity betwixt them, extremely prejudicial to the publick affairs, which they then had in hand. So that, the progress of the treaty betwixt them being interrupted, *Les Diguieres* passed the river with his whole army, in the beginning of *May*, and the same day there was a sharp skirmish, which lasted many hours, betwixt some of the troops of each army: and though the loss was pretty equal on both sides, yet *Les Diguieres* remained in possession of the field, whilst the Duke made his retreat without sustaining any loss, and carried away many of the enemy prisoners along with him.

But the Duke, at last, perceiving that the forces of *Dauphiné* were joined with those of *Provence* against him, and (as he was a man of great prudence) not seeing any convenient opportunity of forming a third party, nor any support ready, to which he could have recourse at present, especially as he had lately received the news of the revolt of *Paris*, and several other cities, thought it would be very unwise to shake off his obedience to the King, at a time when others were returning to it so fast. He resolved therefore to revive the treaty of agreement which had never been totally broken off, and submitted himself to the arbitrement of the Constable, who adjudged, that he should put the fort of *Aix* into the hands of Monsieur *De la Fin*, and withdraw his garrisons from *Toulon*, *St. Paul*, *Treques*, and *Mirebeau*, till such time as the King should determine what course should be afterwards taken: in consequence of which decision, the Duke delivered the fort up to *La Fin*, on the tenth of *May*, and the same day, *Les Diguieres* made his entrance into *Aix*, where he was received with great solemnity by the citizens. But during this suspension of arms, whilst they

they were waiting for orders from Court, *Les Diguieres*, pretending that the Duke's soldiers had taken some of his, and pillaged the country, and that consequently the truce was broke, suddenly entered the fort, without staying for the King's commands, and delivered it up to the citizens, who, running together in great numbers, so effectually demolished it, by common consent, that at the end of two days there were no traces of it to be seen: and having left the other places in the hands of the Count *De Carfes*, he returned with the rest of the army into *Dauphinè*. Soon after this, an accommodation ensued with the Duke of *Guise*, to whom the King gave the government of that province, at which the Duke of *Espernon* was not a little piqued: yet he thought it the best way to dissemble the matter, and reserved himself to take the advantage of time and opportunity, being desirous to have it believed, that what had lately happened, proceeded merely from private enmity betwixt him and *Les Diguieres*, though he was not wanting to himself, nor omitted to make use of any possible means to keep the possession of that government.

But whilst Monsieur *Les Diguieres* was preparing, at the beginning of *September*, to go out of *Dauphinè* into *Piedmont*, he received advice that the Duke of *Savoy* had laid close siege to *Briqueras*, which obliged him to do that by necessity, which he had before determined to do by choice. The Duke had got together four thousand *Germans*, commanded by the Count of *Lodrone*, five thousand *Italian* foot, under the conduct of Colonel *Barnabo Barbo*, a *Milanese*, and fifteen hundred horse led by Don *Alphonso Iliagues*, with which troops he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to drive the *French* back again over the *Alpes*: and as *Briqueras* was the principal place that they were in possession of there, he laid siege to it, and having battered it with many pieces of cannon, he caused it to be assaulted by Don *Philip* of *Savoy*, and a *scalado* to be given at the same time, in another part, by Don *Sancho Salina*: so that the besieged, being attacked in every quarter, were forced to quit the town, and retire into the citadel, which was likewise closely invested without loss of time. In this interval *Les Diguieres* had passed the mountains, with a design to relieve *Briqueras*: but the Duke had sufficiently provided against that, by blocking up all the passes, and placing strong guards in those narrow and rugged defiles (which were also naturally very steep and full of precipices) in such a manner, that after the *French* had made several fruitless attempts to pass them, they were forced to retire: and the besieged being afterwards distressed on all sides, without any further hope of relief, resolved to surrender. Accordingly, on the second of *October*, they delivered up the citadel into the Duke's hands, who being now freed from that impediment, in a few days recovered fort *San Benedetto*, which had been taken by *Les Diguieres* in his retreat: but the snows falling soon after, put

1594. an end to all further action in those parts, for the remainder of that year.

Not long before, the Duke of *Nemours* had made his escape out of the castle of *Pierre-Ancise*, with much more art than he had shewn caution in avoiding the danger of imprisonment: for as one of his servants had a very long and thick head of hair, which sometimes hung down, and almost covered his face, he secretly procured a peruke to be made like it, and managed the matter so well, that, one morning, after he had put the servant into his bed, and covered him up, he went out of the chamber, with a close-stool-pan in his hand, as if he was going to empty it, and got out of the castle gate as fast as he could, to a house that was near at hand, in which he concealed himself till he had an opportunity of escaping into the fields, where he was met by some few friends, who waited there for him, and safely conducted to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*: at his arrival in which province, he was joined by the *Marquis* *de Nemours*, who continued to make war there, in favour of the League, chiefly endeavouring to harass the territories, and distress the inhabitants of *Lyons*, to whom (exclusive of the publick quarrel) he had a particular hatred: but his own and his brother's weakness, and their want of money and adherents, prevented them from making any considerable progress.

This year was closed with an attempt so desperate and atrocious, that it is hardly credible, and which had like to have overthrown all that had been so happily achieved, in so long a course of time, and with so much labour and difficulty: For on the twenty seventh of *December*, the day that the King returned to *Paris* from the camp in *Picardy*, after he had dismounted from his horse, and gone into one of the apartments of the *Louvre*, where the Knights that had been elected to receive the order of the *Holy Ghost*, on New-year's-day, were assembled to make their obeisance to him, as usual upon that occasion, a young merchant, born in *Paris*, whose name was *Jean Chastel*, having got into the same apartment, amongst the attendants of the *Sieurs De Ragny* and *Montigny*, struck the King with a knife in the face, whilst he was stooping to embrace one of those Knights, though he had aimed it at his throat: but as the stroke was diverted in a providential manner, it hit him upon the lip, and meeting with the resistance of his teeth, made but a slight and inconsiderable wound. At the commotion which this occasioned amongst the by-standers, the young man dextrously let his knife drop to the ground, and mixed with the crowd, in hopes of escaping undiscovered out of the room: but as he was known by many there, he was instantly seized, and whilst they were going to fall upon him, in the first transports of so just an indignation, the King commanded them not to hurt the traitor, but to deliver him into the custody of the *Grand Prevôt de l'Hôtel*, that he might be carried to prison.

prison. After which he was brought before the Parliament, where, being examined with the usual forms, he freely confessed, and afterwards ratified his confession, when he was under torture, that he was educated in the schools of the *Jesuits*, and had often heard it maintained in their disputations, that it was not only lawful, but also meritorious, to kill *Henry of Bourbon*, a relapsed heretick and persecutor of the holy Church, who had unjustly arrogated to himself the title of King of *France*: that afterwards, having been guilty of the most enormous and shameful vices, and attempted to lie, even with one of his own sisters, he had fallen into such despair of God's mercy and forgiveness, that he was prompted to commit that fact, out of a persuasion that it was of inestimable merit, and in order to deliver him from the horror and punishment of his sins: that he had communicated his design to his father, who had earnestly dissuaded him from it; but that being more effectually moved by an inward impulse, he had at last determined upon it: that having conferred about it, in private confession, with the curate of *St. Andrew*, in the city of *Paris*, he was confirmed by him in his resolution, though in a dark and ambiguous manner; so that after long contrivance, and much consideration, he had fixed upon that time and place to put it in execution.

When he had made this confession, they immediately sent to apprehend his father, mother, sister, and all the writings that were in the house, amongst which there was nothing material discovered, except a confession, written with his own hand, wherein he had set down his sins, in order to confess them to a priest, which chiefly consisted of the most dissolute and debauched practices. But the hatred which the Parliament bore to the *Jesuits* (the first authors and continual fomenters of the League) added to the conjectures drawn from the deposition of the criminal, who constantly affirmed that he had imbibed those principles from them, induced the magistrates not only to order their College to be suddenly beset, and some of them to be committed to prison, but the papers that every one had in his chambers, to be carefully searched, amongst which there were many writings, found in the study of father *Jean Guignard*, a native of *Chartres*, that inculcated the same doctrine, extolled the murder of the late King, advised the killing of the present, and contained many other things of that kind, with odious names and qualities ascribed to those Princes, and several others. They likewise proved, that many things of the same nature had been spoken, in the heat of the war, by father *Alexander Hay*, a *Scotchman*, and father *Jean Gueret*, professor of philosophy, and the ordinary confessor of this chaste: so that, after many debates in the Parliament, the Counsellors at last agreed in this sentence, " That *Jean Chastel*, being brought bare-headed and bare-footed before the gate of the cathedral church, should abjure the doctrine which

1594. he had till then believed, and confess the enormity of the parricide that he had attempted to commit; and then be put into a cart, and have his flesh torn off with pincers, in the four principal parts of the city; after which he should be carried to the place of execution, and there have his right hand cut off, holding the same knife with which he had wounded the King; and lastly, that he should be dragged to pieces by four horses: that the *Jesuits*, both professed and not professed, should be banished out of the whole kingdom, as enemies to the Crown and publick tranquillity, their goods and revenues distributed to pious uses, and all *Frenchmen* prohibited to study or converse in their schools: that father *Jean Guignard* should be condemned to the gallows, the fathers *Gueret* and *Hay* perpetually banished from all places under the dominion of the crown, that *Pierre Chastel*, the delinquent's father, should be banished for ever from *Paris*, and the nine ensuing years out of the whole kingdom: that his house, standing right over against the great gate of the Palace of the Parliament, should be razed to the very foundation, and a pyramid erected in the place, upon which the present decrees, both against *Chastel* and the society of *Jesuits*, should be engraved." The mother and sisters of the criminal were set at liberty.

To the decrees of the Parliament, the Divines of the city, being assembled at Cardinal *Gondi's* house, added another, by which they declared, that the doctrine that taught to kill Princes, was impious, heretical, and diabolical, and gave a strict charge to men of all religious orders, to acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth as their lawful Sovereign, and to insert those prayers in their masses and canonical offices, which had always been offered up for the most Christian Kings of *France*. At the conclusion of the decree, they intreated the Cardinal, as Bishop of that city, to beseech the King, in the name of them all, that he would be pleased to send a new embassy to the Pope, to prevent the imminent danger of schism, by a reconciliation to his Majesty. This was brought about by the Cardinal himself, who imagined he pretty well comprehended his Holiness's inclination, and was desirous to furnish the King with a fair handle and opportunity of making a fresh effort to obtain his benediction.

1595. In this situation of affairs began the year one thousand five hundred and ninety five, in which the first event that happened worth notice, after the king had recovered of his wound, was, the promulgation of the edict, in favour of the *Hugonots*. Upon the King's conversion, they were not only much mortified when they saw all their hopes disappointed of having a Prince of their own religion, and of procuring, by his authority, that it should be the established religion of the kingdom, and that the Catholick faith should merely be tolerated: but had also begun to set new designs on foot, and to think of uniting themselves more closely together, under some other chief.

For

For this purpose, they had turned their eyes upon the Duke of *Bouillon*; but soon perceived that he was too wise and provident a man to detach himself from the King's party, at a time when his affairs had taken so favourable a turn, only to pursue uncertain and ill grounded expectations; and that he therefore declined coming to any particular resolution, that he might be at liberty to act as time and future opportunities should seem to direct him. They saw, likewise, that Marshal *D'Arville*, who formerly would gladly have embraced such an offer, was then but little disposed to head them: for as he was now not only far advanced in years, and had no children (having unfortunately lost them all) but was lately married to a young wife, in hopes of issue, and firmly established in the government of *Languedoc*, it was not probable that he would engage in new schemes, at his time of life, and leave all that he had acquired with so long patience, with so much difficulty and danger, to the caprice of fortune. They were therefore reduced to the necessity of fixing their hopes upon the Prince of *Condé*, who was yet but a child, and, living with his mother at *St. John d'Angeli*, was educated in the rites of their religion: but the tenderness of his age, and the many accidents that might happen to him before he arrived at man's estate, held the whole faction in suspense and perplexity. In this state of doubt and irresolution, they had frequent meetings and consultations, sometimes at *Rockelle*, sometimes at *Saumur*, sometimes at *St. Foy*, and sometimes at *Montauban*, where they made no scruple of speaking of the King in the most insolent and injurious terms, calling him an ungrateful man, and one that seemed not to have the least recollection of any thing they had done for him; threatening, at the same time, not only to desert him, but even to deprive him of that crown which they boasted (though without reason) that they had acquired for him. Such menaces filled the King with suspicion and disquietude; for as he knew their temper, their artifices, and resolution, by long experience, he was afraid they would not only alienate themselves from him, but raise another war against him, before he could entirely suppress the forces of the League. And though he had prevailed upon one *Merlas*, a *Huguenot* minister, born in the territories of *Bearn*, and *Rottan*, another of them, who was a *Piedmontese* (both of them men of great subtilty, authority, and eloquence) to talk separately to those of their religion, concerning his conversion, and to exhort the party not to be dispirited, but to have patience a little longer, hinting as if the King had communicated some secret design to them: yet he was apprehensive these artifices would not be sufficient to restrain their violence, and prevent them from exciting some new and dangerous insurrection.

These doubts, which had retarded his conversion much longer than the necessity of his affairs required, had also made him submit to many things

1595. things that were very contrary to his genius and inclination: for he had declared the Marshal *D'Arville* High Constable of the kingdom, only to attach him more closely to his interests, and to deprive the *Hugonots* of all hopes of his assistance, though he was under much greater obligations to several other persons. Thus likewise he had preferred the Viscount *De Turenne* to the Duke of *Nevers*, in giving him the heiress of *Beaillon* to wife, by which he acquired that dukedom, and now was employed by his Majesty in the war upon the confines of the *Low Countries*, to divert his attention, and to engage him in long and tedious enterprises, at a distance from the provinces possessed by the *Hugonots*. And, lastly, being desirous to get the young Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, and in some measure to mitigate the resentment which they had in general conceived at his conversion, he resolved to have the edict proclaimed and ratified in the Parliament, which *Henry* the third had made in favour of them in the year 1577, as the best calculated of all others for that purpose.

But it was a matter of no small difficulty to get it received in the Parliament, where the debates ran high, and the opinions were very different concerning it: for the more cautiously the King endeavoured to proceed in the affair, for fear of disobliging the Pope, and giving him an unfavourable opinion of his inclinations; the more violently it was opposed by many of the Counsellors; and, as the King did not care that either the Chancellor, or any other person, should go to request it in his name, the first President, *Harlay*, and President *De Thou*, who were privy to his intentions, found it very hard to persuade the rest (who thought they acted according to their duty) to consent to the promulgation of it. At last, however, the Counsellors, whom the King had confirmed in his interest by particular favours, after the reduction of the city, and especially *Lazare Coquille*, formerly a most strenuous advocate and agent for the League, being now desirous to shew themselves something more favourable to the *Hugonots* than they had been, lest they should seem to persevere in their old practices and designs, took such pains, that the decree was received and proclaimed. Yet even this did not much satisfy the *Hugonots*, with whom the King still proceeded in a mild and gracious manner, both on account of his past obligations and present necessities, endeavouring to extinguish their suspicions, and attach them to him by kindness and good usage: knowing also the poverty and distressed circumstances that many of their Chiefs were in, by his long acquaintance with them, and well assured, that when the principal incendiaries were once taken off, the miserable commonalty would be abundantly contented with enjoying peace and security, he contrived that Deputies should be sent to him from many different places, to treat of the affairs of that party,

party, most of whom he afterwards gained over to his interest by pensions, gratuities, and promises; so that in a while he had insensibly deprived the faction of their main strength and vigour by mild and gentle methods: and it is thought, by those that are well acquainted with the temper of that nation, that if the King's urgent necessities, his natural love of frugality, and the rigid severity of Monsieur *De Rbofne*, who then managed the finances, had given this potion liberty to dilate itself with less restraint, so sweet a poison would have destroyed that faction in a few years, which so desperate and bloody a war had not been able to reduce in so long a course of time.

The second event of importance that happened this year, was the King's resolution to declare open war against the Crown of *Spain*. For though the Duke of *Bouillon*, in concert with Count *Philip* of *Nassau*, had taken some weak towns in the county of *Hainault* and in the duchy of *Luxembourg*, at the beginning of the preceding year; that was rather an incursion than a regular war, as they were quickly obliged to retire, partly for want of money, and partly by the severity of the season, and sustained no inconsiderable loss from Count *Charles's* army in their retreat: but now the King determined to proclaim war in a publick manner, and to employ all his forces against his Catholick Majesty. This resolution seemed strange and unseasonable to many, when they considered that the King of *France* was so embroiled and insecure at home, that he had little occasion to enter into foreign quarrels: they saw the kingdom so exhausted of men and money, so harrassed and torn to pieces by civil dissensions, that they could not conceive by what means he would be able to support the weight of a *Spanish* war: they well remembered how his Catholick Majesty, without any prejudice to his other affairs, had, not long since, invaded the King of *France*, and almost conquered him, in the very heart of his own kingdom, and surrounded by all his forces: it appeared ridiculous, that whilst his strength was yet divided, and discord still raged through his dominions, he should be hardy enough to think of attacking the King of *Spain*, who was firmly settled and established in so potent a monarchy: for which reasons, they thought it would have been more adviseable for his Majesty to have endeavoured to make up a peace upon tolerable conditions, than to add fresh fuel to the war, and provoke him still more by the vanity of a publick declaration.

But the motives that induced the King to act in this manner were very weighty: he foresaw, that the opening of a foreign war would help to close the wounds of intestine dissensions; as skilful surgeons commonly apply seasonable cauteries to divert the noxious humours that corrupt and distemper the body: he knew there was nothing that could more effectually move the *French* to a reconciliation and reunion, than the appear-

1595. ance of a war with the *Spaniards*, the natural enemies of their nation : he was desirous, that the war should no longer bear the name of a civil war for the sake of religion, but of a foreign one for interests of state ; and that the embers of the League, which yet remained alive, might be stifled in the flames of this dispute betwixt Crown and Crown : he was sensible, that even if he did not declare war, he should still have the arms of his Catholick Majesty to deal with ; and since they could not by any means be diverted, he thought it better to have them openly and publicly turned upon him, than in a covert and insidious manner : he imagined the Princes in alliance with the Crown of *France* would lend him their countenance and assistance with less reserve, in a war betwixt *Spaniards* and *Frenchmen*, for matter of dominion, than in a contest amongst the *French* themselves on religious motives, whether real or fictitious : he considered, that nothing could be more agreeable or satisfactory to the *Hugonots*, than a war against the *Spaniards*, and that whilst they were heartily engaged in it, their attention would be diverted, and they would not have leisure to form any new designs. Besides all these reasons, as he had entred into a league offensive and defensive with the United Provinces of the *Low Countries*, by which they were reciprocally obliged to join in the war, and hoped to engage not only the Queen of *England*, but some of the *German* Princes also, in the same confederacy, it was necessary to employ his forces in some enterprize that might redound to their common advantage and convenience in *Flanders* and the county of *Burgundy* : and being desirous likewise to do it for his own reputation, and to interest the other confederates, he thought such a declaration very proper, both to rouse the spirit of his own subjects, and to reduce his allies to a necessity of furnishing him with succours. But above all, as he found himself obliged to renew the treaty of reconciliation with the Holy See, and knew he should have all the King of *Spain's* forces upon him, he wished to have him looked upon by every body as his declared enemy, that so neither he nor his Ministers might be consulted in that negotiation, since they could have no pretence to interfere in it when they were excluded by an open war betwixt the two Crowns. And if the minds even of the great are sometimes actuated by passion as well as by interests of state, the inveterate persecution that he had undergone from his Catholick Majesty, added to the remembrance of the imminent danger he had so lately been in of losing his life, by the infliction of persons whom he looked upon as his dependants, very probably in a great measure induced him to take that resolution : for the execution of which, he caused a declaration to be published, on the 20th of *January*, and the same to be proclaimed by Heralds in the towns upon the confines ; in which, after reciting at large all the injuries done by the King

of

of *Spain* to himself and his predecessor, and imputing the attempt also that had lately been made upon his person to the suggestions of his partisans, he denounced open war against him both by sea and land, prohibited all commerce betwixt the two nations, and gave his subjects full liberty to spoil, invade, and possess themselves of any dominions depending upon the Crown of *Spain*. 1595.

About two months after this proclamation was published, his Catholick Majesty returned an answer to it in another; wherein he first enumerated the favours and supplies that he had granted to the Kings of *France*, his confederates and allies, and then declared and protested, that it was not his intention to break the peace which subsisted betwixt himself, the most Christian Crown, and the good Catholics of that kingdom, but to persevere in assisting and protecting them from the oppression of the Prince of *Bearn*, and the *Hugonots* his confederates, commanding all his subjects not to molest or annoy such of the *French* nation as followed the Catholick party, and giving orders, on the other hand, to his Governors and Commanders, to defend his own dominions, and to act offensively against the Prince of *Bearn* and his adherents.

It seemed long indeed before this declaration appeared; but the measures taken to support it were quick and vigorous: for Count *Charles* was recruiting his army in *Flanders*, with a design to enter the confines of *Picardy* in the spring; *Hernando de Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, and Governor of the *Milanese*, was raising a powerful army in *Italy* to march into *Burgundy*: and new forces were levying in *Spain* with all expedition, that they might be able to send fresh supplies to Don *Juan del Aquila* in *Bretagne* as soon as the season would permit. The like preparations were making in *France*, *Holland*, and *England*; so that the course of this year seemed likely to be attended with much havock and bloodshed on all sides.

In the mean time the King was recovered of his wound, and had created the Knights of the Holy Ghost; during the ceremonies of which solemnity, he renewed his oath to live and die a Catholick, and to defend that religion: after which, he received *Vincenzo Gradenigo* and *Giovanni Delfino*, Ambassadors from the *Venetian* Senate (to congratulate him upon his accession to the Crown) with great pomp and demonstrations of honour, as also *Pietro Duodo*, that was sent by the same State to supply the place of *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who had resided with his Majesty and the King his predecessor for the space of seven years together, and had conducted the most arduous affairs in the past revolutions with singular prudence and applause.

The first military undertaking of this year was the reduction of *Beaune*, one of the chief towns in the duchy of *Burgundy*, where some of the principal

1595. cipal citizens had begun to mutiny towards the end of the last year, with a design to submit to the King : upon which the Duke of *Mavenne*, who was particularly attentive to the affairs of that province (as his own government) went, as soon as possible after his return from *Lerrain*, to that city, where he found every thing in such confusion, that he caused fourteen of the citizens, who seemed more inclined to revolt than the rest, to be imprisoned in the castle, and having composed that disturbance, he tried by all means to sooth the rest of the citizens, without using any further rigour or severity. He likewise insinuated to them, that he should very soon conclude a peace, with the Pope's approbation, and therefore it would be much more for their honour and advantage to be included in the general agreement, than to make a particular composition, and desert him, who had always governed them with a gentle hand, to leave themselves to the caprice of a new Governor. With these arguments he thought he had quieted them, and leaving a good garrison both in the castle and the town, went, with the utmost expedition, to *Dijon*, where he was no less apprehensive of an insurrection than in other places : but being informed that there had been fresh tumults at *Beaune* after his departure, he resolved to return thither to provide against them for the future, and began to contrive how to fortify the castle in a better manner, and to reduce the town also a fortress ; and as this could not be executed according to the plan of *Carlo Bonaventura*, an *Italian* engineer, without pulling down several of the principal monasteries, and a great many private houses, to the very ground, it was opposed by the citizens, who represented to the Duke, that there was no occasion to come to so precipitate a resolution at that time. This, however, only served to heighten his suspicion of their inclinations, and determined him to go on with the fortification. For this purpose, he brought in a greater number of soldiers, who were distributed into all parts of the town to bridle the people, and to keep them in obedience to him : and having given proper orders for the expediting of these things, he left them again, to superintend the rest of the province and secure other places, imagining he had sufficiently guarded against that danger. But the citizens, exasperated at the demolition of their houses, and the imprisonment of the leading men amongst them, determined to use their utmost efforts to deliver up the city into the hands of the Marshal *De Biron*, who had come into those parts in the month of *January* with two thousand *Swiss*, four thousand *French* foot, and twelve hundred horse. With this design, after they had secretly invited and agreed with him, that he should present himself at the gates of the city upon the 5th of *February*, they took arms as soon as it was light that day, and ran about the streets with white sashes on, shouting, *Long live the King* ; which being repeated by the greater part of the common

common people, *James Riccard*, one of the conspirators, ran to that gate which alone used to be kept open, and let down the portcullices on the inside, to shut out the soldiers, who kept a very careless and negligent guard at the raveline: after which, many others also running thither in arms, made themselves masters of the gate, and drove away the soldiers upon guard there, who presently quitted the raveline, and fled into the fields to save themselves, where they were dispersed and miserably knocked on the head by the country people, who were no less irritated than the citizens. At the same time *William Alexan* and *Michael Riccard*, two others that were concerned in the conspiracy, immediately ran to the house of Monsieur *Mont-moyan*, Governor of the town, and made him prisoner, after they had killed *Guillermín*, a Colonel of foot, and some other officers that were with him. *Carlo Bonaventura*, the designer of the fortifications, who had wounded *Alexan* and many others in his own defence, being pelted with stones by the people in the first transports of their fury, was carried half dead to the common jail, by the interposition of some few friends. After they had thus secured the gate and the Governor, they proceeded in the next place to attack the soldiers, who, though quartered in different places, had fortified themselves at the beginning of the tumult, in which, the city being almost turned upside down, the very women and children took up arms, and fought desperately in different parts of the town with various success. At last arrived the Marshal *De Biron*, though much later than the citizens expected; and having entered the town with his whole army, the soldiers were no longer able to make any resistance, but offered to surrender, on condition that their goods and persons should be spared: which being granted, the Marshal, with very great and unusual severity, restrained his soldiers from plundering the town, and totally composed the commotion the same night. The next day he invested the castle, and battered it with twelve pieces of cannon in such a manner, that it was at last obliged to capitulate, after a siege of forty days, during which three thousand shot had been fired upon it.

The Baron *De Senesay*, with the city of *Offone*, followed the example of *Beaune*: for as he had been Ambassador to the Pope, and found there was no hope of receiving such supplies, either from *Rome* or *Spain*, as were necessary to support the League any longer, and had often so told the Duke of *Mayenne*, and earnestly exhorted him (though in vain) to make his peace, he at last determined to provide for himself, and submitted to the Marshal *De Biron*, on condition that he should be continued in the government of that place.

The citizens of *Autun* resolved to do the same: but as there was a strong garrison in the town, and the inclinations of the commonalty could

1595. could not be founded without evident danger of a discovery, the chief of those that were concerned in the design thought it most advisable to send for the Marshal, and not to say any thing at all of the matter till he was at the gates, one of which they themselves had the charge of and determined to open to him. For this purpose he marched silently into the suburbs, on the twenty-eighth of *May* in the night, where he was met by the Mayor of the town, who had undertaken to let him in, and accordingly caused the gate to be opened without any noise, through which a Captain entered first of all, with twenty five cuirassiers and fifty firelocks, and presently made himself master of that post: and having sent word that the pass was secure, the *Sieur De Sipierre* and the *Marquis De Mirebeau* entered next, and were followed by the whole army, which, being drawn up on the parade, betwixt the walls and the houses of the town, was divided into four bodies, and filed off different ways, to take possession of the four principal streets. One of these happening to fall in with a large party of the guards, as they were upon the patrolle, according to custom in time of war, a furious skirmish ensued in the dark, at the noise of which, the whole garrison, and all the townsmen that were not privy to the conspiracy, being awakened and running to arms, continued fighting in darkness and uncertainty till day light, when they plainly perceived the whole army was in possession of the city: upon which, they threw down their arms, and ran to hide themselves in their houses. But the Marshal immediately caused a pardon to be publicly proclaimed, and having stripped the garrison only, and sent them out of the gates, received the voluntary submission of the rest, in the King's name, and suffered no further damage to be done to the town.

Whilst the affairs of *Burgundy* were thus circumstanced, the Constable of *Castile*, having passed the mountains with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, had marched through *Savoy* and was come into *Franche-Comptè*, where, after he had joined the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was gone to meet him with four hundred horse and a thousand *French* foot, they recovered *Joinville* (a place that had been quitted by the King's party) and resolved to lay siege to *Vezu* without delay; in which town the *Sieur De Tremblecourt* then was, with four hundred foot and sixty horse. The Duke of *Mayenne* therefore, who had the chief command, as the more experienced soldier of the two, having caused a battery to be raised, made so large a breach in a few hours, that the *Sieur De Tremblecourt*, finding it in vain to make any defence, resolved to retire into the castle, and to wait there for relief from the Marshal *De Biron*. But he could not receive the succour that was necessary in due time: for the Marshal being called away at the same time by the citizens of *Dijon*, determined to attend to that as the more important concern: so that *Tremblecourt*, not being

being in a condition to resist a whole army in so weak a place, was forced 1595. to surrender the castle.

But as the citizens of *Dijon* had declared their inclinations with too much precipitation, they were in great danger of being suppressed: for the Viscount *De Tavanes*, who governed that Province as the Duke of *Mayenne's* Lieutenant, being informed of their designs, drew all the neighbouring garrisons together with the utmost expedition: and whilst the principal citizens were in doubt whether they should instantly send for the Marshal, for fear the town should be sacked, *Tavanes* came before it with a considerable force, but seeing that entrance was denied him by the people, who were already in arms, he turned aside towards the castle, into which he was freely admitted by the Governor, and having refreshed and put his soldiers in good order there, he ordered an hundred of his best horsemen to dismount, whom he placed in the front, and after he had encouraged his men to behave themselves gallantly, marched down in good order by the common way that led directly to the entrance of the main square; but finding the townsmen under arms there, a sharp engagement began betwixt them, which continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from morning till the day was far advanced: when some of the heads of the people, seeing themselves hard pressed, determined to send for the Marshal *De Biron*, who had hovered about those quarters many days in expectation of that opportunity. But as the whole army could not possibly advance with so much haste as the suddenness of the exigency required, he left orders for the cavalry to follow him as fast as they could, and entered *Dijon* towards the evening with only sixty Gentlemen. At his arrival, the citizens, who were not able to make any further resistance, and had already retreated into a corner of the town, began to recover their spirits, and the army coming up by degrees, one division after another, *Tavanes*, not willing to lose the castle by too obstinately persisting in his endeavours to make himself master of the town, resolved to retire thither, and leave the possession of the town to the King's forces: for which purpose, having caused his rear guard to face about, he drew off by little and little, still fighting till he got safe into the fortress, just at the close of day light, but afterwards left it to the care of the former Governor, and shut himself up in the castle of *Talan*, at a little distance from the town. In the mean time the Marshal was in great perplexity, because his army was not large enough to divide itself to lay siege to both castles: and as he apprehended the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Constable of *Castile* would march directly to *Dijon*, as soon as they had done their business at *Vezu*, he sent one courier after another to press the King to advance as fast as he could into *Burgundy*, whither the course of the war seemed now to be chiefly directed.

1595.

The King had stayed at *Paris* longer than he at first intended: for President *Jeannine* being come to him there, they were in great hopes of bringing the treaty of agreement, which had lately been renewed, to a speedy conclusion, though, as it happened, it was afterwards prolonged a considerable time: for not only the King was unwilling to comply with the terms, now his affairs were likely to succeed so well in *Burgundy*: but the Duke of *Mayenne* likewise varied his determinations, according as his prospect of success seemed better or worse, and, without proceeding any further, would have had a truce established, to wait (as he said) for the Pope's resolution, but in reality (as the King thought) for the resolution of his Catholick Majesty: at last, however, as so many towns had revolted to one side, and the Constable was come to the assistance of the other, the treaty was dissolved without coming to any determination, and the King, having left *Paris* under the government of the Prince of *Conti*, with the Count of *Schomberg* to assist him with his advice, was come to *Troyes* on the thirtieth of *May*, to assemble his army there, and to march from thence whithersoever occasion should require. At that place he received the letters that had been sent by the Marshal *De Biron*, in which he so earnestly solicited him to march with all speed to *Dijon*, that he immediately took the troops that were with him, and having left orders for the rest to follow as fast as they could, made the best of his way towards *Burgundy*, attended by the Count *D'Auvergne*, the Duke *De la Tremouille*, the Marquis *De Pisani*, the Count *De Torigny*, the Chevalier *D'Oise*, the Marquisses *De Trénel* and *Mirepoix*, and the Sieurs *De Chiverny*, *Liancourt*, *Vitry*, *Montigny*, *D'Inteville*, and *De la Curée*.

Upon his arrival at *Dijon*, which was on the fourth of *June*, he gave immediate orders to have trenches thrown up round both the castles, leaving the superintendence of the siege of that adjoining to the city, to the Count *De Torigny*, and of the castle of *Talan*, to *John Baron de St. Blancard*, brother to Marshal *Biron*. But finding it would take up many days to invest the two castles on every side, as all the infantry was not yet come up (which could not march so fast as he had done) the King resolved to advance towards the *Spanish* camp: for having received intelligence that the Constable had thrown two bridges over the river *Seane*, at a place called *Gray*, in order to pass his whole army at once to raise the siege of the castles, he hoped to keep him at bay till such time as he was joined by all his forces, and the trenches were finished. The Duke of *Mayenne* had likewise persuaded the Constable, partly by dint of reason, partly by his authority, and partly by entreaty, to advance to recover the city of *Dijon*, representing to him, how much inferior the Marshal *De Biron's* forces were to his, and that the castles, upon the preservation of which the success of their arms wholly depended, would furnish them with means of driving
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the enemy out of that province with very great ease. And though the Constable (a nobleman of illustrious birth and great riches, but small experience in war) was very unwilling to do it, yet his confidence in the Duke of *Mayenne's* valour and experience, and the not knowing that the King was so near at hand, at last induced him to consent, and having passed the river with his whole army the day before, he had quartered it in the villages on the west side of the river, about eight leagues from *Dijon*. Things being in this situation, and neither the Constable nor the Duke of *Mayenne* at all suspecting that the King was so nigh them, he left the city without further delay, on the seventh of *June* in the morning, with twelve hundred Gentlemen and cuirassiers, and six hundred harquebusiers on horseback, and ordered them all to march towards *Luz*, whilst he himself posted forwards to breakfast with the Baron of that town, as he had appointed, in order to get some intelligence of the enemies motions. *Luz* stands upon the confines of *Burgundy* and *Franche Comptè*, four leagues from *Gray* and as far from *Dijon*; so that he was then at an equal distance upon the road from that city and the *Spanish* camp, which was separated from *Gray* only by the current of the river. As soon as the King was joined by his forces at the place appointed, and found he could not get such intelligence as he expected, of what steps the enemy were taking, he sent out the Baron *D'Ossonville*, with sixty light horse, to reconnoitre them, and to bring him back such an account as he might depend upon, whilst he refreshed his men and horses, and gave orders that they should all join and be ready at *Fontaine Française*, a village upon the extremity of the confines, at three o'clock in the afternoon, to act according to the information he should receive. It was not yet noon, when he and the Marshal *De Biron* marched that way with three hundred horse, that they might be first at the rendezvous to draw up their forces as they arrived; but when he was within two miles of *Fontaine Française*, he saw three horsemen coming upon a full gallop towards him, who informed him, that the Baron *D'Ossonville* had been attacked by three hundred of the enemies horse, and obliged to retire without having been able to discover any thing, and that he desired such assistance, as might enable him to make a stand against a force, that was so much superior to his. The King, not being certain whether the three hundred horse were the enemies van-guard, or only some party that was scouring the country, sent the Marshal *De Biron*, the Baron *De Luz*, and the Marquis *De Mirebeau*, with sixty horse, to succour *Ossonville*, and to bring him a more perfect account of things. The Marshal therefore advanced upon a round trot to relieve *Ossonville* as soon as possible, and had hardly got out of *Fontaine Française*, when he discovered a troop of sixty light horse upon the steep of a hill, directly in the road that led to *St. Seine*,

1595. a village in the highway to the river *Seane* : upon which he resolved to charge them, without further consideration, and to advance to the top of the hill, from whence he thought he should be able to reconnoitre the whole country. Nor did he meet with much difficulty in this undertaking : for the light horse received the charge without making any resistance, and retired from the top of the hill, where he discovered the whole *Spanish* army at a distance, marching in good order, to take up their quarters at *St. Seine*, which is situated on a plain that is bounded on the right hand by a hill, and covered on the left by a wood : and being desirous to carry back acertain account of the number and quality of the enemy, he resolved to advance, that he might have an opportunity of observing the march and order of their army the more distinctly. But as soon as he had descended into the plain, he saw the three hundred horse, which had routed and pursued *Offenville*, now resolutely advancing towards him ; and finding himself so inferior in strength, thought to retire without making an opposition. For this purpose he ordered the Baron *De Luz* to make a stand in the rear with twenty of his men, and endeavoured to keep the enemy in play some time, if they should come up to molest him : which orders the Baron bravely obeying, the enemy rushed upon him with such violence, that he was thrown with his horse to the ground, four of his men killed, who had behaved very gallantly, and the rest forced to gallop off as fast as they could. So that the Marshal was likewise obliged to face about, and fell furiously upon the enemy to save the Baron, who by this time having disengaged himself from his horse, and with much more difficulty from the enemy, had got over a ditch and was coming towards him with his sword and pistol in his hand. The action was very hot at first, but as the Marshal, who fought without a head-piece, had received a large cut upon his head almost at the beginning, and some of his men were slain and trampled under foot by the fury of the enemy, they were at last in extreme danger of being cut to pieces : yet he was not at all dismayed, though their forces were so unequal, nor did he slacken the ardour with which he began the attack, being supported by the Baron *D'Offenville*, who had now joined him, and by the Baron *De Luz*, who had luckily got on horseback again, till he saw eight troops of the enemies cavalry, which had detached themselves from the main body of the army, and were advancing towards him very fast from the village and the wood : so that after he had in some measure repressed the fury of those whom he first engaged, he rallied his men and retired upon a gallop towards *Fontaine Française*, where he imagined the King was already arrived with all the rest of his forces. But as the hour appointed for the rendezvous was not yet come, the King, though he had only two hundred Gentlemen, and sixty harquebusiers on horseback

horseback with him, that had come up before the rest, and notwithstanding he had no other armour on but his cuirass, was yet under a necessity of advancing to receive the Marshal *De Biron*, who was closely pursued by a much greater number of the enemy. 1595.

The first troops of the League were led by *Lewis D'Houdan*, *Sieur De Villers*, and Captain *Giovanni Baptista Sansoni*, a *Milanese*; the first, one of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Marshals de camp, the second, Captain Lieutenant of the Constable's light horse: the other *French* troops were commanded by the *Sieur De Teniffay* and the Baron *De Tianges*, and the *Italian* and *Burgundian* light horse, by Don *Roderigo Bellino* and the Marquis *De Varambone*. An hundred carbineers marched first to begin the attack, and in the rear of the other squadrons came the Duke of *Mayenne* with a body of gens d'armes. This formidable charge the King was reduced to a necessity of sustaining, and, since all his forces were not yet come up, he took post on the right hand with the Dukes *De Tremouille* and *D'Elbœuf*, the Baron *De Termes*, and the *Sieur De la Curée*: and upon the left he placed the Marshal *De Biron*, though weary and wounded, with the Barons *De Luz* and *Ossonville*, and the Marquis *De Mirebeau*. Monsieur *De Villers* with his squadron charged the division conducted by Marshal *Biron*, and *Sansoni* fell upon that where the King himself commanded: but with different success, though they both behaved with equal valour: for Monsieur *De Villers* at last broke into the troops, that were headed by *Ossonville* and *Luz*, and forced the Marshal to retire as far as *Pontaine Française*: but on the other hand where the King was, fresh troops of the Noblesse and cavalry coming up every minute, and seeing the danger he was in, advanced with all possible speed to his assistance, by which *Sansoni's* horse were routed, and driven back to the very rearmost squadron of the enemy, and he himself, after he had received five wounds, was slain upon the spot. Nor could the *Sieur De Villers* prosecute the victory he had gained on his side: for, being wounded in the arm by a harquebuss ball, he likewise was obliged to retire. Notwithstanding all this, the King was still in no less danger; for the Baron *De Tianges* and the *Sieur De Teniffay* advanced to charge him with fresh and numerous squadrons, as did also the Marquis *De Varambone* and *Roderigo Bellino*, in the quarter where the Marshal *De Biron* was engaged; so that as the King's forces were much inferior to the enemy in number, their men fatigued, and their horses jaded out, their destruction seemed inevitable. Yet the King continued to encourage his men, both by the example of his own valour, and by often calling to them, though he was grown quite hoarse: and the Marshal *De Biron*, all over bloody and covered with sweat and dust, charged so desperately in the foremost ranks, whilst every man exerted his utmost power and strength, that they found

1595. sufficient employment for the enemy, and gave time for the rest of their own forces to come up; amongst whom, the first that advanced were the Count *D'Auvergne*, Monsieur *De Vitry*, and, after them, the Count *De Chiverny*, the Chevalier *D'Oise*, and Monsieur *D'Inteville*. Upon their arrival, the Duke of *Mayenne*, apprehending the whole army was near at hand, ordered his troops to withdraw from the battle; and the King, finding he had no other way to disengage himself but by dint of valour, pursued and kept up a sharp skirmish with them, till they came to the wood and plain of *St. Seine*, where he met the *Spanish* and *German* infantry, which resolutely advanced, in two divisions, to charge him. Upon sight of them, the King thought proper to stop short, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, having rallied all his cavalry into one great body, made a feint of attacking him again. But all the King's troops were now arrived, so that there was not much difference in the number of their horse; and the Constable of *Castile*, riding up to the front of the army, commanded his men to make a halt, being resolved not to hazard all his forces, and all *Franche Comptè*, upon the event of one battle. Wherefore, as it was now late in the evening, the King began to retire slowly towards *Fontaine Françoisè*: and though the enemy, to save their reputation, seemed at first as if they designed to pursue him, yet they also retired without attempting any thing further.

The *Spaniards* lay that night at *St. Seine*, the King's forces at *Fontaine Françoisè*, and he himself at *Luz*, having been in greater danger that day than in all the revolutions of the late wars: from which, however he extricated himself no less by his own valour, than the bravery of those that were with him, amongst whom, next to *Biron*, the chief merit was given to the Marquis *De Mirebeau*, the Count *De Grammont*, and the Sieur *De la Curée*. In this action, which common fame reported to be much more considerable than it really was, there were about forty killed on the *Spaniards* side, and above sixty on the King's: the number of those that were wounded and taken prisoners on both sides, was much greater. Each party claimed the reputation of the victory: the *Spanish* commanders, because there were more slain and taken prisoners on the King's side, than on theirs: the *French*, because they were left in possession of the field and dead bodies, and had driven the enemy back to their very quarters. But the determination of the Constable himself decided this dispute in favour of the King; for, having been informed by the prisoners that his Majesty was with the army, and had been personally in the action, he resolved (though the Duke of *Mayenne* earnestly persuaded him to the contrary) not to proceed any further: and having caused his army to repass the *Soane* early the next morning, he fortified himself in a place of advantage, with the town of *Gray* in the rear, and the river in the front of his camp. The next morning the King also advanced with all his cavalry

cavalry to observe the motions of the enemy, and when he came to the top of the hill, from whence he could see the plain and village of *St. Seine*, he stood there a long while in battalia, being prevented from discovering the retreat of the *Spaniards* by the wood and the opposite hill: nor did he care to move any farther without his infantry in that rough part of the country, which was so little known by his men, and so convenient for ambuscades. But as it was already past noon, the *Sieurs De Tremblecourt* and *D'Offorville* advanced, with a few horse, to the very entrance of *St. Seine*, where some peasants, that were at work in the fields, acquainted him with the retreat of the *Spanish* army, of which he informed the King as soon as possible, who immediately advanced upon a full trot with a design to attack the enemies rear: but he found their whole army had already safely passed the river, and taken away the boats over which they had thrown the two bridges: so that after he had scoured the roads along the banks of the river, he returned the same night to his quarters at *Luz*, and the next morning to *Dijon*, to press forward the siege of the two castles.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, on the other hand, not having been able to prevail upon the Constable to stay on the west side of the river, entreated him to let him have some of his troops, for the defence of his own government and territories in *Burgundy*. But he could not obtain even this: for the Constable, who was come only to cover *Franche Compté*, thought he had done sufficient in recovering *Vezu*, and all the other towns which the *French* had got possession of, and was not willing to leave himself to the arbitrement of fortune any more, especially as his want of experience in military affairs made him very fearful of every petty encounter; and though he had a powerful army with him, he never thought himself secure from the sudden and vigorous attacks of the King. Besides, the treaty of accommodation, which the Duke of *Mayenne* was every now and then renewing with his Majesty, made him so much suspected by the Constable and all the *Spanish* Ministers, that they would not trust him in any thing of moment. Seeing himself, therefore, destitute of all succour, and that the Constable was obstinate and not likely to change his resolution, he at last determined to conclude the treaty of agreement, and so much the rather, because he was informed by his agents at *Rome*, that the Pope was manifestly inclined to grant the King absolution. For this purpose, he sent the *Sieur De Lignerac* to *Dijon*, where the following conditions were agreed upon; That he should leave the *Spanish* camp and retire to *Châlons*, upon the *Spaine*, in the same province, where, without further hostilities, he should wait for the event of the deliberations at *Rome*: and that, on the other hand, the King should not in any wise molest or annoy him, or any of his followers, nor make any attempt upon

Châlons:

1595. *Châlons*: and that in the mean time, whilst they stayed for further advice from *Italy*, concerning the King's absolution, both sides should use their endeavours to remove all impediments, and to settle the terms upon which the Duke should submit to the King. This truce or suspension of arms being established, the Duke, seeming as if he was resolved to relieve the castles of *Dijon*, left the Constable's camp, with the *French* troops under his command, and went directly to *Châlons*, where the King's Deputies arrived almost at the same time to conclude the agreement: upon which, he dispatched orders to the Viscount *De Tavannes*, and the Governor of the castle of *Dijon*, to surrender both the fortresses without any further delay.

When the King had thus put a finishing hand to this enterprise, he resolved to go into *Franche Comté* to attack the Constable's army, and, for that purpose, marched towards the river *Soane*, with seven thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Constable still lay encamped at *Gray*, thinking that a very proper situation to prevent the enemy from passing the river, and to turn himself which way soever the *French* army should move, which then was quartered at *St. Seine* and had traversed the banks for several days, without being able to find any place where they could conveniently ford it. But as it was now the month of *July*, and the waters of the *Soane* were very low, as usual at that time of the year, the Sieurs *De Tremblecourt* and *D'Ossonville*, who attempted all possible means to pass, at last found a place that was fordable, about three miles below *Gray*, which was guarded only by an hundred *Spanish* firelocks: so that on the eleventh of *July* in the morning they advanced to that pass, with two hundred cuirassiers and five hundred harquebusiers on horseback, and began to try the ford where the river was shallowest. The *Spanish* firelocks, however, made a brave resistance, and endeavoured to hinder the enemies passage to the utmost of their power; but as they had no more ammunition than what they carried in their cartouch-boxes, after they had disputed it about half an hour, they were forced to retire: at which the *French*, taking fresh courage, resolutely passed to the other side, and were followed by the Count *D'Auvergne* and the Marshal *De Biron* with five hundred horse more. The news of the enemies passing was carried to the *Spanish* camp, by the foot that had been engaged with them, who retired thither murmuring at the negligence of their commanders, in leaving them without ammunition. Upon this, *Hercole Gonzaga* immediately advanced with the first squadrons of horse to drive the *French* back, and oblige them to repass the river, imagining there were but few of them: but having soon found the contrary, he could not possibly restrain his men, after the first fire, from giving way to superiority of number, tho' he fought bravely himself and severely rebuked those that turned

turned their backs, performing, in every respect, the duty of a very gallant Commander. The Chevalier *Ludovico Melzi* came up next, with another troop of horse, and having got clear of those that were running away as fast as they could, courageously advanced to oppose the enemy: but the *French* were so much stronger, as they were reinforced every minute with fresh troops of horse, that it was not possible for him to withstand their fury: so that his troop being broke and routed, fell foul upon the last squadron of horse, with which Don *Alphonso Idiaques* was coming to succour him, in such a manner, that the squadrons mixing confusedly with each other, and being jostled and disordered by the violence of those that fled, the other forces that were advancing to charge, likewise ran away without making any attack. But as it was necessary in their flight to pass a large ditch, full of water and mud, in order to get back to the camp, many were obliged to throw themselves precipitately into it, in the midst of that confusion, and several chose rather to fall into the hands of the *French*, than to run the risque of being thrown down, and trampled to death: amongst whom *Idiaques*, having fallen to the ground with his horse upon him, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the *Sieur De Chaillot*, and afterwards obliged to pay a ransom of twenty thousand ducats. The *French*, seeing the Constable's infantry drawn up in good order on the other side of the ditch, stopped short in their pursuit, and waited for the King, who having now passed the river with his whole army, took up his quarters in the nearest villages, about two miles from the enemy's camp.

Two so remarkable disasters, or rather errors, on the side of the *Spaniards*, opened a passage for the King of *France*: for it is certain, that if there had been a larger body of foot, and better provided with ammunition to guard that pass, considering the difficulty of fording, and the height of the banks, they might have repulsed the first troops that attempted it: and after they had got over, if all the cavalry had advanced in good order to attack them, there is no doubt but they must either have totally cut them off, or have driven them back again to the other side of the river: but as they came up in so loose and disorderly a manner, they gave the *French* a fair opportunity of defeating them, and exposed themselves to the danger of being utterly destroyed. Experienced soldiers therefore never suffer such rash excursions out of their entrenchments, without order or consideration, upon every little alarm; and what others applaud as courage and resolution, they justly condemn as rashness and ignorance.

But the King's passage over the river, whether owing to his valour or good fortune, was not of any great service to him: for as the Constable still kept close and excellently fortified in his old quarters, betwixt *Gray* and the stream of the *Soane*, the King not being in a condition to force, or

even

1595. even so much as to attack them, was obliged to turn off another way, to make incursions and ravage the country, and spent his time there to little purpose, excepting that he forced *Besançon*, a town neither strong nor indeed tenable against his army, to ransom itself from being plundered, by a very large sum of money. In the mean time the King's forces were visited with many grievous and dangerous distempers; of which, as they were in an enemy's country, and consequently fatigued with continual duty, great numbers of them died, amongst whom was the Count *De Torigny*, who had the post of Marshal de camp. For this reason, and because bad accounts daily arrived from *Picardy*, at the interposition of the *Swiss Cantons*, as common friends and protectors of *Franche Comté* in particular, the wonted neutrality was re-established there: upon which, the King immediately marched out of it, and took the rout to *Dijon*; and the Constable *Velasco*, leaving one part of his army behind him, returned with the other to his government of *Milan*.

After the King was returned to *Dijon*, he still continued at a loss how to proceed with the *Hugonots*: at last, however, being desirous to get the Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, for his own security, and the Pope's satisfaction, he caused a petition to be presented to him by the relations of the Princess his mother, in her name, wherein, after they had set forth, that she had been accused of being privy to the death of her husband, and the nature of the sentence that had been passed upon her, by judges, who had neither power nor authority to take cognizance of the matter, they prayed, that as she had been kept in prison at *St. John d'Angeli* till that time, the King would be pleased to disannul the former sentence, and grant that the magistrates of the Parliament of *Paris*, who were the natural and proper judges, might hear her cause, and examine the proofs, and then proceed to sentence. To this petition the King returned for answer, That if the Princess's relations would undertake to bring her before the Parliament of *Paris*, he would disannul the sentence that had been passed upon her, and refer the case to the aforesaid Parliament, into whose hands the Princess was to be delivered within the space of four months. This served to prevent suspicion in the *Hugonots*, and to deprive them of all excuses for detaining the persons of the Princess and her son, in their power. The King therefore sent the Marquis *De Pisani* to *St. John d'Angeli*, who (though the *Hugonots* murmured at it) brought them both away to *Paris*; where the Princess, having declared that she would conform to the rites of the Catholick religion, was absolved by the Parliament, of the crime that had been laid to her charge; after which, the Prince of *Condé* not only continued with the King, but was educated in the Catholick religion.

The Duke of *Montmorancy* likewise came to *Dijon*, and there took possession of his post of High Constable: so that the *Flugonots* were now deprived of those supports, upon which they had built their chief hopes. By these convincing proofs, the Pope was also pretty well assured of the King's sincerity, who was already grown extremely averse to that party, and fully determined to secure the Catholick religion in his dominions. He shewed the same inclination by the strict orders and particular commissions that he had given to re-establish the use of the mass, in all places where it had been abolished, and took great pains to find means to restore the revenues of the Clergy that were in the possession of others, which proved a very difficult and troublesome matter: for the Lords and Gentlemen, to whom they had been granted as a reward for their services, were very loath to give them up, without an equivalent recompence, with which it was not possible to gratify such a number of pretenders, considering the present exigency of the King's circumstances, and the distraction of the times. The King, however, with infinite patience and prudence, endeavoured to compromise things in such a manner, that if he could not altogether, he might at least in some measure, satisfy the Clergy, though of necessity some of the principal of them could not be wholly contented: but the wisest men applauded not only his readiness, but his address, in finding expedients to reconcile interests so manifestly opposite and repugnant.

These things being reported at the Court of *Rome*, greatly promoted the King's interests there, which were still further advanced by other disagreeable circumstances that very much perplexed the Pope and his ministry: for a schism was, in a manner, fundamentally established: the Parliament continued strictly to prohibit every one from suing for benefices at *Rome*; and whosoever procured any by such solicitation, was almost sure not to obtain the possession of them: the King still sent some of the great council, as *spiritual economies*, to take care of the Bishopricks, and other cures of souls, that became vacant: the name of the Apostolick See seemed to be utterly forgotten: and as the King's arms were now so successful, it was apprehended he would never sue for absolution again, especially as the Duke of *Nevers* had publicly said, at his departure from *Rome*, "That they must not expect to see any more Ambassadors there." For these reasons, though the treaty was set on foot again, by means of Cardinal *Gondi*, and though *D'Ossat* continued to negotiate with Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, yet the Pope seeing the danger imminent, and recollecting the example of other states, which had withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the Apostolick See, was, in the mean time, exceedingly anxious, and apprehensive of the mischiefs that might ensue from such a separation. He likewise considered the confederacy that the King had

^{1595.} entered into with the States of *Holland*, and the alliance which was still in treaty with *England*: so that he was afraid so close a League amongst hereticks, would be of great prejudice to the Catholick religion. But what had the greatest weight with his Holiness, was the vigorous war which the *Turk* was then carrying on in *Hungary*: for being obliged to have an eye to the progress of the common enemy on that side, he was desirous to compose all tumults and disturbances in *France*, that he might employ his whole strength, for the common benefit of *Christianity*. Upon these motives, he resolved within himself to grant the King his benediction, to which he thought he was obliged in conscience, and began to think of soothing his Catholick Majesty: for which purpose, he not only complied with whatever he requested, but also determined to send his nephew *Giovanni Francisco Aldobrandino* into *Spain*, under a colour of treating about the affairs of *Hungary*, but at the same time to negotiate the absolution of the King of *France*, in which he took the utmost pains to gain his Catholick Majesty's concurrence, by gentle means, by shewing him great deference, and pretending that it depended much upon his consent. In the mean time he secretly let the King know, by Monsieur *D'Ossat*, that things were now ripe, and that if he would send fresh ministers to treat with him, he possibly might give him absolution.

The King, desirous to reconcile himself effectually to the Church, designed at first to have sent a splendid Embassy to the Pope; but being informed that the Pope intended to have the affair carried on with great privacy, and in a very submissive manner, he determined to send only *James Davy* *Sieur du Perron* to negotiate in concert with *D'Ossat*, being also desirous, in case they should not succeed, that the manner of treating might not make the affair too publick and notorious. These two, opportunely availing themselves of the present conjuncture of affairs, conducted the King's designs with no less modesty than address, representing not only the happy success of his undertakings, which at last had gained him the whole kingdom, but his piety and most ardent affection for religion, which had inspired him with infinite patience and consolation, under so many repulses as he had met with from his Holiness. But those that were best acquainted with the usual course of human affairs, gave themselves great liberty in talking of those very things which so much distressed the Pope, and made no scruple of saying publickly at Court, that the King's patience would at last turn into downright fury, and that now he had subdued his enemies, and was in peaceable possession of his dominions, it was to be feared he would take but little pains to reconcile himself to the Pope; but, on the contrary, it might well be expected that he would attempt to revenge so many injuries and persecutions as he had sustained, by continuing a dangerous schism in the Church of God: and upon these points they

they frequently enlarged, and set forth the reasons, which made it not only just, but necessary to receive and give him proper satisfaction. In this dilemma, the Pope being fearful, on one hand, of offending and alienating his Catholick Majesty, and on the other, of losing the obedience of *France*, proceeded with very great caution, and endeavoured to extricate himself out of these difficulties and dangers, by patience and address, and by waiting to take such advantages as time and opportunity, and the course of things might produce. He knew very well that those who took part with the King of *France*, had reason on their side; that enough had now been both said and done, to convince him of the sincerity of his conversion, and that by continuing firm in his resolution, after his submission had been so often rejected, he highly deserved to be pardoned and admitted into the bosom of the Church: but, on the other hand, he was afraid the *Spaniards* would reproach him, and have reason to say, that they had been more constant and more zealous defenders of the majesty of religion, than he himself had been; and indeed he thought it unreasonable in his own mind, to alienate the King of *Spain*, an ancient and never-failing protector of the Church, for the sake of a Prince, who, till then, had ever been an enemy and a persecutor of it: besides, the merits of his Catholick Majesty, and the great things he had done for the service of *Christendom*, and the Catholick religion, had acquired him such respect and authority in the *Roman Church*, that it seemed not decent for the Pope to determine a matter of so great consequence, without his approbation and consent.

But whilst the Pope artfully delayed his determination, the King's party gaining greater strength and reputation every day, at last obliged him to come to a conclusion. Nor was he a little affected with what Monsignor *Serafino* said to him, who was often in conversation with his Holiness, and used sometimes to take the liberty of mixing pleasantries with things of a more serious nature: for being asked by him one day, what the Court said of the affair, he freely answered, "It was now become a common saying, *That Clement the Seventh had lost England, and that Clement the Eighth would lose France:*" which reply made so deep an impression upon the Pope, who already began to give way to the force of reason, and the earnest solicitations of the *Venetian* and *Florentine Ambassadors*, that he determined to take his resolution from the report of his nephew, who assured him, that people in *Spain* were no longer so violent as they used to be, in the affairs of *France*, that they were thoroughly drained of their money, and tired of the war, and would not make any great clamour against the determination of the Court of *Rome*, whatsoever it might be, though they yet made a shew of perseverance, and seemed desirous that his Holiness would protract his resolution for a few days, more with a view

1595. of making their own terms, than out of any hopes they had that the King of *France* would not at last obtain absolution. The Pope, therefore, took courage, and after he had often so unded the Duke of *Seffa*, Ambassador from *Spain*, upon that point, at last told him, he thought himself obliged to let him know, that he could no longer defer coming to some resolution concerning the affairs of *France*, and for that purpose intended to hear the opinions of the Cardinals about it, that so, when he had consulted them, he might determine upon what should be thought most convenient. The Duke of *Seffa* took it for granted, that the Pope would hear the opinions, and collect the votes of the Cardinals in the Consistory, in the usual manner; and knowing that many of them depended upon his Catholick Majesty, and that several others were of themselves very much averse to the absolution of the King of *France*, did not much oppose this manner of proceeding, because he thought, that when it came to a scrutiny, the absolution would not pass in the Consistory, and was certain, that his Holiness would not act contrary to what a majority of votes should determine upon. But the Pope was not willing to hazard an affair of so great importance, and which had till then been conducted with infinite dexterity, to a plurality of opinions, especially if they were to be delivered in publick: for he knew they would then be influenced by private interests and considerations. Upon which account, after he had prevailed upon the *Spanish* Ambassadors to consent that the matter should be referred to a consultation, he did not proceed in the usual method, but after he had assembled the Consistory, and there caused the King's letters and petitions to be read, he said he was desirous to have the opinions of the Cardinals upon them, not in a summary or confused manner, and at one time only, but that they should come one by one into his own apartment, where he would hear what they had to offer at large, without the privacy of any other person: and accordingly gave orders, that four of them should come every day, one by one, to a private audience, and confer with him about the present affair. The Pope shewed by this prudent manner of proceeding, that his design was to exclude all particular regards, and to give the Cardinals an opportunity of delivering their opinions freely, without fear of discovery, whilst he reserved the decision of the matter to himself, as he should be the better able to declare what course seemed best to him, when they had spoken their sentiments, and to pronounce in which opinion the major part of the votes concurred, that so all further opposition or contradiction might be prevented. And it succeeded as he desired: for after he had caused solemn prayers to be offered up in every church of the city, and had himself set an example of the most profound devotion, he gave audience to the Cardinals, one by one, for the space of many days: at the end of which, having called them together in the Consistory,

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he said, "He had taken the opinions of all the Cardinals, and that two thirds of them voted, that the King of *France* should be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and received into the bosom of the church: for which purpose he would treat with the King's Procurators, and impose such penances and terms of submission upon them in his name, as he should think most expedient and conducive to the service of God and the honour of the church." To this, *Marc Antonio Colonna* would have excepted, and had already got up to speak; but the Pope enjoined him silence, and said, "The matter had been now sufficiently discussed and determined by a majority of votes, and therefore he would not suffer that to be debated over again which had once been settled and agreed upon."

In this manner he dismissed the Consistory, and began to treat with the King's Procurators concerning the conditions, which had been already proposed and debated many days by means of Cardinal *Toledo*, who, though a *Spaniard* by birth, and a *Jesuit* by profession, yet, either out of conscientious motives, or for some other reason, was inclined to favour the King. But many obstacles intervened; for in the first place the Pope seemed resolved to declare the absolution null, that had been granted by the *French* Prelates at *St. Dennis*; and the King, on the contrary, was very urgent to have it made valid and confirmed by his approbation: in the second place, there were several objections made to the publication of the Council of *Trent*, which the Pope most earnestly desired to have accepted in *France*: and, lastly, which was the greatest impediment, because the Pope insisted, that the decree made in favour of the *Hugonots* should be disannulled, which could not be done without raising fresh wars. Yet, by the prudence and address of the King's Procurators, and the moderation of the Pope, instruments were drawn up, in terms so proper for the purpose, and such clauses inserted, that every thing was adjusted to their mutual satisfaction, as the honour of the Apostolick See was preserved, and the King not reduced to a necessity of entering into new broils and disturbances.

When things were so far accommodated, the Pope, on the 16th of *September*, went in his pontifical habit, attended by the college of Cardinals, into the portico of *St. Peter's*, where he was placed on a throne prepared for that purpose, and surrounded by all the Cardinals, except those of *Alexandrino* and *Arragon*, who were not present at that solemnity. There, *James Davy* and *Arnaud D'Ossat*, appearing in the habit of private Priests, and holding the King's proxy in their hands, presented the petition upon their knees to the Secretary of the Holy Office; which being publicly read, the Secretary, standing at the foot of the throne, pronounced the Pope's decree, which, after a narrative of the whole transaction, ordained and declared, that *Henry of Bourbon*, King of *France*

1595. and *Navarre*, should be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and received into the bosom of the church, on condition that he would there and then consent to abjure the heretical opinions formerly maintained by him, to submit to the publick penance that should be enjoined him, and to observe the terms proposed by his Holiness, which were as follow: That the Catholick religion should be re-established in the principality of *Bearn*, and four religious houses founded there for Friars and Nuns: That the decrees of the Council of *Trent* should be received throughout the whole kingdom of *France*, except in such points as might disturb its tranquillity, which the Pope would condescend to dispense with: That the Prince of *Condé* should be put into the hands of the Catholicks in the space of one year, to be educated in their religion: That he should observe the agreement formerly made betwixt the Holy See and the Kings his predecessors, in the disposal of benefices, the reformation of abuses, and other particulars: That none should be promoted to bishopricks but Catholicks, and such too as were men of exemplary lives: That all lands and goods taken from churches and religious houses, should be restored without any judicial process or other impediment: That whosoever were appointed magistrates, should be persons that were neither in the least suspected of heresy themselves, nor favourers of hereticks, either directly or indirectly: and that he should notify his conversion and abjuration to all Christian Princes. The spiritual penances imposed upon him were, That he should be present at conventual mass every *Sunday* and holiday, either in his own chapel or some other church; that he should attend at common mass every day, and upon certain stated days of the week should offer up particular prayers, according to the custom of the Kings of *France*: That he should fast on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, and receive the communion publickly four times in the year.

The Procurators accepted the conditions, of which they demanded a publick instrument, and then kneeling down at the gate of *St. Peter's*, with a loud voice abjured the heresies that were contained in a certain writing: after which, being touched lightly upon the head by the Cardinal *di Santa Severina* with his rod of office, they received absolution. Upon this, the gates of *St. Peter's* were immediately thrown open, and the whole church was filled with vocal and instrumental musick, whilst all the artillery was fired from the castle of *St. Angelo*, to shew the joy of the publick upon this occasion. The Procurators, clothed in their prelati- cal habits, assisted at mass in the place where the *French* Ambassadors had always been used to sit, and then proceeded to the *French* church of *St. Lewis*, where the rejoicings were redoubled, both the court and city of *Rome* expressing infinite satisfaction, one being naturally inclined to
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favour the *French*, and the other overjoyed at the reunion with so noble and august a kingdom. 1595.

When these ceremonies were over, the Pope deputed Cardinal *Toledo* Legate to the kingdom of *France*: but afterward, whatever might be the occasion, he changed his mind, and appointed Cardinal *Alessandro de Medici* to that legation, who succeeded him in the papacy. The Procurators, who had brought an affair of so great difficulty and consequence to this happy conclusion, were afterward, at different times, created Cardinals by the same Pope, who frequently acknowledged, that the modesty both of the one and the other, and the prudence they had shewn in the course of this negotiation, had effectually removed the innumerable obstacles that always presented themselves to him, whenever he took it into consideration.

The news of the absolution was brought to the King by *Alessandro del Bene*, who came post from *Rome* to *Lyons*, in expectation of finding him there: but his Majesty had left that place before he arrived, and was gone to *Paris*. For he had already concluded a general truce with the Duke of *Mayenne* for three months, in order to treat of the conditions of agreement with more convenience, and to wait for the determination of the court of *Rome*. But as things proceeded more slowly there than had been at first expected, after he had settled the affairs of that province, and begun a treaty of accommodation also with the Duke of *Nemours* and his brother the Marquis of *St. Sorlin*, he returned as fast as he could to *Paris*, to provide for the relief of *Picardy*, where the *Spaniards* were now carrying on a vigorous war. During this interval, the Marshal *De Bois-Dauphin*, one of the Duke of *Mayenne's* nearest dependants, submitted to his Majesty: and the Duke of *Elbæuf*, who was reconciled to him some time before, had established a truce with the Duke of *Mercœur* for *Bretagne*. So that every thing now seemed tending in all parts of the kingdom to a general pacification, except that on the side towards the *Low Countries*, the war lately proclaimed against the *Spaniards*, by little and little gave birth to new troubles and disturbances.

The End of the Fourteenth Book.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C I V I L W A R S
O F
F R A N C E.

B O O K X V.

A R G U M E N T.

The progress of the Spanish forces in Picardy: the taking and recovery of Han. The siege of Castelet: the design of the Condé de Fuentes, General of the forces in Flanders, to besiege Cambray: the preparations for that purpose. To facilitate the enterprise, he resolves, in the first place, to besiege Dourlans, and sits down before it. The French commanders, on the other hand, make preparations to relieve it: they attempt to throw succours into it, and come to an engagement: the Spaniards gain the victory: Admiral Villers and many of the Nobility are slain. The conquerors storm the town, and make a very great slaughter there. The Spanish army invests Cambray: the Duke of Nevers, who arrived in that province some time before for the defence of it, sends his son, the young Duke of Rhetelois,

to relieve the besieged: he happily passes through the enemy's camp and enters the town. After him the Sieur De Vic also gets into it: they make a resolute defence. The citizens, dissatisfied with their Governor, Balagny, who had obtained that principality, rise in arms, make themselves masters of one of the gates, and open it to the Spaniards. The French retire into the citadel, but finding neither ammunition nor other provisions there, they are obliged to surrender to the Condé de Fuentes, who grants them honourable conditions. The King leaves Burgundy and marches to relieve them, but does not arrive in time. He consults what course is best to be taken, and resolves to besiege La Fere. An accommodation ensues with the Dukes of Nemours and Joyeuse, and at last with the Duke of Mayenne, who comes to wait upon the King before La Fere. • Albert, Cardinal and Archduke of Austria, comes out of Spain to govern the Low Countries. He throws relief into La Fere, by means of Nicolo Basti: the King, however, does not slacken the siege. The Archduke resolves, if possible, to raise by diversion, and for that purpose, makes a sudden assault upon Calais and takes it: he likewise makes himself master of Guines, and lays siege to Ardres, which surrenders for want of strength to defend it. La Fere submits to the King about the same time, who, finding his army in a bad condition, resolves to disband it. Cardinal De Medici, the Pope's Legate, arrives in France, and is received there with great honour. A treaty of accommodation is set on foot with the Duke of Mercœur, who artfully prolongs it. The King assembles the States in the city of Rouen to raise money, and to settle the affairs of the kingdom: but being taken ill, he returns into the neighbourhood of Paris. The Spaniards surprize Amiens, the principal city in Picardy. The King is exceedingly affected with the loss, and resolves to besiege it without delay: the different occurrences of the siege and defence are related. The Archduke marches with a very powerful army to relieve it: the two armies face each other many days, and have several encounters. The Archduke retires, and the besieged surrender. The King makes an incursion into the county of Artois; but is obliged to retire by the season of the year and the plague. A treaty of agreement betwixt the two Crowns is introduced by the Cardinal Legate; the Deputies of both sides meet at Vervins. The Duke of Mercœur submits to the King. After some difficulties, with regard to the Duke of Savoy, a general peace is at last concluded and published.

THE arms of the King of France were not attended with the same good success on the confines of Picardy, as in Burgundy and Franche Compté: for the Spanish Generals, who were commanders of resolution and experience, perceiving the French forces were either very weak or very much disunited there, had not only slain great numbers

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The Duke of *Boüillon* and Count *Philip* of *Nassau*, had prosecuted the war unsuccessfully, ever since the year before, in the duchy of *Luxembourg*, and made divers incursions into it: where, after they had taken some places of small consequence, they were so distressed by Count *Mansfelt's* army, but much more by excessive rains and the overflowing of rivers, that they were forced to retire, one into the city of *Sedan*, and the other by sea into *Holland*: and though the Duke of *Boüillon*, in the beginning of the next year, had raised the siege which the *Spaniards* had laid to *la Forté*; yet that was done rather by artifice than force. So that, except some few excursions, things were tolerably quiet on that side.

But the Archduke *Ernest* dying suddenly in the beginning of *March*, the government of the *Low Countries* devolved upon the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being of a martial disposition, and desirous to retrieve the reputation of the *Spanish* arms, applied himself with the utmost diligence to reform the discipline of the army, which he had seen in so flourishing a condition during the life of the Duke of *Parma*: so that, as Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* was gone to serve the Emperor in the war of *Hungary*, he was left in the sole administration both of civil and military affairs; and making use of the assistance of the *Sieur De la Motte*, the Prince of *Avellino*, Monsieur *De Rhosne*, the Count *Giovanni Giacopo Belgiojoso*, and Colonel *De la Berlotte*, all of them old experienced commanders, and punctual observers of military discipline, he had not only quieted most of those that mutinied for want of pay, but had also reformed the troops of every nation, and filled them up with veterans, in such a manner, that he thought himself in a condition to go upon some enterprise, though his army was rather valiant than numerous: and whilst he was considering with himself what it should be, the inhabitants of the province of *Hainault* and the county of *Artois* proposed the siege of *Cambrai* to him, engaging themselves to furnish him largely both with men and money, as soon as they should see his army encamped before that city, from whence those provinces daily received such annoyance, that their commerce and tillage were totally interrupted. The same request was made by the Archbishop of *Cambrai*, who, having been deprived of his government of that city, likewise offered to supply him with money and soldiers, provided the *Spaniards* would attempt to recover it. This seemed a gallant enterprise to the *Condé de Fuentes*, as well on account of the splendour of the city, and the largeness of the territory dependent upon it, as the reputation he should gain thereby: for since the time that it fell into the Duke of *Alençon's* hands, the *Spaniards* had never dared to attempt the recovery of it,

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and the Duke of *Parma* himself, either called away by more urgent occasions, or dissuaded by the difficulty of effecting it, had wholly given it up. But if the undertaking was so highly reputable and magnanimous, it was also likely to prove a very difficult one, considering the strength of the city and castle, the number and riches of the inhabitants, the garrison which Monsieur *De Balagny* kept in it, and many other circumstances which occurred to the Count, who, though he was determined within himself to attempt it, yet prudently concealed his design till he had made such preparations as he thought necessary to secure success.

But whilst he was intent upon this undertaking, and busy in preparing for it, a new incident that happened in *Picardy* hastened the course of the war, and was attended with very great danger to both sides. The *Sieur De Gomeron*, Governor of *Han*, a considerable town in that province, having resolved to side with the *Spaniards* when he saw the affairs of the League upon the decline, agreed to receive what garrison they should think fit, not only into the town, but also into the castle. But upon the arrival of *Cecco di Sangro* for that purpose, with eight hundred *Italian* foot, and of Captain *Olmeda* with two hundred *Spaniards*, two hundred *Walilons*, and four hundred *Germans*, *Gomeron* would not admit them into the castle, though he admitted them into the town, for fear they should drive him out of the place when they found themselves stronger than him. Upon this demur, after many letters and messages had passed betwixt them, *Gomeron* was at last persuaded by Don *Alvaro Ojorio*, Governor of *La Fere*, to go into *Flanders*, where he should receive not only the full sum of money that had been promised him, but also sufficient security for being continued in the government of the place: for which purpose, having left the government of the castle in the hands of his brother-in-law the *Sieur D'Orvilliers*, and his own mother, he went himself, with his two younger brothers, to *Antwerp*, where the *Condé de Fuentes*, enraged that he had not performed his promise, caused him and his brothers to be detained prisoners, and wrote to *Orvilliers*, that if he did not deliver up the castle to his commanders, *Gomeron* should answer for it with his head. But *Orvilliers*, who was no less irresolute than his brother-in-law, could not well determine what course to take (though the mother was exceedingly anxious for the safety of her sons, and very importunate with him to comply) but sometimes intimated to the *Spaniards*, that he would give the castle up to them, and sometimes treated with the Duke of *Longueville* and Monsieur *D'Humieres*, the King's Lieutenant in that province, to admit them secretly into the town, to destroy the *Spanish* garrison that lay there: by which manner of proceeding he kept both parties long in suspense, till Monsieur *D'Humieres*, offering him larger conditions, and promising that all the *Spanish* com-

1595. manders who were taken, should be given in exchange for *Gomeron*, he at last resolved to adhere to the *French*: and as the Duke of *Longueville* was accidentally killed but just before by a musket-ball, that he had received from one of his own men in a volley of small arms which they fired to salute him, his brother, the Count *De St. Paul*, to whom the King had given the same government, having sent to the Duke of *Boiillon* to meet him at *St. Quintin*, determined to attempt that enterprise, though it did not seem very likely to succeed, from the strength of the garrison, and the suspicion he had of *Orvilliers's* sincerity. Monsieur *D'Humieres* took upon him to conduct this undertaking, and was at very great pains in assembling the Noblesse of the province, and all the soldiery in the neighbouring garrisons, to carry it on with the more vigour and probability of success.

In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes*, having put the affairs of *Flanders* in good order, had advanced to the confines with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, in order to make himself master of *Castelet*, a town upon the borders of the territory of *Cambray*, built by *Henry* the second, during the wars with the Emperor *Charles* the fifth: and as it was necessary to reduce this place before he could proceed to besiege *Cambray*, he had sat down before it and battered it with twelve pieces of cannon. This, however, did not divert the *French* from their design, who, thinking it a matter of much greater consequence to reduce *Hain* than to relieve *Castelet*, had taken the field with four thousand foot and above a thousand horse, encamping sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, at no great distance from that town. But though they concealed their design, and seemed to have some other in view, yet their drawing so near, and some provisions that *Orvilliers* was making in the castle, had raised a jealousy in *Cecco di Sangro*, and the other *Spanish* commanders, who justly suspecting what was intended, determined to block up three avenues that led from the city to the * esplanade of the castle; for which purpose they drew a trench across every one of them, raising a barricado upon each with casks filled with earth, and made loop-holes through the houses on both sides, to fire with their small arms upon the place that extended itself from the city to the fosse and raveline before the castle gate: and, for greater security, they also sent to acquaint the *Condé de Fuentes* with the suspicion they had conceived, and to desire relief.

The *French*, on the other hand, being well assured of *Orvilliers's* fidelity, by many of his relations that were in the army, drew near the town in the beginning of the evening, betwixt the gate of the castle and that which looks toward *Noyon*. But the centinels, who were posted on the

* The void space betwixt the glacis or counterscarp of a citadel, and the first houses of a town.

outside of the works, having given the *Spaniards* notice of the enemy's approach, *Cecco di Sangro* caused several cannon shot to be fired that way, by which the *French*, perceiving that the garrison was alarmed, and in readiness to receive the assault, resolved to enter the castle and fall down upon the town on that side. The Count *De St. Paul*, with all the cavalry and a body of a thousand foot, stood firm in the field: Monsieur *D'Humieres* and the Duke of *Bouillon* entered the castle, from whence the difficulty of attacking the enemy appeared very great; for the gate of the raveline was so narrow, that it obliged them to go out by few at a time, and in a disorderly manner; and when they were got through it they came directly upon the esplanade, which lay open to the fire of the town: for which reason they were unwilling to expose themselves to so manifest a danger in the darkness of the night, but resolved to wait for the morning, and then to open the gate where succours were generally admitted (though it was then walled up) through which it would be an easy matter to get into the fosse, where they might cut away part of the counterescarp, and come out upon the flank of the castle at a place that was secure from the fire of the enemy. This they effected by break of day, and being drawn up in three divisions, each of which had an hundred Gentlemen completely armed in the front of it, they advanced to attack those of the garrison, who stood ready at their works, and received the assault with great bravery. The dispute was sharp and obstinate, as the soldiers on both sides were resolute and experienced veterans; but the success was different at the three several places where they were engaged: for Monsieur *D'Humieres*, having attacked the trench on the right hand, that was guarded by *Baldassare Carracciolo* and *Marcello de Guidice*, was not only vigorously opposed, but repulsed with considerable loss, after an action that lasted two hours. On the left hand, where the *Sieur De Sessaval* and Colonel *De la Croix* assaulted the barricado defended by Captain *Olmeda*, there was no great advantage gained on either side: but in the middle, where the Vidame of *Amiens* and the Governor of *Noyon* had fallen upon *Cecco di Sangro*, after a long struggle, in which *Cecco* received two wounds with a pike, the *French* at last broke through the breast-work, and though they met with a smart resistance every where, yet they advanced almost as far as the *Porte de Noyon*, which they had designed to open for the Count *De St. Paul* and his men to enter at it. In the midst of so great danger *Cecco* was obliged to set the houses in that quarter on fire, which, luckily for him, was carried by the wind so close upon the *French*, that it forced them to retire, the flames making such havoc, that they could not continue the assault. It was now mid-day, and the soldiers on both sides were so weary, that their vigour was much abated: and yet the *Sieur D'Humieres*, seeing the wind was changed, and
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1595. the flames turned upon the *Spaniards*, put his division in order again, and, placing himself in the front of it, advanced to renew the attack: in the very beginning of which he received a musket-ball in the head, and instantly dropped down dead upon the spot. This accident, however, did not damp the courage of his men; for as they were relieved by the Duke of *Boüillon* with fresh forces, they at last possessed themselves of the *Porte de Noyon*, by which the Count *De St. Paul* immediately entered with the rest of the army: so that the *Spaniards* were now distressed on all sides. Yet they never turned their backs, but still made a brave resistance, as they retired towards the *Fauxbourg de St. Sulpice*, where, after they had sustained the assault till night, without receiving any succour from the *Condé de Fuentes*, as they had expected, they laid down their pikes and seemed ready to surrender. But the *French*, either enraged at the death of Monsieur *D'Humieres*, or out of their inveterate hatred to the *Spaniards*, pursued the victory without regard to any thing, and would have put them all to the sword, if the hopes of redeeming *Gomeron* had not inclined them to make as many prisoners as they could. On the *Spaniards* side were slain about eight hundred; *Cecco di Sangro*, *Baldassare Carracciolo*, Captain *Olmeda*, *Ferrante Nimfa*, *Marcello del Giudice*, and *Alessandro Brancaccio* were all taken prisoners, with many other officers and soldiers: of the *French*, about an hundred and twenty soldiers and forty Gentlemen were killed, amongst whom were Colonel *De la Croix*, the Sieurs * *De Bayan-court*, *Des Mazieres*, Lieutenant to Monsieur *De Surville*, and many Captains of foot. Amongst the wounded were Colonel *Lierville* and the Sieurs *D'Arpajon* and *De Chalande*.

In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes* having received intelligence of the assault which his men expected, left the siege of *Castelet* to the Duke of *Pastrana*, and went with part of his army to relieve them: but arriving the day after the action at a place within three miles of *Han*, he heard the news of their misfortune, and not thinking fit to attempt any thing further at that time, returned to prosecute the siege he had begun. So that the *French*, being in full possession of the town and castle, left the Sieurs *De Sessaval* and *Plinville* with a proper garrison there, and delivered *Cecco di Sangro*, and many other prisoners, to *Orvilliers*, to be given in exchange for the Sieur *De Gomeron*. But that affair took a very different turn: for the prisoners having secretly tampered with a *Neapolitan*, who was riding-master to the Sieur *De Gomeron*, and lived in the castle, it was agreed betwixt them, that he and two other soldiers of the garrison should let them out of the apartment where they were confined, and furnish them with arms, by which means they hoped not only to recover their

* The *French* says *Haraucourt*.

own liberty, but to dispatch *Orvilliers*, and suddenly make themselves masters of the fortrefs. The attempt succeeded pretty well at first: for *Cecco di Sangro*, with his companions, made a furious and unexpected assault upon the guards at noon day, and got possession of the castle gate, which they locked up, and ran directly to the Governor's apartment, with a design to kill him. But finding him, and those that were with him, already in a posture of defence, a very sharp engagement ensued betwixt them; at the noise of which the officers that lodged in the town, suspecting what had happened, instantly ran to the castle, and endeavoured to get into it by the help of scaling-ladders: so that there was another skirmish in that part also. But as the *Italians* were not strong enough to maintain the attack in two different places at the same time, they came to a capitulation with *Orvilliers*, by the interposition of *Madam De Gomeron*, in which it was agreed, that they should be suffered to go freely out of the gate that looks toward the fields, and that he should be left in full and quiet possession of the castle, as before. After the prisoners were thus released, *Gomeron* was left in the hands of the *Spaniards*, without any hope of redemption; and yet *Madame De Gomeron*, who left no means untried to obtain the liberty of her sons, had so wrought upon *Orvilliers* by her tears, intreaties, and promises, that he began to waver, and seemed inclined to enter into a fresh agreement with the *Spaniards*: upon which, she imagined he would easily be prevailed upon to receive their army, if they would advance thither, and accordingly wrote to the *Condé*, that if he would come before the place with his forces, *Orvilliers* should deliver up the castle to him.

During this interval the *Condé* had not only battered the walls of *Cas-tellet*, but had also made a furious assault, and though it was bravely sustained by the besieged, yet whilst they were engaged their powder took fire, and was all blown up, which obliged the *Sieur De Liramount* Governor of the place, to surrender, upon condition that their goods and persons should be spared; and this being granted, he marched out of it with the usual military honours. When this enterprize was over, the *Condé* moved with his whole army towards *Han*: but at his arrival there, *Orvilliers*, who was grown more irresolute than ever, and did not know what to determine upon, at last opened the gate next the town, and fled out of the castle to *Roye*. The Count *De Sessaval*, however, who immediately entered it with two hundred soldiers, began to fire with his artillery upon the *Spanish* camp, at which the *Condé de Fuentes* was so provoked, that he caused *Gomeron* to be brought out, and beheaded, in the sight of all those that were in the castle, and sent his brothers back to their confinement in the castle of *Antwerp*.

After this the *Condé*, in the first transports of his anger, resolved to besiege

1595. besiege the town; but the next day when his passions had subsided, he thought it would be imprudent to defer his design upon *Cambray* any longer; for which reason he raised his camp, and marched away to plunder and ravage the adjacent territories. At his approach *Clery* and *Bray*, two weak towns in that country, lying upon the river *Samme*, without making any resistance, immediately submitted to his army, which began to drive away the cattle, and lay waste the corn fields in many places, to the great terror of the country people. But the forces were not yet in readiness, which the Provinces of *Artois* and *Hainault*, had obliged themselves to contribute: and without them the commanders, considering the large circumference of the town, and the number of people that were in it, did not think proper to attempt the siege. The Count, therefore, to keep his forces in action, and to facilitate the reduction of *Cambray*, by blocking up the several passes to it, resolved to make an attempt upon *Dourlans*, a town not very large, but tolerably strong, and situated upon the confines of *Picardy* and the territory of *Cambray*, above *Peronne* and *Corbie*. The *Sieur D'Araucourt* commanded in the town, and the *Sieur De Ronsoy* in the castle: for all the places of that province (as near the confines) are secured by castles, most of which are stronger from the nature of their situation, than the help of art, having walls built in the old manner, and flanked only with great towers; but the Governor, seeing the danger so imminent, had with great diligence strengthened this place with ramparts and ravelines, after the modern way of fortification. The weakness of the garrison, which was much inferior to what it ought to have been upon such an occasion, was the chief thing that encouraged the *Condé* to go upon this enterprize: but though it was a sudden resolution, and he turned his forces that way without losing a moment of time, yet he could not invest it and block up the passes, before the Duke of *Boüillon* had intelligence of his proceedings, who, not having sufficient time to consider what was most proper to be done in such an emergency, immediately sent four hundred Gentlemen and eight hundred foot into the town: in which he certainly did not act with prudence. For if, instead of them, he had thrown in all his foot, which amounted to above two thousand, he would not afterwards have been necessitated to attempt the relief of it, with so terrible a slaughter of his forces: and if he had not shut up the Noblesse within the walls, he would have been so strong in horse, that he might have obliged the enemy to raise the siege, only by obstructing the passes: but upon such sudden and unexpected occasions, even the wisest men cannot be supposed to attend to every particular with the same care and circumspection. These forces had no sooner joined the garrison, which now all together amounted to eleven hundred foot and five hundred horse, than he began to be sensible of his error: for as there was

no particular commander of sufficient authority, to take the charge of the defence wholly upon himself, the Lords and Gentlemen of the country that were within the walls, being all ambitious to command, threw every thing into disorder and confusion; so that their presence, which would have been highly useful in the field, was rather of disservice than otherwise in the town. And yet, as the expediency of keeping the enemy at a distance from the walls was sufficiently obvious, they began to put some of those ravelines, that were on the outside of the ramparts, into so good order, as to retard the approach of the enemy for some days. But the unsuitness of the garrison likewise plainly appeared in this: for the Noblesse would not condescend to work, and the foot, being few in comparison of what were wanted, all the necessary preparations went on very slowly and heavily.

The *Spanish* army sat down before *Dourlans* on the fifteenth of *July*, and the same evening, *Valentine* *Sieur de la Motte*, who had the post of Major General, advancing too near the walls to reconnoitre the place, in order to form a judgment on which side it would be most proper to make their approaches, was killed by a musket ball, which he received in his right eye. He was a soldier that had raised himself by degrees from a very low rank in the army, to so respectful a command, with the clearest character, and had been often employed in the most important enterprises, on account of his great valour and experience. The person fixed upon by the *Condé de Fuentes* to supply his place, was *Christian* *Sieur De Rhosne*, who had acquired the highest degree of reputation amongst the *Spaniards*, by his prudence as well as bravery and consummate knowledge in military affairs. By his advice they began, in the first place, to fortify themselves in their entrenchments, and to block up all the avenues with forts and half-moons, not only to prevent any relief from being thrown into the town, but to secure their camp, which was not very large, against any sudden attack from the *French*. When these works were finished, it was still a matter of doubt on which side the place should be assaulted: for several were of opinion that they ought to begin with the castle, the reduction of which, they said, must soon be attended with the surrender of the town: and others, judging it a very difficult matter to reduce the castle, said they thought it more advisable to make themselves masters of the town first, in order to make an attack upon the castle more practicable. But, after long consultation, a third opinion, proposed by *Monfieur De Rhosne*, at last prevailed; which was, that the town should be assaulted on that side where it joined to the castle, because a breach might be made in the wall, and part of the works of the castle demolished at the same time. The situation of their camp naturally pointed out this advice; for the river *Oyse*, which run close by, made it more easy to be defended, and would prevent any sudden attempt upon their batteries, from

1595. the Duke of *Bouillon* or the Count *De St. Paul*, who, he knew, were drawing their forces together with great diligence, to relieve the Noblesse which they had unadvisedly shut up in the town. The first attack was upon an half moon, raised on the outside of the ramparts to cover the fosse that separated the castle from the town, which, though made of nothing but earth, was yet so firmly cemented together, by length of time, that it was cannon proof. Monsieur *De Rbofne* therefore, having found it in vain to batter it, began two trenches (that he might carry on the approaches without being annoyed by the shot, either from the town or the castle) which he continued till he was got within a stone's throw of the half moon: and whilst the besieged imagined he would carry them on as far as the fosse, he suddenly ordered two divisions, one of *Italians* the other of *Walloons*, which were in readiness for that purpose, to sally out of them: some of whom, scrambling up the face of the half moon, and others clapping ladders to it, got so suddenly upon the parapet, that they fell upon those that defended it, before the artillery of the castle could do them any harm. The assault did not continue long, but was very sharp, for those that sustained it were all veterans: but as they were in a manner surprised, after they had fought about a quarter of an hour, and found themselves overpowered by the number of the enemy, they were at last obliged to retire into the covert way that was on the outside of the fosse. Upon which, Monsieur *De Rbofne* entered the half moon, and ordered *La Berlotte's* division to cover themselves in that place, as he designed to plant his battery there. The *Walloons* accordingly began to fortify themselves with the utmost diligence, and the besieged were no less active in their endeavours to prevent them. For which purpose, they kept so hot a fire upon the place where the besiegers were at work, from three sakers that were on the platform of the town, and on the other side from the artillery of the castle, that they made a very great slaughter amongst them: and yet the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Walloons*, by turns, worked so hard, that they at last made the half moon defensible, and planted seven culverins in it, which battered the works of the castle; and six other pieces of cannon, that played upon the wall of the town, for two days together, without intermission, at the end of which they had brought their two trenches to the counterscarp, in order to advance to the assault.

In the mean time the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *De St. Paul*, being joined by Admiral *Villers* with the forces of *Normandy*, were very intent upon relieving this place, not so much for the importance of the town, as on account of the great number of Gentlemen that were shut up in it: and though their army was not very numerous, yet they were confident that the Noblesse which they had with them, would enable them to throw in some supplies of men and ammunition, by forcing the guards

on some side or other, though they were well fortified, and very diligent in their duty. The *Sieur De Sessaval's* design was, to force his way into the town with a thousand foot, and twenty four carriages laden with ammunition and provisions, and at the same time to open a passage, if he could, for the four hundred Gentlemen that were in *Dourlans* to return to the army, in which, besides the infantry, there were twelve hundred cuirassiers, and six hundred harquebusiers on horseback. And as the circumference of the town was irregular, and the avenues various that led to it, some lying on one side, and some on the other side of the river, which yet was shallow enough to be forded in many places without difficulty, they determined to divide themselves into three bodies, and to appear in three different parts, to keep the enemy divided and employed in several places. With this design, they had a consultation amongst themselves on the evening of the twenty third of *July*, concerning the most proper means of putting it in execution. The Count *De St. Paul*, the Marquis *De Belin*, and the *Sieur De Sessaval* were of opinion, that they ought to wait for the arrival of the Duke of *Nevers*, who, having been appointed by the King to superintend the affairs of that province, was already upon the road to join them, as it would be madness, they said, to go upon that immediately with extreme danger, which they might attempt with more strength and greater probability of success at the end of two or three days. But the Duke of *Boüillon* (betwixt whom and the Duke of *Nevers* there had long subsisted a sort of an emulation, not only on account of their being of different religions, but because each of them pretended to a superiority over the other in point of reputation and understanding) could not bear to think of staying for his coming, and that the honour should be reserved for him, which he expected to reap himself, by raising the siege, or relieving the town: and having drawn the Admiral over into his opinion, he in a manner forced the rest to concur with him in the resolution he had taken to attack the enemy the next day.

On the other hand the *Condé de Fuentes*, knowing that the hopes of the French chiefly consisted in keeping his forces divided and employed in different places, resolved to advance three miles to meet them, that he might oppose their attempt with his whole strength united, and having left *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, with twelve hundred foot to guard the batteries, and *Gasparo Zappogna* with a thousand more, to defend his camp and trenches, he advanced with the rest of his army along the road, by which the enemy were approaching. The Prince of *Avellino* led the van, which consisted of two squadrons of horse, one of *Flemings* and *Walloon*s, and the other of *Italians*, flanked by two wings of *Spanish* harquebusiers: the Duke of *Aumale*, and the *Sieur De Rhosne* were in the centre, with two columns

1595. of infantry, each of which had four field-pieces in the front: the rear was brought up by the *Condé* himself, in which were all the rest of the cavalry, flanked by a battalion of *Germans*.

On the other side, the Admiral and the Duke of *Bouillon* led the van; the Count *De St. Paul* conducted the main battle, and the rear was commanded by the Marquis *De Belin*. It was almost noon on the twenty fourth of *July*, when the two armies came in sight of each other, and soon after met: upon which, the *French* vanguard immediately charged the two squadrons of cavalry in the enemy's van with such violence, that the *Walloons*, who were on the left, being broken and defeated by the Admiral, presently ran away: but that of the *Italians*, commanded by the Prince of *Avellino*, sustained the fury of the Duke of *Bouillon* a considerable time, till the Admiral, who had routed and dispersed the other squadron, came to charge them in the flank, by which they also were obliged to retire, though without falling into disorder: but the *Spanish* harquebusiers coming up that were in the flanks, the engagement grew very hot, especially as the *Walloon* horse, which had now rallied, returned to the battle, and fought with as much courage as any of the rest. Whilst the two vans were thus engaged, *Sessaval*, with the foot under his command, left them, and marched forward towards *Dourlans*, and happening to fall in with the body of infantry conducted by the Duke of *Aumale*, there ensued as fierce an encounter betwixt them, as there was betwixt the cavalry. But as soon as *De Rhosnè* saw these two bodies of foot thoroughly engaged, he wheeled off as fast as he could to the right, with that under his command, and having possessed himself of a rising ground, which was on the flank of *Sessaval's* infantry, after he had raked them through and through with his field pieces, he came down from thence, with the two corps of harquebusiers that were in the front of his division, and made such havoc amongst them, that the *Sieur De Sessaval*, Colonel *St. Dennis*, and a great number of others were slain, and the rest so dispersed, that they could not be rallied, but were forced to leave all their colours and carriages of ammunition and provisions in the hands of the enemy. In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes*, having got to the top of an eminence, from whence he could more distinctly observe what passed, immediately dispatched two squadrons of horse to succour the Prince of *Avellino*: whilst Monsieur *De Rhosnè* and the Duke of *Aumale*, who by this time had put their forces in good order again, were advancing separately to make another charge. The Duke of *Bouillon*, therefore, finding it necessary to give way, and not caring to run any further risque, retired, without having sustained any considerable loss, towards the main battle, which was still entire, as the Count *De St. Paul* had never been in the action. The Admiral, likewise, who had been warmly engaged with a superior number of

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the enemy from the very beginning of the battle, after the *Sieur D'Argenville*, Governor of *Abbeville*, and *D'Hacquerville*, Governor of *Pontau de Mer*, Captain *Perdriel*, and above two hundred Gentlemen of *Normandy* were slain upon the spot, now began to think of retiring, though it would have been a very difficult matter, and perhaps too late. But his courage and affection prompted him to return into the heat of the battle: for seeing his nephew, the young *Sieur De Montigny*, with fifteen or twenty of his followers, in a manner surrounded and hard pressed by *Antonio Mendoza's Spanish* infantry, he rallied his horse which were retiring, and made a furious charge to disengage him. But being enclosed by the *Spanish* harquebusiers, and his retreat cut off by the *Italian* and *Walloon* cavalry, he fought desperately till he was wounded in many places, and at last fell from his horse: and though he told his name, and offered a ransom of fifty thousand crowns, yet a *Spanish* soldier killed him in cold blood, and another cruelly cut off one of his fingers for the sake of a very rich diamond ring that he wore upon it: for which barbarity they were both justly put to death by the order of the *Condé de Fuentes*. All those that followed him were likewise cut to pieces, though they fought desperately, and made the victory very bloody to the enemy. But the Duke of *Boiillon*, either because he thought the best service he could do the King would be to save the rest of the army, or out of pique to the Admiral, on account of his being so zealous a Catholick, persuaded the Count *De St. Paul* (who was a young man, and suffered himself to be guided by the opinion of his seniors) that all attempts to rescue the Admiral would be in vain, and that nothing remained to be done, but to use their endeavours to make a safe retreat with the main battle. The Marquis *De Belin*, on the contrary, abhorring that advice, immediately advanced with the rear to succour the Admiral in his distress: but being encountered by four squadrons of lances, which the *Condé de Fuentes* had sent to attack him, he was not able to withstand their fury: so that his men were presently routed, and ran away, leaving him and the *Sieur De Longchamp* in the hands of the enemy: from whence it clearly appeared, that cuirassiers are not by any means equal to lances in the field. The loss the *French* sustained in this battle was more considerable, on account of the quality, than number of the slain: for they were not above six hundred, but most of them Gentlemen and persons of distinction, as the army was chiefly composed of such: which served in some measure to excuse the Duke of *Boiillon's* conduct, in endeavouring to save the rest, though it was the general opinion, that if he had either charged resolutely at first with all his troops, or had sent for the Count *De St. Paul* with fresh forces to his assistance, even after he was engaged, he might have thrown relief into *Dourlans*, or at least have retreated without exposing himself to so great a slaughter. The *Spaniards*

ards had but few killed, and those of no great note; and amongst the wounded, there were none of any account, except *Sancho de Luna*.

Whilst the two armies were thus engaged, the besieged in *Dourlans* were not idle: for upon the first rumour of the battle, they made a vigorous sally upon the trenches; but finding the posts well fortified, and all the guards under arms, they were as bravely repulsed, though they did not sustain much loss in that action. After the battle was over, the *Condé de Fuentes* returned victorious to his camp before *Dourlans*, and being now no longer under any apprehension of being molested by the *French*, he used his utmost endeavours to reduce the town as soon as possible: and though the besieged behaved with remarkable courage, yet their conduct and experience were not equal to it, so that it evidently appeared, that the place must at last fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, though probably with a great slaughter of them. On the twenty eighth the besieged made another furious sally, in the heat of the day: but as the enemy's foot were ready to receive them, they were again repulsed after an obstinate dispute, and whilst they were retiring by degrees, without seeming to run away, they were so fiercely attacked on the flank by the cavalry, that they lost many of their men, and were forced to run back as fast as they could to the very counterescarp. The next day, after the artillery had not only demolished part of the wall of the town, but also made a breach in an angle of the castle, the *Condé* caused an assault to be made, and sent the infantry to attack both places at once, in order to discourage the besieged, and divide their strength. The *Spaniards* advanced to the castle, the *Walloons* to the town, and soon after the *Italians* entered the trenches to reinforce them. On this occasion *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* gave remarkable proofs of his valour: for he was the first that mounted the breach made in the castle, and fought there with so much resolution at the head of his men, that, the Count *De Dinan*, who had the charge of the defence on that side, being slain, and his men defeated, and driven off the castle, was taken, with very great slaughter of the garrison. From thence the assailants rushed furiously down into the town, and made themselves masters of that also, without meeting with any obstacle or impediment from trenches or casemates: for either the inexperience, or the discords that subsisted amongst the besieged had been such, that no sort of works were thrown up there to oppose the enemy. Here, in revenge for the slaughter at *Han* (which every soldier called upon his comrade to remember) all the besieged were put to the sword, without distinction, in the fury of the storm: so that, out of such a number of Gentlemen and soldiers, only the Sieurs *D'Haraucourt* and *De Griboval*, and about forty others, with much difficulty escaped with their lives, and were made prisoners: *Monsieur de Ronsoy*, Governor of the castle, the Sieurs *De Francourt* and *Proüilles*,

Prouilles, who had the principal commands, above three hundred of the Noblesse, and more than six hundred soldiers being slain upon the spot. The town was sacked in the heat of the action, and continued at the mercy of the soldiers till night, at which time those had quarter given them who had taken sanctuary in churches. After so complete a victory, the *Condé de Fuentes* immediately repaired the walls, and demolished the works and trenches that he had thrown up on the outside of them, and, having given the government of the place to *Portocarrero*, as a reward for his gallant behaviour in the reduction of it, he began with very great diligence to make preparations for the siege of *Cambray*, in order to improve the success with which his late enterprize had been attended.

In the mean time the Duke of *Nevers* arrived at the army, which was now very much dispirited by its late defeat; and though he endeavoured to overlook the errors that had been committed, yet, in a conversation with the Count *De St. Paul* and the Duke *De Bouillon* at *Pequigny*, he could not forbear telling them, "That they had been too courageous in their consultations, and too prudent in their retreat:" at which reproach, added to their former enmity, the Duke of *Bouillon* was so disgusted, that he left the camp: the Count *De St. Paul*, likewise, who did not much relish it, retired to *Boulogne*: so that the whole weight and care of the army devolved upon one person only. The Duke of *Nevers* having thus taken upon him the command of the army, though it was reduced to a very low condition, marched directly towards *Amiens*, on the second of *August*, to secure that city, which was exceedingly terrified with the slaughter that had just happened no further off than *Dourlans*. But as the citizens flocked to him in multitudes, and seemed in great pain lest *Corbie*, a town not far from the enemies quarters, should fall into their hands, he promised to go thither himself the next day: and accordingly having left his son, the young Duke of *Rhetelois*, at *Amiens*, he proceeded without farther delay to *Corbie*; in which town, though weak, he began to make preparations to receive the *Spanish* army, if it should march that way. But the next day the *Condé de Fuentes*, who was not above seven leagues from thence, having raised his camp from before *Dourlans*, advanced in one day's march almost as far as *Peronne*, which obliged the Duke to leave *Corbie* with all his forces, and to march away towards *Arboniers*, that he might get into *Peronne* the same night. On the fifth, the *Spaniards* passed pretty near the walls of the town, and took the rout of *St. Quintin*: upon which the Duke, being sent to by the Viscount *D'Auchy*, who was in that place, went thither on the sixth in the morning, which day the *Spanish* army made a halt in the same quarters, and stayed there four days to gather provisions together from all parts, and on the eleventh of *August*, drew within four miles of *Cambray*, by which they

1595. they plainly discovered their intention of besieging that place, and delivered the other towns from the apprehensions they had been under on their own account.

The Marshal *De Balagny*, who then commanded in *Cambray*, finding the garrison weak, and himself very much hated by the citizens, who could not bear his manner of government; and at the same time being destitute of means to pay and support his men, earnestly solicited the Duke of *Nevers*, by four couriers, dispatched express one after another, to assist him with some forces, and also to furnish him with a sum of money; acquainting him, at the same time, how little confidence he reposed in the inhabitants, and with what a panic the garrison had been seized with, upon the news of the slaughter at *Dourlans*. Upon this, the Duke of *Nevers*, having called a council of war, was a long time in doubt whether he should go himself into *Cambray* or not: for, on one hand, the desire of preserving that city, and the honour he expected to gain by defending it, prompted him to advance; and, on the other, the necessity of recruiting the army, and putting it in good order again, dissuaded him from it. But as the rest of the commanders unanimously agreed, that he ought not to engage himself there, since they were in hopes that *Balagny* would be able to perform what was requisite for the defence of the town, and that his own presence would be absolutely necessary elsewhere to provide relief for it, he resolved to send his son *Charles* Duke of *Rhetelois*, with four hundred horse, and four companies of firelocks, which he likewise mounted on horseback for the greater expedition. To attend his son, he sent the Sieurs *De Buffy* and *Trumelet*, the first a Colonel of great experience, the other Governor of *Ville Franche*: and the command of the firelocks he gave to the Sieur *De Vautricourt*, an old experienced officer, intending, after his son was got into the town, that Monsieur *De Vic* should likewise attempt the same with an hundred horse and four hundred more foot, to assist in such parts of the defence as Marshal *De Balagny* (under whose command all those forces were to be) could not attend to himself, or perhaps might not understand.

During this interval the *Condé de Fuentes*, having been reinforced by five thousand foot, sent from the neighbouring provinces under the command of the Prince of *Chimay*, and a regiment of *Walloons*, raised and paid by *Lewis de Barlemont*, Archbishop of *Cambray*, had advanced pretty near to the town on the fourteenth of *August*, and immediately began to block up the passes, through which he expected the enemy would endeavour to send relief. But this diligence and precaution only served to quicken the motions of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, who instantly set out with a resolution to throw himself into the city if possible; and having marched all night, arrived at break of day upon a large plain, which surrounds the town on every side.

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He did not intend indeed to have made his appearance at all by day-light, but was retarded by an exceeding heavy rain which fell that night, and much more by a river that he was to pass in the village of *Aune*, over a wooden bridge, some part of which happened to be broken down: so that he was obliged to stay there till they had repaired the bridge, as well as they could, by the help of piles and planks. The *Spaniards*, therefore, who were informed of his approach, had sufficient time to mount their horses, and at the Duke's arrival were ready drawn up in good order, and waited to receive him upon the high road, on the plain along which he was to pass. But as soon as he discovered the enemy, not being thoroughly determined how to proceed, he made a halt, till the guide that conducted his forces, who was well acquainted with the country, informed him there was a deep hollow way betwixt the enemies horse, and one of the lower gates of the city, which was difficult to be passed, so that if he would turn off on that side, he might get under the walls of the town before the enemy could overtake him, as they must necessarily be obliged to take a large circuit, for fear of disordering themselves in that hollow way: upon which the Duke, courageously putting himself at the head of his men, quitted the main road, and, turning to the left, advanced on a round trot, by the road which his guide shewed him, in hopes of getting to the gate without any opposition from the enemy. But when he came very near the town, he fell in with a corps de garde of fifty horse, which, at the alarm that was spread through the whole country, had posted themselves there to block up the passage: so that being now under a necessity of engaging, he shut down his beaver, and having encouraged his men, charged the enemy with so much fury, that he broke them, and drove them off at the very first onset without the loss of a man, and having wheeled about to put his men in their former order, he continued to advance pretty fast. But he had not proceeded above two hundred yards further, before he met another body of an hundred and twenty horse, which he charged with the same vigour, and forced them to retire without making any considerable resistance. In the mean time the main body of the *Spanish* horse, which had first discovered his motions, advanced towards him with no less celerity; but the impediment of the hollow way, and the dirtiness of the roads, which the rain that had fallen the night before made very wet and slippery, retarded their march so much, that when the first troops came up to charge the Duke, he was already got under the artillery of the town, which, firing very sharply upon them and scouring the whole plain, secured him from all danger, so that he entered the town in safety, to the great joy of every one in it, without sustaining any other loss but that of one of his pages, and an inconsiderable part of his baggage, as the waggons which carried it could not

1595. come up so fast as the rest, and consequently fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

The success of this attempt made it necessary for the *Condé de Fuentes*, to invest the town more closely, to prevent any fresh relief from entering: to which he was likewise induced by the want of money to maintain his army. For tho' the Archbishop of *Cambray*, and the adjoining provinces, had obliged themselves to contribute five hundred thousand florins, yet they refused to pay them down before he began the siege, and had made himself master of the counterscarp. Besides, his natural a Jour, now much increased by his late advantage, spurred him on to undertake what seemed above the strength of his army, as if he had been inspired with a presentiment of success, notwithstanding the great difficulty of the enterprise. He resolved, therefore, as the city was of a large circumference, and he had but few men, to shut up all that part with forts and redoubts that lies towards *France*, on this side the river *Scheldt*, which runs thro' the middle of the city, imagining he should be able to supply his want of men by the help of fortifications, as all the forces in his army were not sufficient to occupy a space that extended many miles. That it appeared upon this occasion, as upon many others, that forts and redoubts are not sufficient to hinder those that are determined to pass them, at the risque of exposing themselves to a few cannon shot, except the intervals betwixt them are defended by a proper number of stout and resolute men. The *Condé*, however, sent for four thousand pioneers out of the neighbouring provinces, and having seventy two pieces of cannon of different bores, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and other warlike engines, began with great spirit to block up the city on all sides, but more particularly on that where he thought the *French* most probably would attempt to relieve it. For this purpose, he caused a fort to be raised after the manner of a platform, betwixt *Porte Neuve* and the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, over against that part of the city that faced the south: able to contain a thousand foot, which was called the fort *De Guiargni*, from the name of the bourg close by it: another, almost as large, he ordered to be thrown up, opposite to the place where the river enters the town on the west side, which they distinguished from the other, by the name of the fort *De Premy*, taken likewise from the name of the adjacent bourg: and betwixt these two there were built seventeen redoubts, by way of sentinel boxes, in each of which were twenty five men, the two forts themselves and all the space from one to the other being guarded by the Prince of *Cbimay*, with the forces that had lately arrived from the neighbouring provinces. Besides these posts, another great fort was raised towards the north, below the gates *De Quentimpré* and *Des Selles*, which they called *St. Oloy*, where the Count *De Bie* commanded with a regiment of *Ger-*
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mans. In the space betwixt the *Porte des Selles* and the citadel, which extends from the north to the east, they intended to plant their battery, but principally over against the bastion *De Robert* : and for this purpose they began to mark out trenches, the command of which was given to *Agostino Messia*. The *Condé* himself, with the cavalry of the army and two division of *Walloon*s, was quartered in two little villages in the rear of the fortifications ; and *Ambrosio Landriano*, Lieutenant General of the light horse, posted himself, with four hundred horse and six hundred foot, upon the road that led to *Peronne*, having laid several ambushes in the woods, to attack such as should endeavour to relieve the town, and to obstruct their passage.

After this disposition was made, they began to break ground, under the directions of *Panlotto* the chief engineer, and Colonel *La Berlotte*, men in whom they placed, one for his skill in fortification, and the other for his long experience in all the duties of the military profession. But the work was attended with much more difficulty than was expected : for in the lower place, which were sometimes overflowed by the *Scheld*, they could not dig above the depth of a span before they were interrupted by water ; and the higher parts were so hard, and full of stone, that it cost them much time and labour to make but little progress : and yet the soldiers, who were inured to fatigue, elated with victory, and eager to plunder so rich a city, wrought with such incredible patience and diligence, under the continual inspection either of the *Condé* himself, or of Monsieur *De Rhins*, who encouraged them from time to time with good words, and promises, and gratuities, that on the first of *September* two very large trenches were brought to the edge of the fosse, betwixt the bastion *De Robert* and a raveline in the midst of the curtain. It is certain, that if the besieged had harassed them in carrying on their works, with sallies and counter-batteries, it must have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to have made their approaches : but it was plain to be seen, that Monsieur *De Balagny* was either daunted, or had very little experience in military affairs. For, during the space of ten days, whilst the *Spaniards* were carrying on their works with so much vigour, the besieged lay wholly idle, and did not offer to molest them in any manner whatsoever : and though the young Duke of *Rhetelois*, who, on account of his tender years, suffered himself to be governed, in a great measure, by the advice of others, earnestly endeavoured to persuade them to attempt something, yet he had not weight enough to prevail. So that nothing at all would have been done, even on the very day that the trenches were opened upon the fosse, if he himself had not pointed a culverine, and fired it with some success upon the enemy, for the ball fell into the very mouth of one of their trenches ; by which example, some of his Gentlemen, who were more

1595. active and courageous than the rest, fired many other pieces of cannon, and did some damage to the besiegers.

But the next day Monsieur *De Vic* opportunely arrived, a man of great reputation and experience, who having escaped all the ambushes laid by *Landriano*, drew near the city, on the second of *September* in the morning, with all his men on horseback ; and as the guards of the besiegers which he found there, were but few and thin, he passed betwixt fort and fort, without sustaining any loss, and got safe almost to the walls of the town, not far from the edge of the fosse. But when he thought himself past all danger, he was suddenly attacked in the rear by a body of *Italian* horse, under the command of *Carlo Visconte*, which had advanced on a full gallop towards him : so that, to avoid so imminent a danger, as all the rest of the cavalry were close at his heels, he immediately ordered his men to dismount and abandon their horses to the enemy, who, whilst they were busily employed in securing this booty, gave him and most of his men an opportunity of getting into the fosse : and though the *Spaniards* boldly pursued him thither, yet they could neither do him any damage, nor prevent him (after a long skirmish and several discharges of the artillery) from entering safe into the town. His presence seemed to put life and spirit into the besieged ; for the same night the soldiers, vying with each other who should work hardest, raised two platforms behind the curtain that was now battered by the enemy, and a cavalier at the gorge of the bastion *De Robert*, where they planted many pieces of artillery, which made a furious counter-battery, and did so much mischief to the besiegers, that having their cannon dismounted and spoiled, the carriages broken, and the gabions scattered, the *Spaniards* were disabled from making any farther attempt upon the town for the space of three days. At the same time he caused two mines to be sprung under their principal battery, with such success, that they entirely demolished it, and buried five pieces of the enemies cannon, spoiling and dismounting all the rest. Nor did he omit, at the same time, to make some sallies when there was a proper opportunity, tho' there were so many places to be guarded continually, that he could not do it often, nor with any great number of men.

So gallant a defence, however, did not hinder Colonel *La Berlotte*, who had the principal charge of the siege, from carrying on his approaches, under the shelter of gabions rather than trenches, though with the loss of many men, till he had at last advanced near enough to attempt the counterscarp : but he found it of such a height, that his men were forced to make use of ladders to go down into the fosse, which appeared exceedingly dangerous : for the flank of the bastion *De Robert*, and a casemate, that was just finished in the fosse, fired briskly, from both sides, upon those

that were hardy enough to come to the ladders: so that it was necessary to raise another battery of five culverins, with which, when it was finished, he played furiously upon the flank of the bastion *De Robert*: whilst the casemate was desperately assaulted for four days together, and an infinite quantity of fireworks thrown in, to make himself master of it. But the besieged were now grown so resolute, that it proved a very difficult matter to possess himself of the casemate: and in the flank of the bastion, Monsieur *De Vic* had caused five pieces of cannon to be planted so low, that it was not possible by any means to silence them. The commanders, therefore, resolved to remove the battery to a lower place, near the *Porte des Selles*, where the whole camp worked with so much eagerness, that in two days they planted twenty two pieces of cannon against the curtain, and six large culverins against the flank of the bastion, which soon disconcerted it, and made it extremely dangerous for the guard that was there to stay in it any longer. Almost at the same time Colonel *La Berlotte*, having made his approach by the two other trenches, advanced under cover close to the casemate, which he presently forced the besieged to quit: so that the fosse being now cleared, he began to fire afresh with his artillery, and ordered the army to get ready to make an assault.

The *Condé de Fuentes*, however, was much alarmed, when he heard that the Duke of *Nevers* had staid at *Peronne*, and assembled above four thousand foot and betwixt seven and eight hundred horse there, with which he made no doubt but he would endeavour to relieve the city, especially as there was so dear a stake in it as his own son. Wherefore, having caused all the avenues to be cut off and blocked up, he ordered another large fort to be raised at the entrance into the plain, where he placed *Gaston Spinola* with a thousand foot: so that the whole army was posted in such an advantageous manner, that they were ready for action upon the least alarm: and the town was so inclosed with forts and bodies of infantry betwixt them, flanked by troops of horse, and with field pieces in their front, that it was almost impossible for the enemy to break through, without exposing themselves to extreme danger, or coming immediately to a battle. But after all these precautions against the attack which he apprehended from the Duke of *Nevers*, the Count was likewise in very great want of money: for the neighbouring provinces, it seems, had been much more ready to promise than able to perform, and could raise but one half of the sum they had engaged for, most of which he had been forced to distribute amongst the soldiers that had mutinied at *Liramount*, in order to quiet them, and bring them back to his camp: and the court of *Spain* being very slow (according to its custom) in sending him supplies, he was reduced to very great distress, and could not tell how to maintain his army, which being altogether employed, either in carrying
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1595. on the approaches, or guarding the forts, could not make excursions to support itself in the country, though at that time of the year the fields were full of all manner of fruits and provisions, necessary for the sustenance both of men and horses. Besides, the prosecution of the siege seemed likely to be attended with so many difficulties and dangers, especially when the strength of the town, the number and valour of the inhabitants, and the vigilance and experience of Monsieur *De Vic* were considered, that several were of opinion, it would be the most prudent way to raise the siege, and not to throw themselves away in so hopeless an undertaking, nor to stay till the King of *France* came upon them, who, having been victorious in *Burgundy*, was now advancing, as every one knew, towards *Picardy*.

But in the midst of these difficulties things took a very strange and unexpected turn. The inhabitants of *Cambray*, long accustomed to live under the gentle government of their Archbishops, bore the dominion of Marshal *De Balagny* with great impatience, and their disgust increased much more after the King of *France* had converted that government into a principality, and granted it in fee to *Balagny*, whose haughty and covetous disposition very much enflamed the discontent of the citizens. This was still heightened by the insupportable behaviour of Madam *De Balagny*, the Marshal's lady, who, being joined with him in the investiture, not only ruled her husband just as she pleased, but had reduced the city in general to despair, by her extortion, rapine, womanish insolence, and extreme ill treatment of every kind: so that when the *Spanish* army began to draw near those quarters, the people, under a pretence of sending to solicit the King for relief, had dispatched two of their most eminent citizens to him, who offered, that if his Majesty would deprive *Balagny* of his dominion over the city, and annex it to the Crown of *France* again, they would pay the garrison at their own charge, and defend it, in case it should be besieged by the *Spaniards*, in such a manner, that his Majesty should be at no kind of trouble or expence at all about it: which request being rejected by means of Madame *De Gabriel*, of whom the King was passionately enamoured, the Deputies returned and made such a representation of the affair to their fellow citizens, that from despair they were wound up to the highest degree of rage and resentment. In this state of disaffection they were when the siege began, by which also they were much distressed; and Monsieur *De Balagny* was so entirely destitute of money, that he took a resolution to coin certain pieces of copper, which he commanded every one, by a proclamation, to receive without demur, and promised to change them when the siege was at an end. But as many refused to accept that sort of money, because they could not be certain what might be the event of the siege, and at the same

same time put but little confidence in *Balagny's* promises, he and his wife were forced to use many violent methods to cause their decree to be obeyed: upon which, the people now grown frantick, took an opportunity, after a breach was made (whilst all the soldiers were employed at different places upon the wall) and running furiously to arms, first made themselves masters of the main square, where there was a guard of two hundred *Swiss*, and then of the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, which, being furthest removed from danger, was but weakly guarded. After this they immediately dispatched two of the principal citizens to treat of a surrender with the *Spaniards* upon certain conditions: and these Deputies happening to fall into the quarters of the Prince of *Avellino*, were sent directly by him to the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being assured by the Prince, that the citizens had actually made themselves masters of the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, gave orders for the batteries to cease firing, and began to treat with the Deputies.

In this interval, Monsieur *De Vic* having heard the uproar, was come into the main square, where he endeavoured to appease the tumult, and quiet the citizens with good words and earnest exhortations, since it was impossible to quell them by force, as there was such a multitude of them, all well armed and thoroughly provoked, and, which was of still more importance, not only already in possession of all the streets, but of one of the gates also, by which they might let in the whole *Spanish* army as soon as they pleased. But his exhortations had no effect at all; so that he was obliged to accommodate himself to the necessity of the time, advising them to be upon their guard against the *Spaniards*, and to beware of exposing the city to the danger of being sacked, which had often happened to those that neglected their defence whilst they were capitulating. This he did only to prolong the time, that so he might have an opportunity of retiring with his men into the citadel. After him Madam *De Balagny* made her appearance, and harangued the people for a considerable time, in a masculine and spirited manner: but her presence served rather to increase than appease the tumult; so that the garrison was hardly got into the citadel, when the citizens opened the gate which they were in possession of. The Deputies indeed had returned just before, with a copy of the capitulation, signed by the *Condé de Fuentes*: the substance of which was, "That the city should not be plundered, but have a general pardon for every thing that was past: That the citizens should enjoy their ancient privileges, and be governed by their Archbishop as they had been formerly:" which articles being accepted by the people, *Gastone Spinola* and Count *Giovanni Giacomo Belgioioso* immediately entered the city with three hundred horse, and being followed by *Agostino Messia*, with the *Spanish* foot, they took possession of the place without molesting or annoying any

1595. of the inhabitants. The same night the Archbishop and the *Condé de Fuentes* made their entry, and were received with the highest demonstrations of honour by the citizens, who were overjoyed to see themselves delivered, after so long a course of tyranny, insolence, and oppression, and re-established in their ancient privileges and form of government.

In the mean while the *French*, who had retired into the citadel, in hopes of being able to defend it a considerable time, soon perceived that it was impracticable; for upon searching the magazines of corn and other provisions, they found there was hardly sufficient to support them two days. This unexpected deficiency was entirely owing to the avarice and imprudence of *Madam De Balagny*, who, without the knowledge of her husband, had sold all that had been laid up in the publick store-houses: so that when the *Condé* sent to summon the garrison to surrender before he planted his artillery, and they saw it was impossible to maintain the place, they (to the astonishment of every one that did not know the cause, and particularly of the *Condé* himself) offered to give up the citadel upon certain conditions that were demanded by them, which the *Condé* granted in an honourable manner, out of regard, as he pretended, to the youth of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, and to the valour and reputation of *Monfieur De Vic*: but in reality, to prevent any further difficulties that might occur in the reduction of the citadel, which he was glad to get into his hands at any rate.

The conditions were, “ That the citadel should be delivered up to the *Condé de Fuentes*, with all the artillery and ammunition belonging to it: and that, on the other hand, he should be obliged to cause the castle of *Clery*, which he had taken but a little while before, to be dismantled in the space of six days. That the Duke of *Rhetelois*, the Marshal *De Balagny*, *Monfieur De Vic*, and all the other Lords, Commanders, Gentlemen, and soldiers, of what nation soever, should be allowed to march out in rank and file with their colours flying, matches lighted, and ball in their mouth, for which purpose, those colours should be restored to them that had been left in the city, and that they should proceed in their march with trumpets sounding and drums beating: That the arms, horses, and baggage belonging to the soldiers, which they had left behind them in the city, should be returned: and, if any thing was wanting, the value of it should be paid in money, at a price agreed upon betwixt *Monfieur De Rbofnè* and *Colonel Messia* on one side, and *Monfieurs De Buy* and *De Vic* on the other.* That *Madam De Balagny*, likewise, with all the other women, the sick and wounded men, attendants and servants of any person whatsoever, should be at liberty to go out without molestation. That all prisoners should be released without ransom. That the debts contracted by *Monfieur De Balagny*, whether on account of the copper money

money or any other occasion, should be remitted, and that he should not be molested nor his baggage seized for them. And, lastly, that whatsoever had been done in times past by the said Marshal, his wife, sons, officers, and servants, should be forgiven and forgot, neither should any of them hereafter be called to account, either by his Catholick Majesty or the citizens of *Cambray*.”

These articles were signed on the 7th of *October*, and executed on the 9th, on which day they all marched out in the order and manner that had been agreed upon, and took the road towards *Peronne*: except *Madam De Balagny*, who, not being able to bear the thoughts of losing the principality, added to the recollection of her own improvidence, which had obliged them to give up the citadel, was so full of grief and despair, that she fell sick, and, refusing to take not only medicines, but any kind of food, died in a miserable manner, before the time appointed for their quitting the place.

The *Condé de Fuentes* having thus fortunately gained so many signal victories, and acquired infinite reputation every where, now seeing his men tired out and disordered by their late hard duty and labour, and being very much distressed for money to discharge their arrears, resolved to divide his army and quarter it in several different places: especially as the rains that usually fall in autumn were now coming on, and the King of *France* was daily expected in *Picardy* with his victorious army. For these reasons, having left five hundred *Spanish* foot in the citadel of *Cambray*, under the command of *Agostino Messia*, and two thousand *German* foot to defend the town, he gave the Archbishop a commission to govern it in the same manner that it formerly had been governed, before it fell into the hands of the Duke of *Alençon*: after which, he distributed the rest of his infantry into the towns of *Artois*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*, and went himself to *Brussels*, just as the King of *France* was come, with the utmost expedition, to *Compiègne*, where he heard, with infinite regret, of the losses and sufferings of his party, which filled not only that province, but even the *Parisians*, with terror and dismay, when they saw the *Spaniards* making so victorious a progress in a country so near them.

Such was the course of the war betwixt the *French* and the *Spaniards* upon the confines of *Flanders*, which was no less favourable this year to the same party in the province of *Bretagne*, though it was still carried on in the name of the League. For the Duke *De Mercœur*, notwithstanding there was no very great cordiality betwixt him and the *Spaniards*, yet availed himself of their assistance in things that concerned their common interests, and held the principal places and the greater part of the Noblesse of the province at his devotion: by which he prevented the Marshal *D'Almont* and Monsieur *De St. Luc*, who commanded the King's

1595. party there, from making any considerable progress: for though they were continually employed in incursions and other enterprises of small moment, with various success, yet, upon the whole, fortune was so favourable to the Duke, that he had in a manner reduced all the province into his power; which was the more easily effected by him, as the Marshal *D'Aumont*, whilst he threw away his time and endeavours to no purpose in besieging the castle of *Comper*, a prodigious strong place, was wounded under the left elbow with a musket-ball, which broke both the bones in such a manner that he died soon after, and was succeeded in that command by Monsieur *De St. Luc*, who, though a cavalier of exceeding great valour, yet had neither sufficient rank nor personal authority to support the King's affairs, in the declining condition they seemed to be in that province, with the same reputation that the Marshal had done. Besides, as the King had lately conferred the dignity of Marshal upon Monsieur *De Lavardine*, which *St. Luc* expected should have been conferred upon himself, he was so disgusted that he grew cool in his interests, and did not act with the same spirit and vigour that he used to do: so that his Majesty thought proper to send for him to his own camp, and give him hopes of rising to those honours that seemed due to his merit; by which changes the military operations proceeded but slowly, and with small success on that side.

But if the party of the League gained some ground in *Bretagne*, they met with so many misfortunes in *Dauphinè*, that they were almost utterly ruined there. The Duke of *Nemours* was in possession of *Vienne*, a city in that province, whither he had retired after the loss of *Lyons*, and having put a strong garrison of *French* horse and *Italian* foot into that place and the castle of *Pipet*, which was not far from it, he harassed all the country round *Lyons*, infesting the roads and obstructing the commerce, which that trading city carries on with the neighbouring provinces: so that he had alarmed the inhabitants, by his continual depredations, to such a degree, that they had petitioned the King at the beginning of the year to send them such relief as might be sufficient to deliver them out of the distressful circumstances to which they were reduced. The King, therefore, who was at that time so fully employed in *Burgundy*, that he could not go to their assistance himself, ordered the Duke of *Montmorancy*, whom he had lately created High Constable, to march out of *Languedoc* to defend the city and territories of *Lyons* against the Duke of *Nemours*. But whilst he was preparing to do so, the Duke of *Nemours*, finding he was not able to make head against him with his own forces only, resolved to apply to the Duke of *Savoy* and the Constable of *Castile* for succours: and, in order to hasten them, he went in person to *Turin* and *Milan*, leaving the *Sieur De Disemieux*, a Colonel of foot, and a person in whom he

he very much confided, to command his forces and govern the town of *Vienne*. In the mean time, the High Constable, *Montmorancy*, arriving much sooner than the Duke expected, joined his forces with those of *Alphonso Corso*, and began to act with great vigour and success against the enemy: upon which, *Disemieux*, either inclining to follow the current of fortune (as the generality of mankind are wont to do) or thinking himself not strong enough to make any effectual resistance, secretly agreed to deliver up *Vienne* to the Constable, provided the Duke of *Nemours's* forces might be suffered to march out of it without molestation, and retire into *Savoy*. And that he might put his design in execution the more effectually, and prevent any opposition from the officers of the garrison or town, he first privately gave up the castle of *Pipet* to *Alphonso Corso*, and then, having sent to desire the Constable would immediately advance to one of the gates of the town, which was guarded only by such as he had entrusted with the secret, he acquainted the Captains of the garrison that the enemy was at the gates, that he had delivered up the castle, and agreed to receive them into the town, upon condition, that the Duke's forces should be allowed to march out of it without having any violence offered to them: at which sudden and unexpected event the officers were so terrified and confounded, especially when they saw the danger so imminent, and the gate already opened to the Constable, that they accepted of a safe conduct, and retired unmolested to the confines of *Savoy*. All the other towns followed the example of *Vienne*: so that when the Duke of *Nemours* returned out of *Italy*, not finding any place to take shelter in, he retired to *Anicy*, a town of his own patrimony, where he was so overpowered with despair, that he fell into a grievous sickness, which put an end to his life in the autumn of this year.

The whole province of *Dauphinè* being thus reduced into the King's power, there seemed to be every where a cessation of arms, except in *Piedmont*: for Monsieur *Les Diguieres* having passed the *Alpes*, had begun a war there, which, though attended with various success on both sides (as there ensued many sharp encounters betwixt them, that were rendered still more bloody by the situation of the places where they happened) yet proved very detrimental in the main to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose country was the seat of action.

The affairs of the League were not at all in a better condition in *Gascony* and *Languedoc*: for though the Duke of *Joyeuse* (who after his brother's death had quitted the cloyster of Capuchins, and taken up arms to maintain that government) took much pains to keep the Noblesse united, under a pretence of waiting for the determination of the court of *Rome*: yet numbers of them, being tired of the war, and dispirited by so many misfortunes as had befallen their party, daily came over to the King's; and

1595. the Parliament of *Tbolouſe* was ſo divided, that part of the Counſellors, after they had declared for the King, left the city and retired to *Chateau Sarrazin*, where they were ſupported by the Duke of *Ventadour*, the Conſtable's Lieutenant in the government of *Languedoc*, and the Marſhal *De Matignon*, Governor of *Guyenne*, in ſo effectual a manner, that they rekindled a vigorous war. But fortune and the general diſpoſition of the people now inclining to favour the King's cauſe, the city of *Rhodes*, in the firſt place, with many caſtles and towns depending upon it, ſubmitted to his Maſteſty: after which, *Narbonne* and *Carcaddon* alſo, two of the principal towns that adhered to the League, raiſed an inſurrection and revolted from that party. So that the Duke of *Foyeuſe* was in a manner ſhut up within the walls of *Tbolouſe*, and had no other hope left but that of an accommodation, which was earneſtly laboured by Preſident *Jean-nine* in the name of the whole body of the League: for the Duke of *Mayenne*, who retired to *Châlons* after the King's abſolution was publiſhed (which he had firmly reſolved to wait for, though his own affairs ſuffered much by it) that he might ſhew the world that the ſole end of all his actions was the preſervation of the Catholick religion, and that no kind of adverſity had ever been able to make him ſwerve from his obedience to the Pope, having now no longer any objection, was determined to conclude the treaty of agreement, in which, as head of the League, he made a cautionary provision for all thoſe that ſhould be diſpoſed to follow him.

In the proſecution of this treaty two impediments occurred, which ſeemed exceeding hard to be removed: one was the imment debt that had been contracted by the Duke of *Mayenne*, not only in many places, and with many merchants of the kingdom of *France*, but alſo in *Switzerland*, *Germany*, and *Lorrain*, to raiſe and ſupport his armies. For the Duke inſiſting that the King ſhould diſcharge it, and his Maſteſty not being in a capacity to do ſo at that time, it was a very difficult matter to ſettle that point, as the Duke was reſolved his own eſtate ſhould not be ſubjected to the payment, and his creditors would not conſent either to transfer or wait any longer for what they had truſted him with, but demanded it in ready money. The other obſtacle was, the commemoration of the late King's death: for as all the treaties and decrees made in favour of thoſe of the League that had ſubmitted to the King, conſtantly included pardon and oblivion of all paſt offences, except the murder of *Henry* the third (which had always been expreſſly excepted) the Duke of *Mayenne* was deſirous to have ſome expedient found, by which he might not appear to have been the author of it, nor be ſubject to any inquiſition that might hereafter be made concerning that matter, leſt an occaſion ſhould be taken ſome time or other to revenge paſt injuries. It was almoſt im-
poſſible,

possible, therefore, to get over this difficulty: for not only the King ^{1595.} thought it very unjustifiable to suffer the memory and authors of so atrocious a fact, and so dreadful an example of attempting the persons of Kings, to escape with impunity and oblivion: but the Parliament also would not bear to hear of it; and it was most certain, that the Queen Dowager, who had often demanded justice, would strenuously oppose it.

These two difficulties prevented the conclusion of the treaty of accommodation, which had been set on foot in *Burgundy*, and the King being obliged to go with all speed into *Picardy*, took President *Jeanne* along with him, to continue the negociation. But as they had come to no conclusion during the journey, much less could it be done when they arrived at *Paris*: for the dangers occasioned by the *Spanish* war were so imminent, that both the King himself and all his Ministers were in great anxiety, and forced to turn their labours and attention upon other objects. The President, therefore, resolved to follow the army into *Picardy*, whither the King was marching to relieve *Cambray*: but the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of it in so short a time, that relief was now too late. Upon which, the King retired to *Folambray* (a house of pleasure, built by *Francis* the first for the convenience of hunting) and from thence sent for his Council to him, that they might maturely consider and digest whatsoever related to the treaty of peace with the Duke of *Mayenne*. After much deliberation and debate there, many obstacles and impediments occurring in every article, it seemed highly necessary to send for the depositions that had been taken by the Parliament concerning the King's death, and likewise for some of the Presidents and Counsellors of that court, to see what degree of proof they contained, and be able to determine what course would be best to take in this affair. When the examinations were produced and the matter came to be considered, there was not proof enough indeed to found a process upon against any one, yet, from many concurring circumstances, several were suspected of being guilty. And though neither the Queen Dowager, as plaintiff, had yet sent in the particulars of her accusation, nor the Parliament made any thorough enquiry into the affair, yet it was thought, as neither the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, nor any of his family, at that time, appeared to have been actually concerned in the fact, there was a sufficient excuse for agreeing to some expedient that might serve to clear his reputation, and at the same time to free him from the apprehension of any future inquisition: so that after a consultation, that lasted many days, betwixt the High Chancellor, the first President *Harley*, the *Sieur De Villeroy*, the Count *De Schomberg*, and President *Jeanne*, it was at last determined, That a clause should be inserted in a decree, which the King should cause to be published

1595. published and registered in the Parliament, setting forth, that his Majesty having ordered the process which had been instituted upon the death of the late King, to be revised in the presence of himself, the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Crown, no proof of guilt had been found against the Duke of *Mayenne*, nor any other Prince or Princess of his family: and that, as he had been desirous, for his further satisfaction, to hear what they had to say in exculpation of themselves, they had all solemnly sworn, that they were not in the least concerned in or privy to that murder, but, on the contrary, that if they had known of any such design, they would have opposed the execution of it: upon which account, his Majesty thereby publickly declared the Duke of *Mayenne*, and all the other Princes and Princesses his adherents, to be innocent of that fact, strictly prohibiting his Attorney-General for the time being, to set on foot any process against them thereafter, and likewise forbidding all other officers and lawyers to concern themselves any further in the matter.

The difficulty relating to the payment of the Duke of *Mayenne's* debts, was also got over at last: for the King secretly promised to give him four hundred and twenty thousand crowns, to discharge such sums as were owing to private persons; and as for the debt contracted for the raising and supporting his forces, the King gave his own security for it, and transferred it to the account of the Crown, forbidding every one to molest either the Duke or his estate upon that occasion. It was likewise resolved, though not without some opposition, that the treaty of peace should be concluded with the Duke of *Mayenne* solely, as head of his party; to which the King had objected at first, in consideration of the great number of those that had come voluntarily and separately over to him, and chiefly out of regard to *Paris* and the other principal cities: and, on the contrary, the Duke of *Mayenne* obstinately insisted upon this point being given up, for his own honour and the reputation of his name.

The King then consented to give him three places for his security, namely, *Soissons*, *Châlons*, and *Scure*, the full command over which he was to enjoy for the space of six years, and after that term to restore them. He confirmed all the collations to offices and benefices that had been vacated by death, during the time that he had been head of the League, on condition that the possessors should take out fresh patents for them under the Great Seal. He granted a general pardon for all past delinquencies, such as treating with foreign Princes, raising money, levying taxes and imposts, assembling armies, demolishing or building fortresses and towns; acts of hostility, assassinations, and particularly that of the Marquis *De Menelay*, who was killed by Lieutenant *Magny* at *La Fere*:

Fere: and, finally, for whatever had happened during the whole course of the war, of which honourable mention was made, declaring and certifying it to have been undertaken and carried on purely for the defence of the Catholick religion. He made the Duke of *Mayenne* Governor of the isle of *France*, and superintendant of the finances, and conferred on his son the government of *Challons* upon the *Soane*, which he separated from that of *Burgundy*. He included all those in the capitulation that should follow his example, and return to their duty and allegiance, particularly, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Marquis *De Villars*, the Sieur *De Montpezat* (which two last were sons-in-law to the Duke of *Mayenne*) the Sieurs *De l'Esstrange*, *De St. Offange*, *Du Pleffis*, and *De la Severie*, who were Governors of *Puy*, *Rocheport*, *Craon*, and *Ganache*. He suspended the execution of the sentences past upon the Dukes of *Merceaur* and *Aumale*, till he saw whether they desired to be comprehended in the accommodation, granting to each of them, not only an indemnity for what was past, but the free enjoyment of their estates, offices, and honours, provided they took the benefit of this capitulation, and acceded to the peace, within the space of six weeks.

Upon these conditions, and several others of less importance, a peace was concluded with the Duke of *Mayenne*. But it was far from an easy matter to get this decree accepted in the Parliament of *Paris*: for though the King himself had strictly forbid the Queen Dowager's agents to oppose the publication of it, yet there was a powerful opposition raised by *Diana de Valois*, Duchefs of *Angoulesme*, and natural sister to the late King, who, coming personally into the Parliament, presented a petition, written and signed by her own hand, in which she protested against the confirmation of the decree, and insisted upon a more particular enquiry into the murder of King *Henry* the third. This had such an effect upon the court, as most of the Counsellors had either been so created by that King, or grievously injured by the League, that they would not accept the decree: and though the King severely reprimanded the Parliament in several very sharp letters that he wrote to them, and declared, that since the accomplishment of the publick peace and welfare required that the decree should be registered, his will and command was, that it should be accepted: yet even this was not sufficient to alter the resolution of the Counsellors. At last, however, they came to a determination, that the decree should be published, but upon these two conditions: in the first place, That it should be of no prejudice to the right of the Duke of *Mayenne's* creditors: and in the next, That the Duke himself should be obliged to come into the Parliament, and there publickly take an oath, that he had not been in any wise accessory to the murder of the late King, that he detested the fact, and that he would not screen, protect, or favour any one that should

hereafter

1595. hereafter be called to an account for it. This stubbornness in the Counsellors so provoked the King, that he sent them word, in an angry and resentful sort of a manner, "That it behoved them to take care how they obliged him to leave the superintendence of the war, and to be at the trouble of coming personally to the Parliament: that he was their King, and would be obeyed." But little regard was paid to this message: for though they agreed to accept the decree, yet it was done in such a manner, and with such clauses, as should sufficiently make it appear, that their consent was the effect of necessity and the King's express command: which being neither agreeable to his Majesty nor the Duke of *Mayenne*, the High Chancellor was sent to *Paris*, where, after a long and pathetic speech, in which he shewed them, how necessary their compliance with his Majesty's demands was for the good of the kingdom and the re-establishment of publick tranquillity, they were at last prevailed upon to accept the decree, without any clauses or restrictions.

The Duke of *Mayenne's* example was followed, not only by those that were specified in the capitulation, but separately also by the Marquis *De St. Sorlin*, the city and parliament of *Tholouse*, and all the rest that had formerly adhered to the party of the League, except the Duke of *Aumale*, who had gone over to the *Spaniards*, and being highly exasperated at the sentence passed upon him this year by the Parliament (in which he was declared a rebel) utterly refused to submit to the King. The Duke of *Merceur* also signified an inclination, by means of his sister the Queen Dowager, to come into the agreement; but as he was still buoyed up with hopes of being able to keep possession of the duchy of *Bretagne*, by the assistance of the *Spaniards*, he deferred his determination for a while.

In the mean time, whilst the different terms of these accommodations were examined and discussed in the Council, the King, exceedingly chagrined at his late misfortunes, and desirous by some means or other to repair the losses he had sustained, which seemed to be chiefly owing to his long stay at *Lyons*, and the disgust he had given to the citizens of *Cambray*, by paying so little regard to their petition, was continually meditating with himself, and consulting with his commanders, what new enterprise he should go upon. The Duke of *Nevers*, sometime before, had formed a design of making an attempt upon some one of the towns, in the county of *Artois*, belonging to the crown of *Spain*, not only to ravage his Catholick Majesty's dominions, in the same manner that the *Spaniards* had done the kingdom of *France*: but also because he imagined the inhabitants of that country were enervated by long peace, and had suffered their fortifications in a great measure to fall to decay: for which reasons he had advised the King to march thither with all the forces he could raise,

and

and endeavour to surprize *Arras*, or some other place of importance in those parts, as he thought the *Condé de Fuentes*, who was often distressed by the mutinies and discords that happened amongst troops of so many different nations as he had under his command, and reduced to extreme want of money, would not be able to reassemble his army soon enough to relieve the place that should be assaulted. But the Duke of *Nevers* being seized with a long and grievous sickness, of which he died at *Nesle*, this design, which chiefly depended upon the reputation of it's author, was entirely laid aside: for the other commanders thought it too dangerous an undertaking to attack an enemy in the very heart of his country, where all the towns were strong and full of people; especially at a time when they were much wanted at home, now they had lost so many towns, and whilst the *Spanish* garrisons over-ran the whole country, and kept it in continual terror and alarm.

But if they were unanimous in their opinions, that it would be very imprudent to invade the enemies country, they did not agree so well in fixing upon any particular place, of all those that were lost, to make an attempt upon: for some thought it most adviseable to endeavour to recover *Cambray*, whilst the King's forces were fresh and in good spirits, and before the *Spaniards* had thoroughly established themselves there, by repairing the breaches that had lately been made; but the King's army was so small, that this, upon further consideration, was judged impracticable, as a much greater force was requisite to invest a city of so large a circumference, which was also very strongly fortified and well garrisoned. Others said, it would be much better to begin with *Dourlans*, in order to distress *Cambray*, as the *Spaniards* had done: to which it was objected, that the strength of the place, and the vigilance of the Governor, *Hernando Portocarrero*, were such, that no success could be expected from that undertaking. At last, the opinion of the Marshal *De Biron* and Monsieur *De St. Luc* prevailed, the latter of whom was just come to the camp, to take upon him the command of the artillery, in the room of Monsieur *De la Guicke*, lately made Governor of *Lyons*. They advised his Majesty to lay siege to *La Fere*, a place of very great importance, but shut up in such a manner by the marshes, that almost surround it, that there were only two ways by which it was possible to make any approach, so that if those two avenues were blocked up, with a fort at the entrance of each of them, the town might be distressed to such a degree, even by a small number of forces, that, if it could not be reduced by force, it must soon be obliged to surrender for want of provisions.

The King therefore resolved to follow this advice: for which purpose he assembled his forces, which were quartered in different places of the province, and made a sudden march towards *La Fere*, on the eighth of

1595. *November*, with five thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. As soon as he arrived near the town, he immediately took possession of the avenues, and having obliged the people of the country round about to come in to work, in a few days raised two forts, each of them able to contain a thousand men, which, being well provided with artillery, totally blocked up the passages to the town: the rest of the foot were obliged, on account of the season, to lie in a large village on the edge of the marsh, and the horse took up their quarters in the villages on the north side of the town, towards *Flanders*, to prevent any relief from thence. Don *Alvaro Osorio*, an old experienced officer, commanded in *La Fere*: for the Vice-Senechal *De Montelimar*, who was entrusted with the government of it by the Duke of *Mayenne*, by little and little had given it up to the *Spaniards*, reserving only the revenue of the place, and the title of Count *De Fere*: for which he was liberally rewarded, first by the Archduke *Ernest*, and afterwards by the *Condé de Fuentes*. There was great plenty of ammunition and warlike stores in the place: for all that had not been expended by his Catholick Majesty's different armies, which had been in *France* of late years, was constantly left there: and there was a garrison of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans*, more than sufficient for the defence of it. But so great a number was rather an inconvenience than otherwise: for it increased the scarcity of provisions, of which there was but a small quantity in the town, as the King's approach was so sudden, that they had not time to lay in any: so that the forts being raised, and both passages to the town entirely shut up, the inhabitants began to feel the want of them from the very first day of the siege.

About this time *Albert* Cardinal of *Austria*, appointed Governor of the Low Countries by his Catholick Majesty, was come to *Brussels*, and having taken upon him the administration of affairs, and the command of the army in the room of the *Condé de Fuentes*, he began to consider by what means he might best support the *Spanish* arms in that high degree of reputation, to which his predecessor had victoriously advanced them, and attained himself in the course of a few months: and as repeated letters from Don *Alvaro*, represented the great want of provisions at *La Fere*, in the very beginning of the siege, he determined in the first place to attempt the relief of that place. But that was a very difficult undertaking: for the army, which had suffered much, and was tired out with the hard duty of the last summer, was divided and sent into winter quarters at several different places, where the soldiers often ran into tumults for want of pay; amongst whom the *Italian* cavalry mutinied afresh, and were gone again to seize upon *Lirament*: in another place *Gastone Spinola's* division of *Sicilians* had done the same, and two battalions of *Spaniards*, having likewise thrown off their obedience, quartered themselves at discretion in plentiful and

and advantageous places: the *Walloons* also, though they did not openly mutiny, yet refused to stir out of their quarters, till they had received all the arrears that were due to them: so that before the merchants were able to furnish the Cardinal with money for the bills of exchange which he had brought with him, and the soldiers could be paid and satisfied, much time must necessarily be spent, and therefore an army could not be drawn together sufficient for that or any other enterprize. Besides, the season was so rainy, and otherwise so adverse, that it was not possible to move with a body of men, properly furnished with artillery, ammunition, and other military provisions: and to make an incursion to the very centre of one of the enemy's provinces, at a time when the fields afforded no sustenance either for men or horses, and the produce of the late harvest was consumed by the ruinous war that had been already carried on there, seemed to be too rash an undertaking, considering the difficulty of supporting the army there, and the danger of being surprised and cut off by the vigilance of the King of *France*. These impediments, great indeed in themselves, appeared much more so to the Cardinal, who was not accustomed to such sort of expeditions: it was determined, therefore, in council, after long debate, that *Nicolo Basti* should march with part of the light horse into *Picardy*, and attempt to throw some quantity of provision into *La Fere*, upon which the besieged might subsist till the season grew more favourable, and the affairs of *Flanders* would allow him to give them more effectual assistance.

With these preparations and designs, ended the year one thousand five hundred and ninety five, leaving many seeds of future war, and bloody battles to be ripened in the course of the next: in the beginning of which, the first event that happened worthy of notice, was the recovery of *Marseilles*, a city and port in *Provence* of the utmost importance, situated upon the coast of the *Mediterranean*. This city, enriched by the profits of merchandise, and full of inhabitants, enjoys many considerable privileges and immunities, granted at the time that they were subject to the Counts of *Provence*, and afterwards amply confirmed when they came under the dominion of the Crown of *France*: the principal of which is, that the citizens themselves chuse a Consul, who, with the assistance of a Vice-consul, appointed by himself, without any other suffrage, entirely governs the affairs of the town, keeps the keys of the gates, and has the care of defending both the town and port. And this prerogative, which looks more like absolute liberty, than any kind of subjection, the *Marseillians* have at all times maintained and preserved with a spirit peculiar to them, not admitting any sort of garrison, and governing themselves by laws and customs adapted to a mercantile and sea-faring people, of which two sorts the inhabitants chiefly consist.

At the beginning of the League, this city was drawn over to that party by the authority of Monsieur *De Vins*, and the influence of the Consul and his Vice-consul, whom they had found means to gain : and though it first received the Duke of *Savoy*, at the instigation of the Countess *De Saux*, and soon after excluded him again, out of a jealousy that its liberties were in danger : and notwithstanding the Count *De Carfes* and the Marquis *De Villers* had often been admitted into it, for it's further security and defence, yet it had always preserved its own constitution, and kept itself independent on any foreign jurisdiction. In the beginning of the war *Charles Casaut* was elected their Consul, and appointed *Lewis de Aix* his Vice-consul, who being men of great subtlety, and of a bold and enterprising spirit, agreed so well together, and gained such an authority over the people, that they were continued in their offices for many years successively, by which they had made themselves in a great measure absolute lords over the city, and governed it as they pleased. But when the affairs of the League were upon the decline, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety, these men, knowing themselves hated and envied by the greater part of the principal citizens, and apprehensive of being called to account for the mal-administration with which their consciences reproached them, resolved to side with the *Spaniards*, in order to maintain themselves in their government, and for that purpose had entered into a treaty with his Catholick Majesty, about delivering up the city to him ; and, as it was sufficiently obvious to that Prince of what vast advantage and importance it would be to his own dominions, on account of its strength, riches, and situation, he ordered *Carlo Doria* to sail thither from *Genoa*, with ten gallies, well manned and armed, as if he was going to *Spain*, and to favour and assist their designs in such a manner, that when they saw themselves supported by his forces, they might the more effectually prevail upon the people to put themselves under the government and protection of the *Spaniards*. These orders were executed with such diligence and address by *Doria*, and every thing now so well adjusted, that his Catholick Majesty thought himself sure of succeeding in his design ; especially as it was coloured over with many specious prettexts, one of which was, that the county of *Provence* in particular belonged to the Infanta *Isabella*, exclusive of the right which she claimed to the kingdom of *France* in general.

The King of *France*, suspecting that the forces which were raising in *Spain* and *Italy*, and the equipping so large a squadron of ships by his Catholick Majesty, were designed for some such purpose, and that the *Condé de Fuentes* and the Duke of *Pastrana*, who had entirely left the Low Countries, in order to go to *Genoa*, had been sent thither on purpose to superintend these preparations, was exceedingly mortified that he could not

turn his forces that way, and sent orders to Monsieur *De Oſſat*, to complain of these proceedings to the Pope, and to acquaint him, that if his Holiness did not find some means to divert the design of them, he should be obliged to call the *Turk* to his assistance in the *Mediterranean*. Which message being punctually delivered by *De Oſſat*, the Pope was so affected with it, that, either out of fear or anger, he turned pale, and earnestly remonstrated against such a manner of proceeding: however, upon *De Oſſat's* representing to him, that if *Marseilles*, and the other cities of *Provence*, should fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*, *Avignon* also, and several other places belonging to his Holiness, would be in danger, he promised to use his endeavours to quash that attempt. This complaint was seconded by the *Venetian* and *Florentine* Ambassadors, who suggested, that the *Spanish* monarchy would become too powerful and formidable, if it got possession of that city and port, which were of so great importance, and so near *Italy*: so that the Pope, after much consultation, resolved that Cardinal *Joyeuse*, who was returning into *France*, should go by *Marseilles*, and make use of his name to dissuade *Casaut* from any such attempt. But this had little effect: for though the Cardinal used his utmost endeavours, yet *Casaut*, who was a man of spirit, and more resolute than prudent, could not be prevailed upon to desist from the design he had formed; upon which account, the Grand Duke and the *Venetian* Senate began to think of some more effectual means to oppose it, nor was the Pope averse to their intention. But the execution of it was prevented, either by the King's usual good fortune, or the courage and vigilance of his ministers.

He had lately conferred the government of that province upon the Duke of *Guise*, and appointed Monsieur *Les Diguieres* his Lieutenant there, to facilitate the course of his designs: and though they did not agree very well together, as they were not of the same religion, and had always followed different parties, yet they both had a dislike to the Duke of *Espernon*, who, pretending that government lawfully belonged to him, took much pains to get possession of it, and to drive out not only those that adhered to the League, but even the friends and followers of the King; upon which account his Majesty, now he was resuming other governments into his hands, in different parts of the kingdom, resolved to force him in a manner to quit what he had possessed himself of there, and to accept of some other employment; and therefore had appointed the Duke of *Guise*, with whom he had always been at enmity, and *Les Diguieres*, who could not endure him, to provide for the security of *Provence*. But he had likewise a further view in proceeding after this manner: for the Duke of *Guise* having but lately made his submission, and come over to the King, on condition he should have that government, to which the

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1596. House of *Lorrain* pretended a sort of hereditary right, derived from that of *Anjou*, the King thought it necessary to give him a Lieutenant, who he knew, by long experience, was not only very faithful, but also extremely vigilant, and would be ready to make a vigorous opposition to any new attempt which the Duke might possibly make, whilst the minds of the people were still fluctuating, and former animosities not yet thoroughly extinguished. Besides these considerations, there was also another motive of great weight: for *Les Diguieres* and Colonel *Alphonso Corso*, who both resided in *Dauphinè*, did not agree well together there, and were continually thwarting each other in their measures, to the manifest prejudice of the publick affairs: for which reason the King resolved to put an end to those discords, by sending *Les Diguieres* into *Provence*, and appointing *Alphonso Corso* Lieutenant to the Prince of *Conti*, who was just made Governor of *Dauphinè*.

But though the Duke of *Guise* acted with candour and sincerity, and had no such sinister designs, yet at his arrival in *Provence*, being either dissatisfied at having a Lieutenant with so much power imposed upon him, and who was also of a different religion, or desirous that all transactions with the Duke of *Espernon* should be carried on, under the name and by the means of *Les Diguieres*, that his own authority and office of Governor might not seem to be opposed or disputed, he had ordered his Lieutenant to turn the garrisons out of several towns which had been put into them by the Duke of *Espernon*, and went himself to *Aix*, here he was wholly taken up in concerting measures for the recovery of *Marseilles*, which he thought an undertaking of far greater reputation and importance, and therefore resolved to act singly in it, that he might reap all the honour himself, if he succeeded in it. And notwithstanding he had found means to carry on a correspondence with several of the inhabitants for that purpose, by the assistance of some persons who had been banished out of the city, yet it produced no effect: till at last he prevailed upon one *Pietro Liberta* (a *Corfican* by extraction, but born and educated at *Marseilles*, and Captain of a company of foot, which sometimes had the guard of one of the gates) to let some of the exiles privately into the town again: which he having performed, they wrought so effectually upon many of the citizens, who could no longer bear the tyranny of *Casaut*, and dreaded the dominion of the *Spaniards*, that they promised, if the Duke of *Guise* would come at the break of day, on the eighteenth of *February*, with a proper force of horse and foot to a neighbouring village, and proceed immediately from thence to the gate commonly called *Porte Royale*, upon certain signals which they would make, he should be admitted there with all his men. Upon these assurances the Duke, having assembled all the forces that were in the province, except those under the command

of *Les Diguieres* (whom he had not acquainted with his design, that he might have no share in the reputation he hoped to gain by this enterprize) he made a feint of going to besiege a town about five leagues from *Mar-seilles*; and whilst people were amused by his moving that way, he suddenly changed his rout, on the evening before the day appointed, and advanced with very great silence towards the city: and though it was a very dark, rainy night, and the roads were deep and broken, he made so expeditious a march, that he arrived early in the morning, according to appointment, at some houses near *St. Julian's* church, where he waited for the signals agreed upon.

Those in the city that were privy to this design, apprehending that the badness of the night might have prevented the Duke's march, sent some of their men out of the gate, according to daily custom, to see if the coast was clear, and to bring them certain intelligence whether he was arrived or not. But as they returned in great haste, and said they had discovered a body of armed men under *St. Julian's*, *Lewis de Aix*, who was just come to that gate, gave the Consul immediate notice of it, and then sallied out himself, with twenty picked men, to see what truth there was in the report that had been made by the first party. But as soon as he was got out of the gate, those that were in the plot let down the portcullices, and the Consul, who also came thither himself presently after, beginning to examine the soldiers more particularly concerning the report which they had brought, was suddenly attacked by *Pietro Libertà*, and four of his men, who knocked him down, and immediately dispatched him with their daggers: after which, the whole guard cheerfully concurring with their Captain, the signals were made to the Duke of *Guise*, who instantly advanced towards the gate, where he met *Aix* the Vice-consul, and soon not only routed his men, but wounded him himself in such a manner, that he ran back again to the gate as fast as he was able, but finding it shut, and in the hands of the conspirators, he was forced to retire into the fosse, and from thence scaling the wall near the harbour, got into the furthestmost part of the city, where he called all his adherents to arms, and being joined by *Fabian Casaut*, son to the Consul who was already slain, they marched up in a disorderly sort of a manner, with about five hundred men, to see if they could recover the gate: but it had been opened in the mean time, and the Duke of *Guise* was entered with all his men. On the other hand, the exiles, running about and exhorting their fellow citizens to exert themselves for the recovery of their liberties, had raised the whole town: so that after *Aix* and *Casaut* had disputed the entrance of the street that led to the *Porte Royale*, for the space of half an hour, the tumult still increasing, and the citizens every where shouting *God save the King*, they retreated into the town hall for fear of being surrounded,

where

1596. where they were so furiously attacked by the Duke of *Guise*, who fought undauntedly at the head of his men, amongst showers of musket balls, stones, pieces of wood, and fireworks, which flew round him on every side, that they could not maintain the place, but fled secretly from thence, and crossing the harbour in a boat, one of them got into *St. Mary's* church, the other into the convent of *St. Victoire*, and their men being thus deserted were soon all cut to pieces.

The whole city had now flocked to the Duke of *Guise*, with white sashes on: upon which he did not lose a moment's time, but immediately assaulted, and without much resistance made himself master of the two forts, *De St. John* and *Cap de Morre*, that lie towards the sea, and from thence began to fire with the artillery upon *Doria's* galleys, which were at anchor near the mouth of the harbour. This indeed put them into some terror and confusion: but *Doria*, who had prudently kept his vessels at a good distance from the forts, and caused all his men to embark at the beginning of the fray, happily got out of the city, without receiving any damage, and put to sea. The Duke of *Guise* having now gained a complete victory, spent all the rest of that day in taking measures to prevent the town from being plundered, or otherwise damaged in the tumult, and having lodged his men in the principal posts, took absolute possession of the city, without much difficulty: for his courage in the action, and his prudence in quieting the commotion, entirely gained him the hearts of the *Marseillians*. *Lewis de Aix* and *Fabian Casaut* surrendered the next day, on condition that they should be allowed to go freely with their effects to *Genoa*, and that banishment should be the severest kind of penalty inflicted upon any of their adherents. In this manner the city was delivered from a tyrannical usurpation, and wholly reduced into the King's power: an acquisition very opportune, and of great consequence, as it was one of the principal ports in the *Mediterranean*, and a mart so well situated, that it was resorted to by most trading nations: but what made it then still more considerable, was, that the *Spaniards* had already got footing in it, and if they had been allowed a little more time to settle themselves there, it would have been exceeding difficult to dislodge them, as it lay so near other states belonging to his Catholick Majesty.

In the mean time, whilst the re-union of *Provence* was thus attempted, the besieged in *La Fere* were reduced to very great want of provisions. *Nicolo Bassi*, therefore, who was appointed to convoy some relief to them, being arrived at *Doway*, was contriving how to throw some quantity of victuals into the town. But that seemed hard to be effected, for the King's cavalry were continually scouring the roads, and the narrow passes that led to the town were so blocked up by the forts, that it seemed almost impossible to get through them: however, as the necessity was urgent, having

having found some means of giving *Alvaro Ojorio* notice of his approach, 1596. he desired him to keep some little boats in readiness to come out of the town, upon a certain signal, and row to the further side of the marsh, whither he would endeavour to bring the provisions; after which he immediately left *Doway* with six hundred horse, and arrived in the night at *Casselet*, the gates of which place he kept locked all the next day, that the *French* might not have any intelligence of his design: and having ordered every one of his men to carry a bag of meal behind him, and a bundle of match about his neck, which was also much wanted at *La Fere*, he set out when it began to grow dark, and after he had passed the river *Somme*, took the road towards *St. Quintin*, which town he left on the right hand, and continued his march with so much expedition, that on the sixteenth of *March*, in the morning, he was very near the place where the King's cavalry were quartered, who being alarmed by the firing of the sentinels, immediately mounted, imagining some relief, for the enemy was at hand. But a thick mist, which happened to rise about the break of day, was so favourable to *Bastli's* designs, that the King's guards, which were now all under arms, could not distinguish which way the enemy was approaching: and whilst they were busied in sending out scouts on all sides, *Bastli* passing betwixt the quarters of the Reiters and those of the Duke of *Boiillon*, without meeting with any opposition, came to the bank of the marsh next the river, and finding *Ojorio* ready with his boats there to receive the provisions; after he had caused the meal and match to be unloaded and put into them with as much expedition as possible, he began to retire with the same speed; but upon sight of the *French* and *German* cavalry (which at last were aware of his arrival, and had posted themselves on the way to *St. Quintin* to cut off his retreat) he took a different road, and falling into that which leads to *Guise*, returned safe to *Cambrey*, without any opposition or impediment.

The success of this enterprise (in which fortune and good conduct seemed to claim equal shares of the glory) gained *Bastli* very great reputation indeed, but was of small service to the besieged, the number of whom was so large, that the meal which was brought by him, lasted but a little while: and the King, who was daily joined by fresh forces, had now laid closer siege to the town, blocking up all the avenues, and fortifying them with trenches and breast-works, where he also kept strong guards of horse, so that it was in vain to expect any further relief. But the siege being protracted by the resolution of the inhabitants, the King, at the advice of some of his engineers, resolved to stop the course of the river, which caused and fed the marsh on the lower side of the town, in hopes of making it rise in such a manner above, that the besieged must be obliged to surrender, to avoid being drowned. For this purpose he set

1596. a vast number of pioneers to work, whom he had sent for from all the neighbouring places: but, though they wrought at it with great art and diligence, yet the rains that fell at that season of the year, increased the current of the river (which for the most part was low and gentle) from time to time, to such a degree, that it hindered their progress, by breaking down the dams, carrying away the piles, and often destroying the labour of many days in the space of an hour: and yet, as the King himself was constantly with them, this undertaking was at last finished. But it soon appeared how fallacious the projects of engineers often prove: for, the town standing much higher than the marsh (a circumstance that was taken notice of by several from the first, but wilfully disregarded by the authors of this design) the water did not rise above two feet at most in the town, and was so long in rising even to that height, that the inhabitants had sufficient time to remove themselves and their effects into the higher parts of it, without receiving any damage. At the end of two days, however, the water fell considerably, by having forced its way through the lower part of the fen again in many places, and left such a quantity of slime and mud in the streets, that the exhalations which arose from it, corrupted the air, and filled the town with dangerous distempers: so that the besieged being hurt only by this accident, and that not till after many days, the labours and endeavours of the King's army proved, in a great measure, ineffectual in their principal intent, and the only hope he had of reducing the place, was by famine, which, after a siege that had lasted so many months, was now become very grievous and intolerable: nor had the besieged any thing else to support them, but the expectation of the relief which the Cardinal was preparing, with the utmost diligence, to give them.

With this design, after he had paid his men to their satisfaction, and quieted those that had mutined, he put his army in good order, and made ready for a march: but most of his commanders (the principal of whom were, the Duke of *Arscot*, the Marquis of *Ranti*, and *Francisco de Mendoza*, High Admiral of *Arragon*) advised him not to hazard his army upon such an undertaking, as the King had not only had sufficient time and convenience to fortify his own camp very strongly, during a course of so many months, but, which was of still greater consequence, had put good garrisons, and many horse into *St. Quintin*, *Montriueil*, *Boulogne*, and all the other towns round *La Fere*, in such a manner, that if the *Spanish* army should advance beyond them, in order to raise the siege, they must leave them in their rear, in which case they would not fail to break up the roads, and cut off the passage of provisions: so that if it should require many days to dislodge the King (as they might well expect) the army would certainly be in great danger and distress. They added, that the

King

King had received the Duke of *Mayenne*, with great demonstrations of honour and respect, at the camp before *La Fere*, whither he was come, since the publication of the late agreement, with many of his friends and followers to attend his Majesty: that the High Constable, the Duke of *Montmorancy*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and most of the Nobility in the kingdom having also joined him, he had now eighteen thousand foot, and almost five thousand horse under his standard, an army so powerful, especially when the bravery of the cavalry was considered, that it was necessary to weigh the matter very maturely, before they advanced so far into that province, against so great a force, and in the midst of so many of the enemy's towns. The Cardinal likewise knew very well, that the States of *Holland*, desirous to have the war continued in *France*, had equipped a considerable squadron of ships, to land men at *Boulogne*, for the service of the King of *France*: and that the Queen of *England*, though his Majesty had not complied with all her demands, had sent another fleet to his assistance, and, to support their common interests, with eight thousand foot on board, which it was thought were to land at the same place that the *Hollanders* did: the commanders, therefore, were apprehensive, that when these forces were united, it would not only be in vain to attempt the relief of *La Fere*, but also very difficult to make their retreat, even from the place where they then were.

These considerations being fully discussed in council, determined the Cardinal to try what he could do by way of diversion: for by sitting down before some place of importance that adhered to the King, he thought he should oblige him to rise from *La Fere* with his whole army to succour the place so attempted; or, if he persisted in the siege, and did not move to relieve it, there would be sufficient opportunity to make himself master of some other town of equal consequence with *La Fere*. But there occurred no less difficulties when they came to fix upon the particular place: for *Guise*, *Haz*, *Guines*, and the other such like towns that lay nearest to *Flanders*, were not to be compared with *La Fere*, and *St. Quintin*, *Montrivail*, and *Boulogne* were so well fortified and garrisoned, that there appeared no possibility of reducing any one of them: so that in this state of doubt, it would probably have been some time before the Cardinal had come to a resolution, if Monsieur *De Rhosne* had not secretly advised him to go upon a different expedition, not yet thought of by any other person.

This commander had been so long in the service, that he was well acquainted with all the fortresses in the kingdom, and the recollection of what had been formerly done, convinced him that *Calais* might easily be taken: for though both the fortifications and situation of it appeared so strong, that it was accounted impregnable, yet those that were in it

1596. had always been very negligent in their duty, and did not guard it with such care and circumspection, as were necessary for the preservation of so important a place: so that whilst the town was subject to the *English*, the weakness of the garrison that they kept in it had invited *Francis Duke of Guise* to lay siege to it in the year 1557, in which undertaking he succeeded so well, that, contrary to the expectation of every one, he made himself master of it only by that defect. *De Rhosnè*, therefore, who was an active and inquisitive man, after he had frequently considered the matter, had at last got certain information that Monsieur *De Bidossan*, at that time Governor of the place, had not above six hundred foot in it (a garrison by no means sufficient for its defence) and that, either out of private interest, or supineness, or an error common to many, seemed to think himself sufficiently secured by the strength of his works, without any regard to the number or valour of his men. Some add, that the King of *France* having sent the Sieurs *De la Noüe* and *De la Vallière* to view the condition of all the towns upon the confines of *Picardy*, those officers had not proceeded with that secrecy in this visitation, which ought always to be observed on such occasions, but had talked very freely and openly, after the manner of the *French*, concerning the weak state of those frontiers: and when the so much boasted strength of *Calais* was objected to them, they inconsiderately answered, "That whosoever should attack that fortress in a proper manner and place, would find the reduction of it to be but a twelve days job:" which saying, being reported to *De Rhosnè*, by one whom he had employed as a spy upon them, excited a curiosity in him, to make a further enquiry about the place and manner which they had hinted at. Being thus persuaded that he should be able to make himself master of this sea-port, so famous for its fortifications, and so conveniently situated for an intercourse with *Flanders* and *England*, he represented the matter in such a light to the Cardinal Archduke, that he was prevailed upon to consent to it, and the more easily, because all the other enterprizes that had been proposed were clogged with very great difficulties and impediments.

After they had determined betwixt themselves to go upon this expedition, they kept their real design very secret, and gave out, amongst the other commanders, that it was their intention to make an attempt upon *Montriüeil*, a place upon the road that led directly to *La Fere*, but not of so much consequence as either *Boulogne* or *St. Quintin*: and having got together a great quantity of provisions under this pretence, and carriages to convey them to *Doway*, *Arras*, and other neighbouring places, the Cardinal appointed *Valenciennes* for the general rendezvous of his forces, whither he went himself on the thirtieth of *March*, and after he had mustered and reviewed his army, which consisted of six thousand *Spanish* foot,

foot, six thousand *Walloons*, two thousand *Italians*, four thousand *Germans*, twelve hundred gens d'armes and cuirassiers, and almost two thousand light horse, he divided it into several columns, and made them take different routs, to amuse the enemy. Part of the light horse, and the Marquis of *Trevico's* division, he sent under the command of *Ambrogio Landriano* towards *Montriévil*: with the rest of the light horse *Basti* marched into the territory of *Cambray*: *Agostino Messia*, with a regiment of *Spaniards* and two of *Walloons*, advanced towards *St. Paul*; and the Count *De Bessu*, with the *Flemish* troops, moved towards *Arras* and *Bethune*. But whilst their own forces were kept no less in the dark than the *French* by this feint, Monsieur *De Rhosne* with the *Spanish* divisions under *Ludovico Velasco*, and *Alonso Mendozza*, and four hundred horse, left *Valenciennes* on the fourth of *April* in the evening, and marched all night, till he arrived at *St. Omer*, where he was joined by Colonel *La Beriotte*, and the Count *De Burgoy*, who waited for him there, with two divisions of *Walloons*; and having taken with him three pieces of heavy cannon, and four field pieces from thence, he advanced with great speed towards *Calais*, where he arrived very unexpectedly, as it lay so much out of the way, and at the furthest point of a tongue of land which extends itself a great way into the sea, so that neither the *Spaniards* nor the *French* had ever before thought either of defending or besieging it, during the course of this war.

Calais stands upon the coast of the *British* channel, at the extremity of a promontory, not above * thirty leagues from *England*, and has a very large harbour, which being sheltered on each side with large high banks of sand, commonly called *dunes*, affords a secure and commodious reception for a vast number of ships. The town is almost wholly surrounded by marshy grounds, where the sea overflows and covers the plain for many miles, and being enclosed within four banks by a very large moat, is of a quadrangular form, having a royal bastion at three of the angles, of modern structure, with cavaliers within them, besides many great towers and ravelines along the curtain: and at the fourth angle, which points towards the north-west, stands the citadel, which likewise is of a square form, with large towers that flank it on every side. The moats are very deep and capacious, for they admit the water at two different places, and the town, which is little less than a league in circuit, is also fortified all round with thick ramparts, though they were then grown defective in many places, and in some entirely decayed and fallen down by length of time and the carelessness of the Governors. On the outside, along the beach of the harbour, there is a large suburb, generally full of traders and mariners, where a strong current of water, that flows

* This is a mistake in the author, for it is but seven leagues from *Calais* to *Dover*. The harbour is much altered since that time, and now almost choked up.

1596. from the marshes and runs through the city in several streams, is joined in one channel, and empties itself with great rapidity into the sea. On the other side of the harbour, and at the point of the downs which cover it from the north, there stands a large and exceeding strong tower, called the *Risbane*, which, commanding the mouth of the harbour, is well furnished with artillery, and effectually prevents vessels of any kind from entering it. But on the side next to the firm land (which is only a strait sort of an isthmus betwixt two large marshes) about a league from the city, there is a bridge over a river that runs into the sea, which, being fortified with towers, totally blocks up the passage that leads to the town, along a very narrow bank: and this place is called the *Fauxbourg de Niculet*.

Monsieur *De Rhosnè* knew very well, that he must not expect to reduce this fortress, except he could speedily make himself master of *Niculet* bridge and the *Risbane*: for if he did not get possession of *Niculet*, it would be exceeding difficult to pass the river and come under the town: and without the assistance of the artillery in the *Risbane*, he could not possibly command the mouth of the harbour, in which case, such supplies might be thrown into the town by sea, that there would be no longer room to build any hopes on the weakness of the garrison. For these reasons, having marched from *St. Omer* with wonderful expedition, considering the impediment of the artillery that he had with him, he came on the 9th of *April*, by break of day, in sight of *Niculet*, and without giving the guards (who were not above forty) time either to assemble their spirits or receive assistance, he caused it to be assaulted on one hand by the *Spanish*, and on the other by the *Walloon* foot, keeping a constant fire at the same time with the four small pieces of cannon, not out of an expectation that they would do any great execution, but to increase the terror of the guards, who, being so few, very ill provided, attacked on a sudden, and, which was still worse, without any commander of sufficient authority to keep them to their duty, basely abandoned the defence of that place, and ran away into the town.

As soon as *De Rhosnè* had thus possessed himself of the bridge at *Niculet*, he left four companies of *Walloons* to guard that post, and, without losing a moment, advanced to assault the *Risbane*, against which he presently planted his artillery, and began to batter it furiously about noon: he likewise drew three of the smaller pieces to the side of the harbour, with which, and the assistance of the *Walloon* musketry, he so effectually prevented any supplies from entering the tower, that those of the suburb which stood on the other side of the harbour, after several attempts to get in, were at last obliged to retire. There were but sixty men in the *Risbane*, and those too without a proper officer to command them: so that, though
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the place was strong, and might have been defended many days, yet, as soon as they saw the enemy was preparing for an assault, their courage failed them and they quitted it; but being attacked and routed in their flight, scarce thirty of them, who had got into small boats, escaped safe into the suburb. Upon which, *De Rhosne*, resolving to pursue so fortunate a beginning, immediately entered the *Risbane*, put the artillery in order again, and lodged a sufficient number of foot there to hinder any relief by sea. And indeed it was but just in time that he did it: for the very next morning several ships belonging to the *Holland* fleet, which was off of *Boulogne*, appeared in sight, and used their utmost endeavours to get into the harbour; but were so shattered by the artillery of the *Risbane*, that they were forced to tack and stand out to sea again: and one of them, loaded with wine, being sunk outright in the mouth of the harbour, served to block up the entrance still more, if any further attempt should be made to get into it: and yet two of the *Hollanders* small barks, with two Captains and eighty men in them, happily effected it, and landed in the suburb, where they stayed for the defence of it.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Archduke, having received advice of the success of his forces, marched thither in all haste with his whole army, on the 11th of *April*, and having marked out a camp betwixt *Cajal de Mer*, the bridge of *Nieulet*, and the road that leads to *Graveling*, he took possession of *St. Pierre's* church, about half a league from the walls. The town being thus invested, and their quarters soon fortified, as they were situated amongst marshes and ditches, *De Rhosne*, who was well informed of the defect of the wall on the side that stands toward the suburb, resolved to plant a battery at the bottom of the harbour: and though it seemed exceeding difficult to get thither, yet he had observed, that at the ebb of the tide the water fell in such a manner, that the extreme part of the harbour was laid dry, and the bottom so firm and gravelly, that it afforded sufficient means for his infantry to march up to an assault. But in order to keep the besieged employed on the other side also, and to divide them, weak as they were, he thought proper to raise another battery upon the road to *Graveling*, though the wall on that side was extremely well lined with earth, and flanked by two royal bastions. On the battery next the suburb, were mounted seventeen pieces of cannon, fifteen on the *Graveling* road, and four others against each bastion: all which were in readiness on *Easter* day, the fourteenth of that month, and began to play furiously on *Monday* as soon as it was light: whilst the besieged, who were dispirited by the smallness of their number, used no means at all to hinder the progress of the enemy, except that, on the first day, whilst the *Risbane* was battered, they made a sally to bring in
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1596. some provisions: nor from that day forward durst they make any further attempt.

In this state of affairs, the King having intelligence that the *Spaniards* were in motion, and not being able to find out where they designed to sit down at last, left the Constable to command the army before *La Fere*, and marched with six hundred horse and his regiment of guards to *Abbeville*, from whence he sent the *Sieur De Montluc*, with two thousand foot, to *Montruëil*, apprehending (as the enemy so gave out) they would make an attempt upon that place: but receiving information on the 13th, that they had suddenly come before *Calais*, he dispatched the same *Montluc*, the Count *De St. Paul*, Governor of the province, and the Marquis *De Belin*, with orders to embark as soon as possible at *St. Valéry*, and try to get into the town: but, though they boldly executed their orders, yet they were driven back by contrary winds, which blew hard all that time, and were forced to return to the place where they had embarked, without succeeding in their design. The King, therefore, who was exceedingly concerned at the imminent danger which the town was in, resolved to go himself to that port, but the bad weather still continuing, he went to *Boulogne* the next day, upon the hopes which the mariners had given him, that it would be more easy to relieve the besieged from thence: but when he came thither, and found the wind was not yet changed, the undertaking seemed altogether as difficult, if not more so, than ever: nor was there any possibility of giving the besieged the least assistance by land, for both the bridge at *Nieulet* and *Casal de Mer* were strongly guarded, and the enemy's whole army encamped on that side. So that the King, as the last expedient he could think of, put a body of his choicest foot on board some ships, and sent them out to struggle with the wind and hover about the harbour, that they might be in readiness, whenever the wind changed, to run into it at all events: but neither did this succeed, for the ships being tossed about and blown into different places, could never get near the harbour, and if they had, they would certainly have been driven off again by the artillery of the *Rislane*.

At the same time, the King dispatched several shallops to hasten the sailing of the *English* fleet, in hopes of being able to make some vigorous attempt, and force the Cardinal to raise his camp from before *Calais*, if those forces could be landed in good time. But it was all to no purpose; for the Queen of *England* having altered her resolution, would not suffer her fleet to sail yet, though it had rendezvoused and lay ready at *Dover* for that purpose. And notwithstanding the *French* Ambassadors, and particularly Monsieur *De Sancy*, who was lately gone thither, were in close treaty concerning the terms on which the forces should land, yet so many obstacles occurred, and the interests of the two Crowns were so hard

hard to be reconciled, that much time had slipped away without their coming to any agreement. 1596.

In the mean while the *Spanish* artillery had played upon the walls without intermission, from break of day till evening on *Easter Monday*, at which time the infantry, taking the advantage of low water, advanced on both sides to make a resolute assault. Fortune, however, was not altogether so favourable to *De Rbofne* in this design as she had been before: for though the wind had stood right all that day for his artillery, which was a circumstance of no small service to him (as it cleared away the smোক from him, and gave him an opportunity of firing faster, and with more certainty) yet it increased to such a degree, and blew so hard in the evening, that it would not suffer the tide to fall low enough to lay the furthestmost part of the harbour quite dry, so that his infantry were forced to wade up to their knees, and in some places up to their middle, in water, which was no small impediment, and very much retarded the assault: and yet he got over this difficulty, and began a fierce assault upon the suburb, that lasted till nine o'clock (the moon being then at full and shining very bright) in which the *French*, having lost above an hundred of their men and one of the *Holland* Captains, resolved to retire, and got safely into the town after they had set fire to the suburb in all parts. On *Tuesday* *De Rbofne* drew all his artillery into the suburb which they had abandoned, and there being nothing on that side to annoy him in the flank, he presently planted two and twenty pieces upon the edge of the moat, with nothing else to defend them but single gabions, and those not very high; and the next day began to batter the wall with such fury, that, for want of being duly lined with earth, it became assailable in a few hours. But whilst the infantry, which consisted of *Spaniards*, *Wal-loons*, and *Italians* mixed together, were preparing to march up, the besieged, terrified at the wideness of the breach, and the smallness of the number they were then reduced to, sent out a drum to beat a parley, and the same evening capitulated to quit the town and retire into the citadel, which they likewise promised to surrender into the Cardinal's hands, if they were not relieved in the space of six days.

The King, who was still at *Boulogne*, had advice of this composition, at a time when he had also just received an answer from the Earl of *Essex*, General of the *English* forces, with whom Monsieur *De Sancy* had conferred, and entertained great hopes of prevailing upon the *English* to make an immediate descent, that so the citadel might be relieved before the expiration of the six days. But the Earl was not so forward as he wished; for as the King had often promised to give the *English* some place on that coast for their convenience and security, and had always found means to defer it from time to time, on one pretence or other:

1596. when his Ambassadors to Queen *Elizabeth* renewed those assurances, in order to prevail upon her to let the fleet sail instantly to his relief, the Earl peremptorily refused to put into any port of *France*, or to land any men, except that promise was first effectually performed. And though *Sancy* pleaded the urgency of the occasion and the shortness of the time, and earnestly desired the Earl to consider of what importance the preservation of *Calais* was to their common interests, yet he could not by any means persuade him to alter his determination: so that he was under a necessity of writing to the King to know his pleasure in that respect. But his Majesty, who was not a little provoked that his confederates should take the advantage of his distress, to force him to a compliance with their demands, resolutely answered, "That he had rather be robbed by his enemies than his friends:" so that being resolved to try what he could do with his own forces, and seeing the wind, which had been contrary so many days, was not yet changed, he sent the *Sieur De Matelet*, Governor of *Foix*, with three hundred foot, supported by a strong body of the Duke of *Bouillon's* cavalry, to force the enemy's guards, if possible, and get into the citadel.

This detachment advancing in the dark of the night, close by the quarters of the *Italians*, that were commanded by the Marquis of *Trevico*, found the guards there so remiss, that they all got into the citadel without so much as being discovered: by whose arrival the Governor, inhabitants, and soldiers that were in it, were so encouraged, that after the truce was at an end, they not only refused to surrender, but protested they would defend themselves to the last man. The Cardinal, therefore, being now convinced that some relief had got in, unknown to him, ordered Monsieur *De Rhosne* to renew his battery with the utmost vigour: upon which, having planted his cannon against the towers of the citadel, he played upon them with such fury, that on the 26th they had made a breach wide enough to be stormed. The next morning, all the *Italian* foot marched up first to the assault, out of a desire to wipe off the disgrace they had incurred by so carelessly suffering relief to pass by them: and being followed by the *Walloons*, and then by the *Spaniards*, they all fought most desperately, till after a very bloody action, that lasted six hours, in which the Governor, *Bidessan*, and above four hundred soldiers were killed, they at last entered the citadel, where the *Italians* put all the rest to the sword, except Monsieur *De Campagnole*, and some few others, who had taken refuge in a church, and afterwards surrendered at discretion. Of the *Spaniards* about two hundred were slain (amongst whom was Count *Guidubaldo Paciotto*, an engineer of great character) and an hundred wounded: a loss very trifling indeed, considering they had in so few days made themselves masters of one of the most important fortresses in

in the kingdom, and which was accounted impregnable: but as so little care had been taken to secure it, the event of the siege was not by any means answerable to the reputation of the place. 1596.

The reduction of *Calais* in so easy and unexpected a manner, not only chagrined the King exceedingly, but also laid him under an absolute necessity of coming to some agreement with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*: for *La Fere* not being yet given up, he was very loath to rise from that siege, and entirely throw away the pains and expence he had been at for so many months, to the great diminution of his reputation: and, on the other hand, he considered, that if he did not receive very speedy and powerful supplies from both those States, he could not possibly raise another army to oppose the progress of a victorious enemy: so that all the other towns in that province must of course be given up, since it could not be reasonably expected, that they should be able to make a more vigorous resistance than *Calais* had done, which was so much stronger and better fortified both by art and nature. Moved by these considerations, and hoping the authority of the Duke of *Bouillon* would have great weight with the Queen, whose example, he well knew, would be followed by the *Hollanders*, he dispatched him into *England*, with full powers to conclude such a treaty there, that the fleet might sail as soon as possible to land the *English* forces at *Boulogne*.

But the difficulties that occurred in this negotiation were very great, and the Queen was utterly averse to it; partly because she wanted to avail herself of his necessities to gain possession of a port on his coast, for which purpose she had been so dilatory in sending any relief to *Calais* before the loss of it, in hopes of forcing the *French* to put that place into her hands: partly because she saw the King now reconciled to the Catholick religion, and thought it was in the King of *Spain's* power to conclude a peace whensoever he should resolve no longer to molest the kingdom of *France*, and therefore she did not care to put herself to new expences, the effects of which her enemies might frustrate and make ineffectual at any time when they were so disposed. For these reasons, after she had absolutely refused, for many days, to listen to any treaty that should lay her under fresh obligations, she only consented to lend the King such assistance for the time to come as she could afford to do, without putting herself to those inconveniencies that she had done in times past: and because the *French* were very importunate to have the Earl of *Essex* come upon the coast of *Picardy* with his fleet, the *English* answered, that it chiefly consisted of ships and men that had voluntarily offered their service to cruise upon the coasts of *Spain* under the conduct of the Earl, the Queen could not alter their destination now she had given them special commissions for that very purpose: that nevertheless they would be of great service to the

1596. King of *France*, as the damage which the kingdom of *Spain* must receive thereby, would necessary call off his Catholick Majesty's forces from the war he was prosecuting in *Picardy*. But these hopes and remedies seeming too remote and ineffectual, the Duke of *Boüillon*, who was a *Hugonot* himself, representing the danger that the Protestant religion would be in, if the *Spaniards* gained any stronger footing, earnestly exhorted both the Queen herself, and her principal Ministers, to exert their utmost strength in so critical a conjuncture. And indeed his authority, his eloquence, and the force of his arguments, but most of all, his being of the same religion, made a deep impression on the *English* court: for he seemed to be chiefly concerned for their common interests, the support of the *Hugonot* party in *France*, and that the King might not be forced into such an agreement with the *Spaniards* as might be prejudicial to the States of *Holland*, the tranquillity of *England*, and liberty of conscience in his own kingdom: the negociation, however, notwithstanding these fair appearances, proceeded but very slowly, and was clogged with such difficulties, that though a confederacy was at last concluded with *England*, nearly of the same nature with that which had formerly been established with *Charles* the ninth, and without the consignment of any sea-port to the *English* (a demand which they had candidly receded from) and though the Duke of *Boüillon* went with an Ambassador from the Queen to *Holland*, where the same confederacy was agreed to: yet so much time had been lost in these proceedings, that affairs in *Picardy* were in no wise bettered by them, and the Earl of *Essex's* fleet having scoured the coasts of *Spain*, was put out of commission again without performing any thing worthy of notice.

Whilst this confederacy was negotiating in *England*, the Cardinal Archduke, whose motions depended upon no body but himself, in the first place spent ten days in repairing the breaches at *Calais*, and then sent a trumpet to summon *Guines* and *Han*, both which places immediately surrendered. After which he determined to make an attempt upon *Ar-dres*, a place of pretty large circumference, excellently fortified, and but three leagues from *Calais*, the possession of which, he thought, would thoroughly secure what he had already got. And though the enterprise seemed likely to be attended with much difficulty, on account of the situation of the place, which stands upon the top of a hill, and, like a cavalier, commands all the plain below it, that extends itself a little more than a cannon-shot, and is bounded by mountains and woods very unfit to encamp in, but convenient for the ambushes of an enemy; yet the Cardinal, encouraged by the success of his arms, resolved to follow the advice of Monsieur *De Rhojné*, who persuaded him to this undertaking, and hoped

hoped to make himself master of the place before the King could disengage himself from *La Fere* and come to relieve it. 1596.

There were at this time in *Ardres*, the Marquis *De Belin*, Lieutenant of the province, Monsieur *D'Annebourg*, Governor of the town, and the Sieur *De Montluc* lately come in to reinforce it: which commanders had almost two thousand foot and an hundred and fifty horse, with a pretty good quantity of provisions, artillery, ammunition, and other things necessary for their defence: and, as they foresaw a siege, they had been exceeding diligent, not only in strengthening the fortifications of the town, but also in repairing those of the suburb which stands towards *Boulogne*; for that being the side on which the enemy might raise their batteries with the most ease, they determined to keep them as far as possible from the walls by defending the suburb. This was advised by the Governor of the town, a soldier of great valour and experience, whose design was to defend the ground inch by inch, in order to give the King an opportunity of making himself master of *La Fere* in good time, that he might come to their relief before they were reduced to extremities. But the Marquis *De Belin* was of a different way of thinking, and said, it would be highly imprudent to throw away their men, in defending a suburb of no great consequence, and which was not tenable, and therefore it would be much better to employ themselves in maintaining such posts as were most likely to hold out a considerable time: however, as all the other Commanders were of opinion, that the possession of the suburb was of great importance, the Governor's advice prevailed in that point, and a proper guard was placed there to defend it. There was also another dispute amongst the Commanders; for the Marquis would have had the enemy molested and harrassed in their approaches, by smart counter-batteries, without sparing ammunition: on the other hand, the Governor, not thinking their stores altogether sufficient for so great a waste, was desirous they should be husbanded, for fear of being reduced to distress by the want of them, as they were absolutely necessary to prolong the siege: but seeing the Marquis's authority had more weight than his own, he concealed part of the ammunition lest there should be occasion for it.

Amidst these disputes and differences of opinion, which commonly happen where the command is lodged in more than one (to the great prejudice of publick affairs) those in the town were still preparing for their defence. But the Cardinal Archduke, having left *Juan de Rivas* in the government of *Calais*, moved with the whole army, on the 6th of May, and took up his first quarters at *Guines*; the next day he came before *Ardres* so early, that, by the eighth at night he had thoroughly fortified his camp, which lay out of cannon-shot from the town, and yet not very near the hills and woods: for betwixt the hills and his works there was room
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1596. enough to draw up both the horse and foot conveniently in order of battle: and upon all the roads that led through the woods and over the hills into the plain, he posted strong corps de gardes, with double trenches and works in their front, or, more properly speaking, in their rear, on those sides that lay towards *Boulogne*, *Montrüeil*, and the other towns in the possession of the King of *France*. The army being thus encamped and secured with wonderful diligence, on *Thursday* the 9th of *May*, *Agostino Messia's* Spanish foot, and Colonel *La Berlotte's* Walloons advanced towards the suburb and began to break ground: but the *Sieur De Montluc*, whose courage would let no opportunity pass of annoying the enemy, sallied out, and began so warm a skirmish with them, that he prevented their approach. Upon which, another division of infantry, under the command of *Jago Tessedá*, and *Coquel's* Walloons came up to reinforce their friends; and, on the other side, *Montluc* being forced to retire as they advanced, the *Marquis* kept so hot a fire upon them, that they were obliged to discontinue their works till night, at which time they returned to them: but the night was so clear and light, that the artillery never ceased playing, and did great damage to the besiegers, who, nevertheless, having surmounted all impediments by dint of resolution, got to the counterescarp of the suburb, and the next morning planted some pieces of cannon there to fire upon it: yet, as *Montluc* made sallies every hour, and kept those that were at work in continual motion and alarm, they made very little progress till he was unfortunately killed by a cannon ball. After this event, as the other commanders were neither so active nor so vigilant, the besiegers began to batter the works of the suburb, which being weak, and soon demolished, they made so violent an assault, that the guards were forced to abandon it with the loss of above forty men: but whilst the *Spaniards* and *Walloons* were rushing furiously into it, *Monsieur De Montaut*, a Colonel of the *French* infantry, attacked them with such vigour, that, after a bloody dispute, which lasted two hours, he recovered the suburb, and drove the enemy headlong out again, with the loss of three hundred of the best men in their army. And yet the next day, after the cannon had played upon it from morning till noon, the foot stormed it afresh in four different places, at each of which they fought desperately on both sides, till the evening, when Colonel *La Berlotte*, being grievously wounded, and *Agostino Messia* knocked down with a stone, which hit him on the head, they both thought proper to retire with their forces. But the next morning the assault being renewed on all sides, the *Marquis De Belin*, considering the weakness of the place, ordered the guards to quit it, for fear of losing so great a number of brave men, in which retreat they were so closely pursued, that those who guarded the gate of the town, being afraid lest the enemy should enter with their own men, lowered the portcullise so suddenly,

suddenly, that above two hundred of them were shut out and cut to pieces. 1596.

The enemy's infantry then covered themselves as fast as they could, and Monsieur *De Rhosne* having determined to make his assault on that side, caused two batteries to be raised, one of nineteen cannon, by the *Spaniards*, the other of seventeen pieces, of different sizes, by the *Walloons*: but before they were finished, the counter-battery of the town annoyed them grievously on all sides. At last, however, when the batteries were sufficiently covered, and the cannon began to play upon the flanks of the bastions, the Marquis, either out of Cowardice, as the general opinion was, or because he thought it impossible to defend the place, and was desirous to save himself and so many other valiant men for a better occasion, called the principal commanders to a council of war, and persuaded them to surrender: but the Governor and *Charles* *Sieur De Arambures*, a man of great reputation in that province, opposing it, and the rest of the officers declaring they would defend themselves to the last extremity, the Marquis objected that all the ammunition was spent, so that it was not possible to hold out any longer. The Governor then acquainted him, that he had made such a reserve as would last many days if it was used with discretion, and that, in the mean time, they might probably be relieved by the King, who he thought would make himself master of *La Fere* at last: to which the Marquis angrily replied, that he deserved to be punished for having concealed the true quantity of ammunition from his superior officer, and that the space of two or three days, more or less, was of little signification, since he knew the King would not be able to reduce *La Fere* so easily; and upon this, going out of the Council in a passion, though many protested against it, he immediately sent out a Captain, and capitulated to march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying, and that the townsmen should be at liberty to stay or go as they pleased: but those that staid were to acknowledge the King of *Spain* as their Sovereign. Thus, to the wonder of all men, and the great discontent of the garrison, the Marquis marched out of the place with all his men under arms, on the twenty third of *May*, and took the road to *La Fere*: but Captain *Mainferme*, one of the officers of the garrison, who had the guard of a bastion towards the *Spaniard's* quarters, would by no means consent to the agreement; and, though the enemy was in possession of all the rest of the town, he threw up a trench round his bastion, and made a brave defence, till, seeing the artillery had beat down all his works, he thought he might then retire without any blemish upon his reputation.

The day before this the besieged at *La Fere*, being reduced to extreme distress, and perceiving, by the Cardinal's proceedings, that he had no other means of relieving them, but by attempting to make fresh acquisitions,

1596. tions, and to cause a diversion that way, at last made proposals of surrendering to the King, after they had given the Cardinal an opportunity of making so great and important conquests, by their constancy and resolution in defending that town so long. His Majesty, therefore, being glad to put an end to so troublesome an enterprize, that he might go to the relief of *Ardres*, readily granted them all the conditions they demanded: which were, That the Seneschal *Montelimar*, commonly called Count *De La Fere*, and *Alvaro Oforio*, Governor of the garrison, and all their forces both horse and foot, should march out of the town with their arms, baggage, colours flying, drums beating, trumpets sounding, matches lighted, ball in their mouths, and be safely convoyed as far as *Ca?elet*: That they should be allowed to take along with them one piece of cannon which had not the arms of *France* upon it, with ammunition for ten discharges: That the Seneschal should be acquitted of all imposts, revenues, and contributions which he had levied, and that neither he nor any others of the garrison should thereafter be called to account for any past crime or action whatsoever, nor any of them molested for the debts they had contracted: That the inhabitants, upon taking an oath of allegiance, should not only be pardoned for all past offences, but treated like good subjects for the future, and that whosoever had a mind to go out with the garrison should have liberty to depart.

Upon these terms, *La Fere* submitted to the King, on the twenty second of *May*, who was so impatient to be gone, that he moved the very next morning, with all his cavalry, towards *Ardres*, and left the Constable to follow him, as expeditiously as possible, with the rest of the army, intending to take his course through the woods, and to hazard an engagement at all events: but he had not marched above two miles, when he received an account of the Marquis's composition, which was the more galling to him, as he had now conceived great hopes of relieving that place. Indeed his anger and displeasure were so great, when he saw his whole design defeated by the pusillanimity of one man, that he would not suffer the Marquis to come into his presence, either because he thought him unworthy of that honour, or was afraid he should not be able to contain his indignation: but, though he caused a process to be instituted against him by the Marshal *De la Chastre*, and often resolved to put him to an ignominious death, yet *Madame Gabrielle* interceded for him so effectually, that the sentence passed upon him, which was not published till after many days, only deprived him of his employments, and confined him for ever to his own estate.

Ardres being thus taken on one side, and *La Fere* on the other, it was the general opinion, that the two armies must now meet, and that the King, who shewed such eagerness to retrieve his losses, and was strongly reinforced

reinforced by almost all the Nobility in the kingdom, would not omit any convenient opportunity of coming to an engagement. But the Cardinal-Archduke was more intent upon keeping what he had got, than forward to expose his army to new dangers; and being recalled by the bad state of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, left *Villa verde*, a *Spanish* commander, with a good garrison in *Ardres*, and in three days march arrived in the territory of *St. Omer*: from whence, having received intelligence that the cavalry left to guard the provinces of *Flanders*, had been routed by the garrisons of *Bergen* and *Breda*, which overran all that country, he proceeded in his march to oppose their incursions, and to turn his arms upon the States, which, during the war in *France*, daily gathered fresh strength.

The King was in doubt, for a considerable time, whether or not he should this year endeavour to recover some other place, but at last found that impracticable, as his infantry (which are the most serviceable forces in the reduction of fortresses) were, in a manner, worn out by lying so long before *La Fere*: for, besides the continual fatigue of so many months, the badness of the air in that low marshy country had occasioned many distempers amongst his men, who, having spent the winter in all manner of hardships, now began to feel the effects of it. Besides, he was in very great want of money: for, as many provinces had but lately returned to their obedience, and the rest that adhered to him before were ruined by the havoc and devastations of so long a war, the revenue of the kingdom was either wholly dissipated, or in such disorder, that he could not by any means support his army in *Picardy*, which was in a great measure laid waste and exhausted by having been the seat of war for the two last years. To these two weighty impediments was added, the remembrance of the ill success which the King had met with, in trusting to other commanders upon such occasions: so that, being obliged to return to *Paris* to receive the Pope's Legate, who was just come thither to confirm some things, and cause others to be put in execution, which had been promised by his Majesty's Agents and Ambassadors, in order to obtain the Pope's benediction, he thought his army would make but small progress, if he did not command it in person.

For these reasons, after mature deliberation in the Council, he determined to dismiss the Nobility, that they might refresh themselves, till he should have occasion to assemble them again, and to distribute the rest of his forces into the garrisons of the most important places, that he might not be under any apprehension of their being surprised, if the enemy should make a sudden return. He likewise resolved to go himself (after he had received the Legate, and given him proper satisfaction) to some convenient city in the middle of the kingdom, and there to call an assembly of the principal magistrates of every province, not only to put his finances

1596. in good order, and regulate his Court, but to make all necessary preparations, that he might proceed upon a good bottom the next year, in his attempts to recover the places he had lost in *Picardy*. In the mean time he hoped the confederacy with the Queen of *England* and the States of *Flanders*, would be concluded, which would enable him to take the field with so powerful an army, that the enemy could not pretend to oppose him.

With this resolution he left the Marshal *De Biron*, with three thousand foot and six hundred horse, upon the banks of the *Somme*, to scour the coast of the river, and to be ready upon any emergency that might happen in that country. *Perpone*, *Boulogne*, *Montrüeil*, *Abbeville*, and *St. Quintin* he left well garrisoned, and sent the Count *De St. Paul* into *Amiens*, though that city, which is very large and populous, insisted upon its ancient privileges, and refused to admit any garrison, out of a confidence that it should be able to defend itself, as it always had done in the course of so many wars.

In this interval *Alessandro de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*, and Legate from the Pope, was come into *France*, to the mutual satisfaction of the King, who was very desirous to make the Pope his firm friend, and of his Holiness himself, who could not be thoroughly satisfied till he had re-established the obedience and respect which, in former times, had always been paid to the Apostolick See, by the Crown of *France*. At his arrival on the frontiers of *Dauphinè*, he was received with great pomp, by Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who had drawn up all the forces under his command in battalia for that purpose: for though that commander was no friend to the Catholick religion, yet he shewed him all manner of honour and respect, both at his reception, and in conducting him to *Lyons*, where the Cardinal stayed a few days, and then proceeded in his journey to *Moulins*: from whence he took a round-about road, on account of the plague which then raged in many places, and arrived on the nineteenth of *July* at *Mont l'Hery*, which is about ten leagues from *Paris*. The King, therefore, on his return from *Picardy*, advanced with as much expedition as possible, and escorted only by an hundred persons in his train, to receive him there, which he did, not in a publick and solemn cavalcade, but in a private and familiar visit; as he was desirous of shewing his readiness, and even impatience to meet him, his affection to the Pope, and his particular regard for the Legate himself, who, besides the Nobility of his birth, and maturity of years, was much esteemed by him for his great prudence and constant endeavours to serve the Crown of *France*. The principal Lords of the Court attended his Majesty in this visit; amongst whom was the Duke of *Mayenne*, out of a desire to let the Legate see the sincere reconciliation that was betwixt them, and how much the heads of the

the Catholick party were honoured and esteemed: and as the King expressed the most profound reverence for the Majesty of the Holy See, and the person of the Legate, the Cardinal, on his part, likewise shewed himself so full of moderation, and so well disposed to favour the interests of the King and his Crown, that the good opinion which his Majesty had conceived of him before, was now turned into a very great degree of confidence and affection.

The next morning the King returned to *Paris*; and the Cardinal, continuing his journey, was met in the first place by the young Prince of *Condé*, at the distance of a league from the suburbs, to shew how effectually his Majesty had endeavoured to gratify the Pope, in getting him out of the hands of the *Hugonots*: and at the gate of the suburbs he was received by Cardinal *Gondi*, attended by all the Princes and the whole Court, with such a concourse of people, that if the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Ispernon* had not dismounted and opened a way through the multitude with their swords drawn, he would certainly have been suffocated in the crowd, that rushed in, from all sides, to welcome him into *Paris*, where he was received amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the whole city, and went directly to the cathedral of *Nôtre Dame*. After he had performed his devotions in that church, he was conducted to a palace fitted up on purpose for him, in a royal manner, and there, with the utmost courtesy, received the first President *Harlay*, who came to wait upon him in the name of the whole Parliament, and afterwards all the other magistrates of the city, and many private persons, every one congratulating him upon the reconciliation of the King and kingdom to the Apostolick See.

After this, the Legate's commission, or power as they call it, was accepted and published in the Parliament: and though some of the counsellors were of opinion, that certain clauses should be added to it, as had always been usual, to limit and circumscribe the authority of Legates within the privileges of the *Gallican* church; yet the King would have it published without restriction, or the least mention of any such thing; a circumstance which gave great satisfaction to the Pope, and added much reputation to his Pontificate, when people saw that he did not meet with that opposition in this point, which had usually been made to other Popes. And this was likewise so agreeable to the Legate also, that he shewed the sense he had of it, by his great moderation and strict adherence to the prudent instructions he had received from the Court of *Rome*, to avoid all occasions of bringing either his own authority, or the privileges of the clergy, or the jurisdictions of the Crown of *France* into question: which indeed was the true and only way to prevent those odious contests that commonly used to arise about those rights, and a temper very proper both to re-establish the kingdom in its obedience, and to compose the distractions

1596. of the times. This manner of proceeding, which was very agreeable to the prudence of the Pope, and the moderation of the Legate, was suggested by *Giovanni Delfino*, the *Venetian* Ambassador at *Rome*, and afterwards Cardinal, who, being well acquainted with the affairs of *France*, advised both his Holiness and the Legate not to make too strict an enquiry into the irregularities that had been committed in ecclesiastical matters, before the absolution of his Majesty, whilst the kingdom was in a manner separated from the church, but to overlook many things that were past, and to proceed with lenity and address in regulating the future. Which advice being well received from a person of his prudence and experience, served as a rule to govern themselves by, in several difficulties that afterwards occurred.

The Legate had his first publick audience at *St. Maur*, a little way out of the city, on the first of *August*, in which his Majesty ratified all the conditions that had been accepted by his proxies, when they received absolution at *Rome*: with which ready compliance in all points, the Pope was so well pleased, that he soon after sent him all such dispensations as seemed necessary. From these things, which chiefly related to the interests of religion and of the Pope, the Cardinal Legate proceeded to treat of those that concerned the tranquillity of the kingdom and the peace of *Christianity*: for the Pope, well knowing to how weak and low a condition the kingdom of *France* must be reduced, by so long a course of civil wars, and how much need it had of peace and ease to recover its antient vigour: and, on the other side, considering that the King of *Spain's* coffers were utterly exhausted, and that his subjects were ruined and oppressed to the last degree, he plainly saw the Crown of *France* would be in great danger, if the war was continued, and the most Christian King still necessitated to keep up the strict confederacies and alliances he had entered into with Princes that were enemies to the Catholick church: and he perceived that King *Philip*, for his part, unable to support the weight of two formidable, though not very distant wars at the same time, by endeavouring to keep up the reputation of his arms in *Picardy*, had lost many states in the *Low Countries*, to the great prejudice of the Catholick religion, and encouragement of the enemy in those parts. He therefore resolved to mediate a peace betwixt those two Crowns, being sensible that neither of them would ever condescend to ask it, if he did not interpose as a common father and disinterested mediator. He likewise considered the war with the *Turk*, which then raged with great fury in *Hungary*: and as he was very desirous that all Christian Princes should vigorously unite in it, to prevent the further progress of the common enemy, he thought it absolutely necessary to make an agreement betwixt those Crowns, that so, both of them together, or at least the King of *Spain*, might be able to lend his assistance
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for the common interests of the house of *Austria*: for which purpose, he had given strict orders to the Legate, that, as soon as ever the King's absolution was ratified, he should immediately propose such an accommodation, as he thought it was not only requisite for the security and repose of *Christendom*, but also would make his Pontificate memorable and glorious. 1596.

The Cardinal, who was a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, and of long experience in the affairs of the world, was no less ready to promote the general good and his own particular reputation, than the Pope was earnest in inciting him to it: so that at the first conference after the publick audience at *St. Maur*, he began to sound the King's inclinations; who, being no stranger to the wounds of his kingdom, and agreeing with the general opinion, that nothing but peace could heal them, was ready to come into any sort of agreement that was consistent with his honour. The difficulties which his Ambassadors met with in concluding the confederacy in *England*, likewise prompted him to it: for he clearly perceived, that the Queen, without any other regard, only wanted to get possession of some place on his sea-coast, that she might keep his hands in a manner tied up, and make further encroachments upon occasion: and he very well knew she was so embarrassed by the commotions in *Ireland*, which were then very great, that she could not assist him with many forces, even if she was so inclined. He likewise considered the circumstances of the *Hollanders*, who, though they wished to have the wars in *France* continue, that the *Spanish* forces might be diverted and divided, yet were not in a condition to send any succours to their neighbours, when they had so much to do at home. Nor were the Protestant Princes of *Germany* (whose attention was now altogether turned upon the war with the *Turk*) either able or willing to do any thing in the affairs of *France*, which they thought powerful enough itself to make head against the arms of *Spain*: the King, therefore, seeing how little he could promise himself from foreign aid, resolved to depend wholly upon the strength and forces of his own kingdom.

But these were curtailed and debilitated in various manners. For the royal revenues were in the utmost disorder, and indeed almost annihilated, by the multiplicity of abuses that had been introduced, and the usual rapacity of civil war; and the produce of the imposts and duties in the mercantile towns and sea-ports was extremely diminished, by the cessation of all commerce with *Spain*, the *West Indies*, and his Catholick Majesty's other dominions: nor was the trade which was carried on in *English* and *Dutch* bottoms, attended with much profit, as their navigation was interrupted, and the sea covered with pyrates instead of merchants. But want of money (the very life and soul of war) was not the only difficulty he

1596. he laboured under. The Duke of *Mercoeur*, still in arms and powerful in *Bretagne*, over-ran and harrassed the whole country with his forces; and turning sometimes towards *Normandy*, sometimes towards *Poitou* and *Xaintoigne*, kept those provinces also in continual terror and alarm. *Provence* and *Dauphiné* were neither yet thoroughly reduced to obedience, nor free from the incursions, of the Duke of *Savoy*, which made it necessary to keep two armies there continually employed: and, what was still of greater consequence, the *Hugonots*, either incensed or grown jealous at the close conjunction betwixt the King and the Pope, were in a manner up in arms, and (demanding liberty to meet and consult about their own affairs) seemed to threaten some new insurrection: so that it was to be feared he would be obliged to begin a war with the *Hugonots* before he had wholly established a peace with the Catholics.

These motives inclined the King to wish for peace: and point of honour only, to which he had always shewn the strictest regard, made him seem desirous to continue the war. He therefore resolutely told the Legate, in his first conference with him, "That he would not accede to any kind of peace, except all the places were first restored which had been taken from him, and the losses of the Crown totally repaired:" and this he said in so peremptory and spirited a manner, that he appeared thoroughly determined not to listen to any treaty of peace, till he had done himself and his reputation justice by his arms. The Legate, however, imagining he could pretty well guess at the King's secret desires, from the present situation of affairs, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and thinking it his duty to break the ice first, though there was no great appearance of success, he dispatched Father *Bonarventura Calatagirone*, General of the order of *St. Francis*, into *Spain*, to sound the inclinations of that Court.

But the forwardness which the Legate shewed to promote a peace, did not prevent the King from making diligent preparations to prosecute the war the next year: for he had summoned an assembly of all the officers of the Crown, principal Magistrates and Treasurers of his kingdom at the city of *Rouen*, where, besides reforming several disorders and abuses, he intended to regulate his finances, and endeavour to persuade the leading men and the heads of the Clergy and commonalty in every province to assist him such a manner, that he might be able to support the weight of the war by himself: which he thought would be no difficult matter, as they all knew the urgent necessity there was for it, how soon some of the rich and fertile provinces had almost recovered their former vigour since civil wars had ceased in them, and in how much more flourishing a condition they would quickly be, if good order and government were added to the blessings of peace: and he imagined every one would cheer-
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fully contribute to raise supplies, which were not to be expended, as in 1596. former times, either to gratify the King's private passions, or to wage a domestick war against those of the same blood; but to support one against foreigners, and to defend the Crown now it was attacked by its ancient rivals and inveterate enemies. And because there had been a sort of a particular truce, ever since the year before, with the Duke of *Mercœur*, in order to treat with him, and find some means of bringing him to an accommodation, yet, as it was often violated and interrupted, the King at this time sent the Count *De Schomberg* and the first President *De Thou* to treat with the Duke's Deputies, in the presence of the Queen Dowager of *France*. But the event of this treaty was doubtful, and the terms vague and unsettled: for the Duke, who was a subtle intriguing man, and not easily diverted from his purposes, had several private negotiations on foot both in *France* and *Spain*, and was in hopes that he should yet be able to dismember the duchy of *Bretagne* from the Crown (which had been united to it no longer than since the times of *Lewis* the twelfth and *Francis* the first) and to secure it to his posterity: or, if he could not accomplish that, at least to hold that state in the name of the Infanta *Isabella*, who claimed a right to it as next heir of the house of *Valois*, since women were not excluded from succeeding to the inheritance of *Bretagne*. For this purpose he had dispatched *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* to the Court of *Spain*, and still secretly endeavoured to draw several of the principal men of the province into a concurrence with his designs, expecting, at all events, to obtain much more advantageous conditions from the Infanta than from the King of *France*. But as the declining state of the League did not seem to favour his views, and the agreement which the other Princes of his house, and particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, had made with the King, very much perplexed him, he still kept the treaty of accommodation alive, and found means to prolong the truce from time to time, one while making use of force, another of artifice, to make himself master of some convenient town, and to keep the provinces adjoining to *Bretagne* in perpetual alarm and commotion.

In pursuance of these designs he had, about this time, successfully employed *Charles Gondi*, Marquis *De Belleisle*, and son to the Marshal *De Retz*, to seize upon *Fougeres*, a town of great importance on the confines of *Normandy*: and at that place had been taking measures to have the same Marquis let into *Mont St. Michael*, an exceeding strong town upon the sea-coast, to which there is no approaching by land, except during the short space of two hours in the day-time and two more in the night, when it is low water. These practices had been carried on so far with some persons in the town, that the Marquis, having received a promise of being admitted into it, left *Fougeres* secretly in the night with an hundred.

1596. hundred horse and four hundred foot, and came to *St. Michael* just when the ebb of the tide was at the lowest. At his arrival there, after the signals agreed upon had been made and returned, he was invited by the Governor of the castle, to come, with six only in his company, to take possession of the first gate, in order to let in the rest of his men: upon which invitation, the Marquis, a young man of more courage than prudence, made no scruple of entering; but seeing the gate through which he had passed into the first raveline, immediately shut upon him, he turned about with a stern countenance to the Captain that shut it, and commanded him to keep it open. But the Captain, seeming to despise his command, returned him a haughty answer, and the garrison taking arms, instantly killed the Marquis and his six companions: after which, they began to play with their artillery upon the rest of his forces, who being now well assured of their Commander's misfortune, retired unpursued to *Fougeres*.

This accident, however, did not discourage the Duke of *Merceaur* from pursuing his designs: for having lately had the good fortune to get possession of *Tifange*, a fortress in *Poitou*, and to make a further progress in other parts, he continued to treat of peace in an indeterminate sort of a manner, always governing himself by the present situation of affairs, sometimes lowering his demands in the King's prosperity, sometimes increasing them in his misfortunes, and being no less uncertain than others what he should resolve upon at last. Nor did the King, who was no stranger to the cause of these proceedings, absolutely give up his design of concluding a treaty with him, as he was disposed to grant him advantageous terms, in order to exclude the *Spaniards* from the possession of *Bretagne*, and reunite so important a member to the Crown: which was the reason that had induced him lately to depute the Count *De Schomberg* and the President *De Thou* (whose wisdom and address he thought a sufficient match for the Duke's artifices and inconstancy) to treat with his Agents.

He likewise sent the Sieurs *D'Emery* and *Godfrey de Calignon*, Chancellor of *Navarre*, to the Chiefs of the *Hugonots*, who, having withdrawn from Court, and retired to the towns near *Rochelle*, had got a number of men together in arms, and continued their conventicles and assemblies, to the great jealousy of the King and displeasure of his Council. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he had ever been an enemy to that party, yet desired the rest of the Council to consider, how destructive it would be to excite a new civil war, at a time when the wounds of the kingdom were not yet closed, and they were daily distressed by the success of the *Spanish* arms: upon which, they determined to send those two persons, who were men of very great esteem, to treat with that faction, and to assure them, that nothing prejudicial to liberty of conscience was either intended

intended or thought of. For though the conditions exacted by the Pope were well known to every one, yet a clause was added, "That they should not be put in execution, if it seemed likely to occasion war or disturbances:" by which proviso, the obedience due to the Pope and the liberty of the *Hugonots* were secured at the same time: for the temper of the times was manifestly such, that the King could not restrain them in that point, without raising fresh wars and commotions, and exposing his Crown to great dangers. When these two Deputies arrived at the places where the *Hugonots* resided, they had several conferences with the heads of that party, and the rest that were come to *Chasteltraut*, assuring them, that the edicts made in favour of their religion should be strictly observed: which indeed put a stop to the execution of the designs that were then in agitation, but did not prevail upon the Dukes of *Boüillon* and *Tremouille* to march, as the King desired, with the forces of that party into *Picardy*: for the arrival of the Legate, and the close conjunction betwixt him and the King, had made them so suspicious, that they would not venture out of their places of security.

Whilst they were proceeding by way of negociation in these parts, there was not a total cessation of arms on the confines of *Picardy*; for the garrisons, which both sides had there in great number, had frequent skirmishes and encounters, which still kept the war alive. And the Marshal *De Biron*, who never failed to molest the enemy upon every occasion, often made incursions into his Catholick Majesty's provinces, particularly in the month of *September*, when he entered *Artois* with all his cavalry, and put the whole country into great consternation. The Marquis *De Varambone*, therefore, who was Governor of it, having sent for Count *Giovanni Giacompo Belgiojoso* and the Count *De Montecucoli*, resolved to face him with eight hundred horse, and endeavour to put a stop to the havoc he made on all sides: but the Marshal being informed of his approach, stayed a whole day to refresh himself at *St. Andrew*, a place in the jurisdiction of *St. Omer*, and then set out, in the dusk of the evening, with his men in good order, intending to fall suddenly upon the Marquis, who thought he had been a great many miles from him: nor did he fail in his design: for after he had marched gently forwards all night, he met the enemy's vanguard, led by *Montecucoli*, about sun-rise: upon which, they immediately charged each other with great courage on both sides.* In the beginning of the action the *French* had the worst of it: for their first troops were driven back in some disorder to their main body: but soon after, the Marshal himself advancing, made so fierce an attack upon *Montecucoli*, that he was forced to turn his back and run away as fast as he could, and was not able to stop his men, who, in so precipitate a flight, fell foul of the Marquis's main battle, which put it into such

1596. disorder, that all his men deserted him: so that both *Montecucoli* and the Marquis, who still continued valiantly fighting, were taken prisoners. *Belgioioso* advanced next, with the rear-guard, and for some time gallantly opposed the fury of the conquerors: but the other troops being routed, and he himself wounded in the arm with two pistol balls, was at last obliged to retire, leaving the Marshal in possession of the field, and at full liberty to proceed whither he pleased: so that he would have done more mischief to the country, and perhaps have made a further progress, if the autumnal rains, which fell that year much before the usual time, had not put a stop to his career.

About this time an accident happened at Court, which may serve as a good example to private men, of that moderation with which it is their duty to govern their passions, and as a lesson to Princes, how far they ought to bear with those things in their subjects, which they are of necessity obliged to by the laws of honour. For a quarrel happening to arise in the King's anti-chamber, betwixt the *Sieur De Coquinvillier*, one of his Majesty's Gentlemen in waiting, but a man of approved valour, and *Monsieur De Bonivet*, a cavalier, not only of an ancient and noble family, but of great reputation: *Coquinvillier*, forgetting the place where he was, gave *Bonivet* a box on the ear, who had such a command over his passions, that he did not think fit to return it, out of regard to the place, but went out of the court, and was immediately followed by *Coquinvillier*: upon which, their friends interfering and carrying them off different ways, *Bonivet* sent to demand satisfaction of his adversary for the affront he had received: but the other, acknowledging his fault, in having so grievously insulted him in a place where it was not lawful to draw his sword to do himself justice, desired to be excused from meeting him in the field, and offered to ask his pardon, which every one knew was not for want of courage, as he had given sufficient proofs of that in other duels, but out of a consciousness that he was in the wrong. *Bonivet*, however, contrary to the advice and opinion of his friends, repeated his challenge several times, which *Coquinvillier* always answered with the same moderation, and kept at home for some time to avoid the necessity of fighting: but as *Bonivet* continued to provoke him daily with injurious letters and messages, and would not accept the offer he made of leaving himself to his discretion, he was at last obliged to meet him alone in a private place, where, after he had in vain renewed his former offers, and protested that he acknowledged himself worthy of all blame, he was forced, by *Bonivet's* choleric manner of proceeding, to draw his sword, and having wounded him at the first pass, retired a few paces, and earnestly desired there might be an end of the matter: but *Bonivet* pressing hard upon him again, and making several desperate thrusts, he was

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neecessitated, in his own defence, to run him through the body, and laid him dead upon the spot. As soon as this came to the King's ear, and he was thoroughly informed of all that had passed, he not only made an allowance for the necessity which had absolutely forced *Coquinvillier* to fight, and forgave the offence he had committed in striking within the verge of the court, but said publicly, that, "Since one of them was lost, it was too much to lose the other also:" and granting him his pardon, commanded the magistrates not to form any process against him.

In the mean time the Assembly was met at *Rouën*, where the King arrived on the 18th of *October*, attended by the Cardinal Legate, the Duke of *Montpensier*, Governor of that province, the High Constable, *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Espernon*, the Prince of *Jainville*, the Marshals *De Retz* and *Matignon*, the Admiral *D'Anville*, the Cardinals of *Givry* and *Gondi*, with many others of the principal Lords of the kingdom: and being received there with very great state, he opened the Assembly on the 4th of *November*, representing to them the necessity of a speedy regulation in the affairs of the kingdom, and his urgent occasion for supplies to maintain the war upon the confines: which points being afterwards more largely expatiated upon by the High Chancellor, they began with great application to consider of such remedies as might prove most salutary. But the vigour of a body that had been debilitated by so long and grievous distempers, was not easily to be restored, and every one was sensible how necessary a general peace was, to introduce and establish a wholesome and lasting reformation, since so many new disorders continually sprung up amidst the distractions of war; and that a strict regulation could not be observed, whilst military exigencies daily extorted the most licentious deviations and dispensations from it. Nor was there any one who did not plainly see, that the best way to obtain peace, was to lay a foundation to carry on a vigorous war, that so, when they had recovered their reputation and retaken the towns that were lost, the two Crowns might consent to an accommodation with equal honour. But if the remedy was obvious, the means of administering it were very difficult: for the whole kingdom was so exhausted and weakened, that the people could contribute but little to the King's assistance, who, in order to support the armies already on foot in *Dauphinè* and *Bretagne*, and to raise a still more powerful one in *Picardy*, was under a necessity of having recourse to *England* and *Holland* for large supplies of men, money, and ammunition (if no other expedient could be thought of) which he would be obliged to purchase at a very dear rate: and though it was hoped, that the provinces which had not been so much harrassed as the rest, might, with due regulation, be able to

1596. raise something considerable, yet even that required a length of time which the present necessities and the exigencies of a war would not admit of. However, as it absolutely behoved them to exert their utmost efforts upon this emergency, the whole Assembly cheerfully concurred in endeavouring to promote a reformation and redress of all abuses and grievances in the kingdom, and to make all possible provisions for carrying on the war.

1597. With these views, and deliberations ended the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-six: and though the Assembly continued sitting for some time in the beginning of the next, yet the reformation proposed went on but slowly and in a feeble manner: for affairs were so circumstanced, and the times such as would not admit of rigorous measure: the expences of the King's household, indeed, were lessened, some unnecessary offices abolished, and the pensions of particular men curtailed, but in such a manner, that the finances were not much increased by it. The supplies raised for the King himself were more considerable; for the payment of the Crown debts was suspended for two years, but without prejudice to the creditors: an additional duty was laid, by the consent of the people, upon salt, one of the principal revenues of the kingdom: all those that had been guilty of peculation, or unjustly seizing upon lands or other effects forfeited to the treasury, were obliged, by a severe edict, to a restitution; not only of the principal, but of the interest and profits of monies and possessions so usurped, which brought in very considerable sums: and, finally, many of the Clergy and Treasurers voluntarily engaged themselves to contribute a certain sum of money, though no very large one.

But after the King, who was then indisposed, had dismissed the Assembly at *Rouen*, and was come into the neighbourhood of *Paris*, to take proper means for the recovery of his health, that so, when he was got well again, he might be able to undergo the fatigue of arms as soon as the season would permit, a sudden and important accident revived the war, before the time he had designed to take the field. *Hernando Tellez Portocarrero*, a man of small bodily stature, but of great spirit and courage, was made Governor of *Dourlans* when it was taken by the *Spaniards*, and had not only given remarkable proofs both of his valour and prudence through the whole course of the war, but at that time stood upon the watch to take the advantage of any opportunity that should offer of distinguishing himself by some new exploit. This commander had lately began to make his addresses to an exceeding rich widow who lived in the country (as widows usually do in *France*) and was very desirous of marrying her: but whenever he made any proposals to her of that kind, she constantly answered, "That as she was a subject of the King of *France*,

France, and he a soldier in his Catholick Majesty's service, it would not be decent to comply with his solicitations, at a time when those two Princes were engaged in a war with each other, but that she should have no objection to such a match, provided he would either deliver up *Dourlans* to the King of *France*, or reduce *Amiens* (in which city she was born) to acknowledge the King of *Spain* as its Sovereign. This declaration had such an effect upon *Poytocarrero*, who, besides his ambition to serve his Prince, was animated by his affection to the Lady, and the hopes of obtaining so large a dowry, that he began to consider how he might make himself master of *Amiens*: and having had some conversation about it with one * *Dameline*, a man that was banished out of the town, he was informed that the townsmen had refused to receive a garrison of soldiers, and kept a very strict guard in the night, but a careless one by day; upon which he thought it would be no difficult matter to take it by surprize. But when he afterwards heard that there were fifteen thousand men in the city, well provided with arms, and ready to assemble upon the least commotion, he was long in doubt whether he should attempt an enterprize that seemed so difficult: and he was still more discouraged at the intelligence which he received, that three thousand *Swiss*, who were sent by the King to convoy a great quantity of ammunition and artillery into the city for the demands of the approaching war, had taken up their quarters and staid in the neighbouring villages. He resumed his design, however, when he was told, that the Count *De St. Paul* had ordered them to withdraw to a greater distance, at the importunate requests of the citizens: and was the more determined to persist in it by a desire of making himself master of the provisions that had been sent into the city. For this purpose, he ordered *Francisco del Arco* (a serjeant, whose fidelity he had experienced upon many occasions) to go into the city in disguise, and diligently observe the occupations of the citizens, and the manner of keeping their guards. The report that *Del Arco* made was very favourable to his design: for the citizens, he said, were employed all the day in following their necessary concerns, and those few who had the charge of guarding the gates, shut themselves up in a room there, to enjoy the benefit of a fire in that cold season of the year, so that the gates for the most part were deserted by every one, except a centinel, who stood at the palisadoes. Being confirmed in his resolution therefore by this account, he sent the same serjeant to desire a commission and supplies of men from the Cardinal Archduke, to enable him to go upon this enterprize: and the Archduke, readily consenting that he should undertake a thing that appeared so likely to succeed, dispatched orders for the garrisons of *Cambray*, *Calais*, *Bapaume*, and *Cassel*; to hold detachments in readiness to march towards *Dourlans*, and to act as they should

* The French says, *Du Moulin*.

1597. be commanded by *Portocarrero*, as soon as ever they received notice from him so to do.

Having therefore made all necessary preparations, he sent to order those forces to be at *Orville*, a village about a league from *Dowlans*, on the evening of the 10th of *March*: upon which summons, six hundred horse, led by *Girolamo Caraffa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, and two thousand foot of different nations, commanded by old *Spanish*, *Walloon*, and *Italian* officers, met there from several parts at the time appointed: and being only told, in general, by *Portocarrero*, that they must advance towards *Amiens*, they marched that way all night, the younger *Panure*, a *Walloon*, and *Inigo d'Ollava*, a *Spaniard*, who were privy to the whole design, leading the first troops, which arriving near the city before daylight in the morning, concealed themselves behind some hedges there: which was also done by Captain *Fernando Dexxa* and Captain *Bosloc*, when they came up with an hundred *Spanish* and as many *Irish* foot. *Portocarrero*, who commanded the main body himself, made an halt near the abbey of *St. Mary Magdalen*, above half a mile from the town: and after *Panure* had got up to the top of a tree, and made a signal to him, when it was light, that the gate was opened, and the hurry of those that had been going in and coming out pretty well over, he sent *Giovanni Battista Dugnano*, a *Milanese*, and serjeant *Del Arco*, to execute what had been agreed upon betwixt them.

These two, with twelve others in company, were disguised like peasants, after the manner of that country, in long frocks, some of cloth, some of linen, under which, each of them had a brace of short pistols and a dagger. Four of them drove a cart with three horses fastened to the shafts in such a manner, that by pulling out an iron pin they might be immediately loosed from the cart, which being loaded with thick pieces of wood covered with straw, was sent before, to stop under the portcullice and hinder it from shutting down. Behind the cart were four more of the company, with sacks full of apples and nuts upon their shoulders, followed by the other six, one by one, and last of all came up serjeant *Dugnano*, brother to the Captain, with a great stake upon his shoulder. It was already prayer-time, and as it then happened to be the season of *Lent*, most of the people were gone to their several churches, and had left but few to guard the gates, when the first party entered the palisadoes with their cart, and going on till they came directly under the portcullice, for the purpose before-mentioned, one of the second company fell down, as if it was by chance, and scattered his apples and nuts upon the ground: upon which, many of those that were upon guard ran eagerly to gather them up, and the rest laughing and making game of the supposed peasant, took no notice of the cart, from which the horses

were

were instantly loosed, lest they should be frightened at the bustle and draw it too far : so that the middle of the gate was blocked up in such a manner, that the portcullice could not be let down. Those that came last to the palisadoes dispatched the centinel that was posted there, and the rest immediately taking their weapons in hand, fell furiously upon those that were scrambling for the apples and nuts ; and having killed some of them, drove the rest into the guard-room where the fire was, and shut them so close up there, that the first companies of foot had time to come up without opposition to the very gate. Upon this, the centinel, who was on the top of the gate-way, hearing the uproar that was below, presently cut the ropes of the portcullice, which being made of several bars, and not all of one piece, two of the bars broke through the bottom of the cart, but the other three were suspended, and left room enough for two men to enter a-breast. Through that passage the commanders and officers advanced compleatly armed, and after them above an hundred soldiers, before any succour arrived from the city : at last the people, coming up from all sides, would have defeated the assailants (amongst whom *Dugnano* was killed by a large wound on the head) if *Panure* had not opportunely come in with his *Walloons*, and Captain *Bostoc* with the *Irish*, who broke down the bars of the portcullice and removed all impediments : after which the people, who ran tumultuously thither without either order or commander, being driven back and dispersed with the loss of above eighty citizens, there was no further resistance made : for the Count *De St. Paul*, who was in the town without any garrison, at the first rumour of the surprisal got out of the *Porte de Beauvais* and made his escape. *Fernando Dezza* entered immediately after the first, and last of all *Portocarrero* himself with the main body, who kept the soldiers from straggling about to plunder ; not only for fear of the people, which was much superior in number to his forces, but because he was also apprehensive that the King's troops, which were not far off, might make an attempt to recover the town whilst they were so employed. But the people, who had been too valiant before they were in danger, and too abject when it came upon them, dispirited by so unexpected an event, tamely laid down their arms : and the King's cavalry, which had advanced up to the very walls, having met the Marquis *De Montenegro* with his horse there, and finding nothing was to be done, retired to their former quarters, without making any further attempt.

The news of this loss affected the King so deeply, that, without any further regard to his health, he broke off the course of physick he had begun, and posted with all haste into *Picardy*, attended only by those that were then about his person, being confirmed more than ever in his former opinion, that wherever he was not immediately present himself, every thing

1597. thing was carried on with carelessness and ill success: and passing with great hazard through a country, in all parts of which a victorious enemy was roving about, he arrived at *Corbie*, where the Marshal *De Biron* was, being resolved, or rather excited by despair, to begin the war again, let what would be the event, and to expose himself to any danger whatsoever, in going upon some enterprise, though never so unlikely to succeed; since he plainly saw, that nothing was so prejudicial to his affairs as idleness, nor any thing more beneficial than action.

The neighbouring provinces and towns were likewise no less alarmed, and particularly *Paris*, which was not above twenty-eight leagues from *Amiens*, through a flat open country without any fortrefs in the road: so that the people were in very great dread, lest the *Spaniards*, elated with their success, should advance to ravage the country and cut off the passage of provisions, whilst the King had no army on foot to oppose their progress: and the bitter remembrance of their late sufferings, yet fresh in their minds, made the danger appear more terrible and nearer at hand than it really was. The whole country, therefore, was in an uproar, the common people frightened, the Noblesse outrageous, and many there were that openly murmured against the King, and said that he only shewed his valour in civil wars, but gave way in all places to the discipline, policy, bravery, and vigilance of foreigners: others took still greater freedoms, and exclaimed against his manner of life, complaining, that he had entirely given himself up to the allurements of *Madame Gabrielle*, and retired to pass his time voluptuously with her, whilst an active and watchful enemy was daily making vigorous attempts upon some or other of the principal cities of the kingdom. And indeed what they said was not without some appearance of truth: for the King having publicly shewn to how great a degree he was enamoured of that Lady, by causing the baptism of a daughter which he had by her, to be celebrated in a royal manner, in the face of the Assembly at *Roüen*, had retired with her alone to *St. Germain's*, *St. Maur*, and other private places of pleasure near the city: so that those who did not know the real necessity he was under of taking physick at that time, imputed all to a love of ease and effeminate dalliance.

The King was not ignorant of these popular clamours, and was so stung with them, that he used his utmost endeavours to clear himself of such imputations, both by letters and publick declarations, attributing the loss of *Amiens* to the obstinacy of the citizens, who never would admit a garrison, to which he would not force them, because that city had but lately come over to him, and he was unwilling the people should have any reason to think he designed to break his word and violate their privileges. He likewise represented, that it was not love of pleasure, but the

care of his health, which was absolutely necessary, that had induced him to retire and take proper remedies, though the season was at that time extremely cold, that so he might be able, as soon as possible, to conduct the course of the war in person. And as to the reproach, that he only knew how to make civil war, he answered, that he had twice engaged the Duke of *Parma*; and desired it might be remembered in what manner he had behaved, the year before, against the Constable of *Castile's* army, in which enterprizes, whatever his detractors might say to the contrary, he had shewn as much vigilance and military discipline, as the temper of the *French* Noblesse and the nature of times and occasions would allow.

But he did not content himself with apologies only; for though he had not above four thousand foot and two thousand horse, he determined to advance and lay siege to *Amiens*. And as he resolved to leave no means untried to recover that city, he thought it the best way to begin to distress it as soon, and in as effectual a manner, as lay in his power, that so those that had the government of it might neither have time nor conveniency to lay in a quantity of provisions, sufficient to support such a multitude of inhabitants as continually resided in that town. With this resolution he left *Corbie*, and having passed the river *Somme*, encamped his army in the mid-way betwixt *Amiens* and *Dourlans*, to cut off the commerce and mutual assistance which those two places afforded each other: and leaving orders with Marshal *Biron* to prosecute the siege with more vigour, according as he was daily reinforced with fresh supplies, he gave himself no rest, but was posting day and night from one fortified town to another, drawing both horse and foot out of the garrisons to augment his army as much as possible, and at last returned to *Paris*, to hasten the necessary preparations that were making there, and to raise money sufficient to go on with the siege, which, at that time, was the object upon which he turned all his care and attention.

The city of *Amiens* is situated upon the river *Somme*, which, being divided into many branches, runs through the midst of the town, and surrounds and washes the walls in many places. On one side, it has the large castle of *Pequigny*, and *Corbie* on the other: the castle four leagues, and the town seven distant from it. The city is encompassed with thick and well laid out walls, flanked with their bastions and ravelines, more or less, according to the distance of the river from it: and though it is very well fortified in all parts, yet it is the strongest, and laid out with the greatest art, on the side that lies beyond the main river course, and looks towards *Flanders*. There the King proposed to sit down, not only to prevent all communication with *Dourlans*, but also because he intended to fortify the quarters of his army in such a manner, and invest the town

1597. so closely with trenches and forts, that, though the Cardinal Archduke should take the field with a powerful army, he would not be able to relieve it, when he found it so effectually blockaded on that side. But the Marshal *De Biron*, not having yet strength enough to open the trenches, had taken post with the vanguard in the abbey of *St. Mary Magdalen*, and extended himself with the rest of his forces upon the road to *Dour-laus*, breaking up and scouring the highways with his cavalry, and preventing all manner of provisions or relief from getting into the city.

On the other hand, *Portocarrero*, though besieged much sooner than he expected, having sent serjeant *Del Arco* to the Archduke at *Brussels*, to acquaint him of this event, and to demand succours, applied himself, with his usual diligence, to repair the fortifications, and to provide against all other events: and when he saw the *French* encamp so near, he resolved to harraß them with sallies whilst they were yet weak, and oblige them to remove further off. On the 13th of *March*, therefore, in the morning, he ordered the Marquis *De Montenegro* to march out and attack the vanguard, which was quartered in the abbey; and the Marquis, having sent fifty *Walloon* horse before him to fall upon the first corps de garde, consisting of twenty men, followed them himself so close with two hundred other horse, that, after he had dispersed the corps de garde and taken some prisoners, he suddenly advanced to the quarters of the *French*: from whence four hundred horse sallying out to receive the charge, there ensued a long skirmish, that lasted, without much advantage on either side, till the Marquis began to give way, in order to draw the enemy after him into an ambuscade amongst some hedges, where Captain *Inigo d'Ollava* lay with two hundred *Spanish* foot. But the *Sieur De Montigny*, who commanded the *French*, having pursued them close at the heels as far as the hedges, made a short stop there, for fear of some ambush that might be laid in so convenient a place: upon which the skirmish ended, and both parties retired, without having effected any thing of moment.

The next day the Marquis made another sally, with three hundred light horse and one hundred lances; but the skirmish increasing and growing very hot, as numbers of *harquebusiers* came up on each side, the *French* did not think proper to advance any further towards the hollow ways near the walls, nor durst the *Spaniards* come any nearer the abbey, both the commanders being afraid of some snare. *Portocarrero* then had recourse to another expedient, to prevent himself from being molested any longer by so near an approach of the *French* vanguard, and began to batter the abbey with several culverines, of which he found great plenty in the city, and kept so incessant a fire upon it, that there was no maintaining that post; so that the vanguard was obliged to retire to a village farther off, from whence indeed they had as good an opportunity of obstructing
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the roads, but gave the besieged more convenience to provide themselves with sand, fascines, and other things necessary to throw up new works. 1597.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Archduke had been making diligent preparations to throw succours into the town, before the *French* army was reinforced: in consequence of which, *Juan de' Gusman*, being sent from the territory of *Cambrai* with four companies of harquebusiers, but all mounted, and three hundred light horse, marched all night, that he might be able to reach the gates of the city early in the morning, as he luckily did, under the favour of a dark and cloudy night, and because the *French*, though they had intelligence of his design, did not expect his arrival before the next evening. But an unseasonable piece of vanity had like to have overfet this enterprize, so fortunately conducted to the very point of execution. For as soon as he saw himself near the city, he ordered his trumpets to sound, and fired a volley of small arms, by way of triumph: at which alarm, the *French*, who were ready under arms, ran so furiously to charge them, that the two parties being immediately and closely engaged, the garrison durst not fire their artillery upon them, for fear of destroying their own friends, who, being obliged to give way to larger numbers, had retreated, still fighting, to the covert way, and there would have been totally routed and cut off, if *Fernando Dezza*, who defended that post, had not fired upon them all without distinction, and forced the *French* to retire: after which, the harquebusiers that came to the relief of the town dismounted and leaped into the fosse, and the Marquis *De Montenegro*, making a sally at the same time with his horse, when the *French* were drawing off, bravely drove them back again as far as the abbey. In this manner these succours got into the town, with the loss of about forty men; which yet was not inconsiderable, as *Ruggiero Taccone* was wounded in the left leg, and *Fernando Dezza* killed by a musket-ball which he received in the head. But what made this relief still more important, was, that *Frederico Pacciotto* (brother to *Guidobaldo*, who was slain at the siege of *Calais*, and an engineer of very great skill and experience) a man much wanted by the Commanders to overlook the fortifications, entered at the same time, with various sorts of necessary provisions, and a large sum of money.

Whilst they were thus engaged under the walls of *Amiens* in frequent and bloody skirmishes, and the attention of every one was turned that way, the Marshal *De Biron*, watching all opportunities of taking any advantage, resolved to give a sudden scalado to *Dourlans*, and having caused a great number of ladders to be made, he ordered the *Sieur De Montigny*, who commanded the light horse, to lead the foot of the rear guard upon that enterprize, and he himself, after he had been scouring about and skirmishing before the walls of *Amiens*, that the enemy might

1597. not take notice of the lessening of his army, marched the same way to support his first detachment, with sixty cuirassiers and his own troop of horse. About two hours before day, the *Sieur De Fleſſan* on one side, and the *Sieur De Fouquieroles* on the other, both Captains of the regiment of *Picardy*, followed by two hundred *Swiss*, clapped the scaling-ladders to the walls of *Dourlans*, which being found much too short, the attempt proved ineffectual, and the assailants, without sustaining any loss, or doing the enemy the least damage, returned the next day to their old quarters before *Amiens*.

But the Marshal *De Biron*, exceedingly chagrined at this disappointment, being reinforced by four thousand *English* (which Queen *Elizabeth*, after many delays, had at last sent to the King's assistance, in consequence of the confederacy lately concluded betwixt them) and by many other troops of horse and companies of foot, that had come in with great expedition from several parts, resolved to encamp nearer the city, and when he had fortified his quarters, to shut up all the avenues to it on the other side of the river in the same manner. His army amounted to twelve thousand effective men, but he, by his diligence, courage, and vigilance, made it appear much larger: for he was gallant in action, circumspect in all his proceedings, and indefatigable in his duty, and rigorous in exacting that from others which he did not fail to perform himself. These qualities he now exerted to the utmost, as he was piqued at the King's reproach, who he heard had publicly said, "That where he was not present himself, every thing was conducted either with little good fortune or much negligence." The Marshal, therefore, who thought several victories that had been obtained were chiefly owing to his good conduct and personal courage, now seeing that honour called in question which he imagined justly due to him, and being a man of infinite pride, was provoked to the highest degree, and laboured with all his power to effect something extraordinary, the success of which might seem to be wholly owing to his own valour and conduct, and not to any directions or assistance of the King: for which purpose, though the number and resolution of the besieged were such as required a much larger army to distress them effectually, yet he was determined to attempt it with what forces he had.

The first thing that he did then, was to throw a bridge over the *Somme* at the village of *Long Pré*, about half a league above the town, which he fortified with a half moon on each side of the river, that he might at the same time secure a free passage for himself both above and below the city, and hinder the enemy from getting over at the place where the streams divide themselves, to relieve the besieged on that side which was not yet blocked up. Besides these fortifications, a trench was begun within

within a quarter of a league of the town, near the bank of the river, which extending itself in the form of a half-moon, took in the whole plain, and ended at the bank of the river again about the same distance below the town: and this trench was divided into seven parts, by as many royal forts, which being well furnished with small pieces of artillery, scoured and flanked the trench, and entirely commanded the field. Another such a trench, though of a much larger range, with the same number of forts, blocked up the passage from *Dourlans*, and the roads that led through the territory of *Cambray* into *Flanders*: and on that side the trench was deeper, and the works a great deal higher than on the other, to defend them in the rear, in case of any attack from the *Spaniards*. The whole army was employed in these works, with a vast number of pioneers, who being forced in by *Biron's* rigour and severity, wrought day and night for little or no wages.

The besieged were no less resolute and industrious; for, watching all opportunities, they sallied every hour either on horseback or on foot, and keeping the whole camp in continual motion, interrupted the progress of their works, and did them much damage, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. The skirmish was very sharp and bloody that happened on the 24th of *May*, at which time the Marquis and *Portocarrero* sallied out different ways, each with three hundred horse and as many foot: and whilst *Portocarrero* made a furious attack upon the enemy on the lower side, the Marquis advanced towards *Longpre*, and passing along the side of the trench, which was not yet finished, threw those that guarded it into very great confusion, and would have demolished the half-moon there, and nailed up three pieces of cannon that were in it, if the *Sieur De Montigny* had not hastened thither with the light horse, and courageously opposed him. In the mean time the Marshal *De Biron* endeavoured to possess himself of the pass betwixt his trench and the river, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat; but when he had advanced that way on a round trot with several troops of horse, he found that *Diego Darando*, *Francisco del Arco*, and Captain *Falme* an *Irishman*, had secured that post, to facilitate the retreat of their own men. So that there ensued a more furious skirmish at that place than the other: for the infantry, taking the advantage of the hedges and ditches (of which they found many there) exceedingly galled the *French* cavalry: and the Marquis having faced about, attacked the Marshal's troops in the flank and rear in such a manner, that, being enclosed, as it were, betwixt two fires, they had certainly been defeated, if the rest of the cavalry, led by the Comendatory *De Chartres*, had not come up with all speed to disengage them. But at his arrival, the *Spanish* foot giving way on one hand, and
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1597. the Marshal retiring on the other, both parties drew off about sun-set, leaving many of each side dead upon the spot.

On the 7th of *June* the King arrived in the camp, to the great mortification of Marshal *De Biron*, who was very desirous to have finished the lines of circumvallation before he came: so that when he saw Madam *Gabriele* there too, he said publicly, "He supposed she was the prosperity and good genius which the King had brought along with him;" nor would it have been an easy matter to pacify him, if the King, after viewing the trenches himself, had not only highly commended his skill and diligence, but also given orders that he should command the army, and direct all the military operations in as ample a manner as he had done before his coming. After which, his Majesty, attended by several of the Princes, took up his quarters in the abbey, where, though it was in a ruinous condition, there were yet some apartments entire: nor could he be prevailed upon to remove from thence, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* kept a very heavy and incessant fire of their artillery upon it. The High Constable, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Espenon*, and the Prince of *Jainville*, lodged themselves in the forts, and the Marshal *De Biron* in a hermitage within musket-shot of the counterscarp, intending to begin his approaches on that side as soon as he had sufficiently fortified his camp, in which he raised huts covered with boards, to shelter his men from the rain and bad weather, since the King had determined, in a council of war, to approach by sapping, though it was the most tedious way, that he might not expose his forces in assaults, to the great peril of their lives; of whom the war had already swallowed up such numbers, that it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, at a time when the kingdom was almost exhausted of private men, and the Noblesse much reduced.

The pay of the army, now many of the old ministers were removed, passed through the hands of Monsieur *D'Inquerville*, Superintendant of the finances, who was assisted by the assiduous and unwearied endeavours of *Villeroy*, Secretary of State: the latter having, in a great measure, laid aside all other concerns, on purpose to apply himself to this, in order to prevent the Commanders from practising any frauds that might increase the scarcity of money, which was already very great, and that the diminution or augmentation of the army being certainly known from day to day, such only might be paid as were actually mustered. Nor was there ever such a degree of exactness seen in times past: for the soldiery till then, had, for the most part, supported themselves upon plunder and free quarters, without any pay: but now the country was every where drained and laid waste, and the foot in particular were obliged to work continually and keep in their trenches, it was necessary they should be duly

duly paid, which, with other contingencies and provisions for the siege, amounted to above three millions of ducats. 1597.

The artillery was under the command of Monsieur *De St. Luc*, who, excited by his own natural ardour and the example of Monsieur *De la Guiche* his predecessor, exerted himself to the utmost upon all emergencies, in which the *Swiss* and the *English* were also more alert than any of the other forces: for the *French* infantry, except the regiment of *Picardy* and that of *Navarre*, entirely consisted of raw new-raised men, and such as had not been inured to labour and fatigue, or to lie in the field: and yet the season was so healthful, and the care of the Commanders so great in providing all manner of necessary conveniencies, that very few died, and not many were sick. The light horse, commanded by the *Sieur De Montigny*, were quartered in the rear of the army, from whence they made large excursions to bring in provisions, and harrassed all the country round to the very gates of *Dourlans*; and as *Ludovico Melzi* had lately entered that town with ten troops of horse, there often happened sharp and bloody skirmishes betwixt the two parties.

The besieged, in the mean time, were not idle in their endeavours to interrupt the approaches of the enemy, and in beating up their quarters, notwithstanding the *French* army was increased to the number of eighteen thousand effective men: and though the town (whatever might be the occasion) was full of distempers, which still became more contagious and pestilential every day, as the weather grew hotter, yet the resolution of the Commanders and the spirit of the private men overcame all difficulties: for they continued their sallies as usual, and kept an incessant fire from their artillery, which made great havock: and one of the heavy shot falling into a gallery, directly over the King's apartments, filled it so full of dust and rubbish, that if the floors had not been very strong, both he and all his attendants must certainly have perished under the ruins.

Besides these preparations on the outside, there were also secret practices carrying on within the town: for a *Burgundian* Captain having got into it in the habit of an *Augustine* Friar, not only prevailed upon those Fathers to receive some other armed men into their convent, but also got a promise from some of the *Walloons* to open one of the gates that was furthest from the works, as soon as it should be their turn to be upon guard there: but whilst they were endeavouring to draw others into their design, it came to the ears of the Governor, who having caused nine of the accomplices to be hanged, imprisoned most of the Friars, and placed strict guards on the convent. This accident increased the duty of the besieged: for as they found they could not confide in the people, amongst whom they thought there were many other accomplices in this conspiracy.

1597. racy, they were forced, whenever they made a sally, to patroll the town at the same time with strong guards, to prevent any insurrection, and when an alarm was given, they always manned the streets as well as the fortifications. But notwithstanding all these impediments, they omitted no opportunity of sallying, rightly judging, that this was the most proper way to retard the King's approaches, and give the Cardinal Archduke time to draw an army together for their relief.

On the other hand, whilst one side was thus intent to carry on the approaches, and the other to prevent them, the Marshal *De Biron* resolved to make a sudden effort to carry the city by surprise. For this purpose, on the 21st of *June* in the night, which proved dark and cloudy, he ordered two Captains to advance silently with some foot and get into the fosse; from whence they threw several sauciffes with lighted fuses into the embrasures and casemates, which soon took fire and alarmed the guards. But as they had not been able to fix them in a proper manner, or to aim them right, and they did not go off all together, they made some noise indeed in their explosion, but did very little execution: for they only demolished part of the facing of the wall, blew up some small turrets, and killed three centinels: so that the Captains seeing no breach made that was practicable, and showers of fireworks poured from all sides into the fosse, immediately retired, leaving many sauciffes behind them, which, on account of the powder they contained, were of great service to the besieged. Sauciffes are long sacks of leather full of gunpowder, with a fuse, so primed as to go off at a certain time, and operate like a mine or a petard, but in a much weaker degree.

So narrow an escape determined the besieged to guard the counterscarp more carefully for the future: for which purpose, they posted two companies of *Spaniards* and two others of *Walloons* there, who were relieved day and night; besides which, all the casemates in the fosse had strong parties placed over them, and were so strictly guarded, that afterwards, when the Colonel of the *Navarrese* regiment advanced to make another attempt with sauciffes, near the raveline of the gate that looks toward *Long-pré*, he was driven back with some loss from the entrance of the counterscarp.

In the mean time the Marshal fortified the hermitage, with a design to begin two trenches of approach from thence; but the Marquis *De Montenegro*, being resolved to hinder that as much as possible, made a sally on the 29th with four hundred horse, supported by two hundred *Irish* and *Italian* foot, and advancing directly to the hermitage, began so furious a skirmish with those that were at work there, that the Marshal himself was obliged to enter into the action with his own troop: nor would that have been sufficient to repulse the enemy, if the Count *D'Auvergne* had not

not come up with a strong troop of horse to his succour. At his arrival the Marquis began to retire, still fighting: but his foot bravely advancing, and posting themselves in the hollows of the field, galled the *French* cavalry to such a degree, that they were forced to retire without attacking them. About two hundred of the Marshal's men were slain in this encounter, and of the Marquis's not above ten.

The night following the Marshal laid an ambush of two hundred *French* foot in the ruins of St. John's church, which, together with the suburbs, had in a great measure been demolished by the besieged from the beginning: and in the morning stood with his horse ready drawn up to receive the enemy if they should make a sally as usual. Upon which the Marquis, coming out with a number equal to what he had the day before, inadvertently fell into the ambush: yet he was not dismayed, but kept his men close together, and endeavoured to make as good a retreat as he could. But the Marshal advancing out of his quarters, attacked him in the rear, and made him face about again, which brought on so close an engagement, that the Marquis, overpowered with numbers, and charged both in flank and front, would certainly have been cut off, with all his men, if the Governor had not made a sally with the rest of the horse to disengage him: for which purpose, having dispatched two troops of cuirassiers and one of lances before him, the action grew very hot, and they fought desperately on both sides for a considerable time: but a body of *English* coming up at last, the *Spaniards* were repulsed and forced to retire as fast as they could to the counterescarp. Seventy of the besieged were slain that day, and amongst the rest *Juan Gusman*, a cavalier of a very noble family, who had conducted the late succours that got into the town.

Notwithstanding this check, they made another sally the next day, in which they charged the foot that were at work about the hermitage, and killed many of the soldiers and pioneers: but seeing four troops of horse and a battalion of the *English* advancing toward them, they retired without attempting any thing further at that time. The sallies, however, continued so frequent on the following days, that the works proceeded very slowly: but on the 5th of *July*, the Marshal, having laid two ambushes in the field, surrounded the salliers in such a manner, that the party commanded by *Diego Benavides* was totally defeated, and he himself, after he had lost his ensign and serjeant, had much ado to make his escape: and *Ruggiero Taccone*, who followed him with the cavalry, being furiously repulsed and close pursued, with much difficulty got safe at last under the shelter of the covert way.

By these misfortunes and the distempers which daily increased in the town, the ardour of the besieged was so abated, that *Biron* had an opportunity

1597. tunity of planting eleven heavy pieces of cannon, with which he not only scoured the field, and hindered the enemy from sallying out of the counter-carp, but protected those that were working at the trenches. The besieged, therefore, seeing the works now advance very fast, resolved to interrupt them that were employed there by making another vigorous sally, in hopes of destroying what was done, and of nailing up the Marshal's artillery, that so it should not be able to annoy them again for some days. For this purpose, the Governor gave orders, that Captain *Diego Durando* and *Francisco del Arco* (who had also got a company) should be ready in the covert way, the first with two hundred *Spanish* foot, the other with the same number of *Italians* and *Walloon*s: that two *Irish* Captains should be prepared to sally next, with three hundred foot of their nation: and that *Carlo de Sangro* should conduct the rear guard, consisting of eighty heavy armed foot, who were also to carry halberds. The Captains *Ruggiero Taccone* and *Francisco Fonte* were appointed to sally at the gate to which the enemy were carrying on their approaches, with each of them an hundred horse under his command, to support the infantry: and Captain *Simone Latro* was ordered to sally at the same time through the *Porte de Beauvais* with two hundred more horse, to give an alarm on the other side, and then to traverse the field and join the rest. About noon on the 17th of *July*, the Governor made a signal for the sally by firing a cannon: upon which, they all bravely advanced, *Durando* to the trench on the right hand, and *Del Arco* to that on the left, and made so fierce an attack there, that they presently routed and drove off the guards that defended them, and then fell upon the regiment of *Picardy*, before it had time enough to form itself in a proper manner to receive the charge: so that after they had cut off the first troops that advanced to oppose them, and laid the Captains *Fleffan*, *La Viette*, and *Fouqueroles* dead upon the spot, they routed and dispersed the rest, whom they pursued to the very redoubts of the hermitage, where those that fled and the pursuers fell all together with such impetuosity upon the regiment of *Champagne*, which was upon guard there, that it was likewise thrown into great disorder and ran away to the parade in their rear, there to form again. During this general rout and confusion, the *Spanish* Commanders valiantly supported by their men, who filled the trenches with slaughter, had advanced close to the redoubts of the hermitage, which would have been abandoned, and consequently lost, if the Marshal *De Biron* with four officers of his own troop, and Captain *Francisco Benzi*, a *Florentine*, with some few other men that followed him, had not taken up pikes and ran to oppose the violence of the enemy: and though they made a desperate resistance in the narrow avenues of the redoubts, yet so few could not long sustain the weight of such numbers. Nor was it possible for any relief

relief to come up ; for the Marquis *De Montenegro*, *Ruggiero Taccone*, *Francisco Fonte*, and after them, Captain *Simone*, scouring the field, reduced every one to a necessity of defending his own post : so that the batteries of the hermitage and the Marshal himself were in the utmost danger, till the Prince of *Jainville*, who was in the nearest fort, seeing the extremity he was in, ran as fast as he could with an hundred men into those redoubts ; but at their arrival there, *Sangro* resolutely advanced with his halberdiers, whose armour enabled them to do more effectual service, and gave the *French* such a rebuff, that they presently retired, though fighting, as far as their artillery. The Marshal *De Biron* in the mean time, all over blood and sweat, and with all the hair burnt off on the right side of his head, still kept making signals of his distress : upon which, the King, seeing no other remedy at hand, immediately leaped off his horse, and taking a pike in his hand, ran with those Gentlemen that were about his person, to defend the cannon : after whom the Counts *D'Auvergne* and *De St. Paul* hastening up one after another, with a great number of the Noblesse, who were come out of the abbey, the skirmish increased to such a degree that it looked like a general engagement, and lasted above two hours with great obstinacy on both sides, the King himself being at the head of his men : but at last, great numbers of the *French* pouring in, and the *Spanish* infantry finding themselves fatigued, and their strength failing under the weight of their arms in so hot a part of the day, began to retire, though softly, and in their retreat were pursued and hard pressed by the Prince of *Jainville*, who behaved very gallantly upon this occasion, and with a courage worthy of his birth. When they got out of the lines the battle was renewed ; for the *Spanish* cavalry coming up to succour their friends, and charging the *French* in the flank, separated the Prince of *Jainville* and his party from the King, and the Marshal *De Biron* and their men, in such a manner, that their forces were divided into two bodies, and not able to assist, or even to see each other. In this extreme danger, however, they fought desperately, till the Duke of *Mayenne* opportunely came to their assistance with five or six hundred horse, who, notwithstanding an incessant fire from the artillery of the town, had passed through the field betwixt the trenches and the fosse, whither the *Spaniards*, now wearied out, began to retire, and were pursued close at the heels to the very counterscarp. It was a long while before the Prince of *Jainville* made his appearance ; which gave the King so much uneasiness, that he stayed at the mouth of the trench, calling out aloud and earnestly enquiring after him : and indeed every one began to fear he was slain ; but at last he returned with some few in his company, bruised and wounded, and covered all over with blood and dirt, which yet revived the drooping spirits of the army. The King lost

1597. that day above nine hundred men, and of the *Spaniards* about ninety were left dead upon the field: the wounded were many, and those of the highest distinction in the *French* army, besides a number of private Gentlemen, amongst whom *Henry Davila* also, who wrote this history, was hurt with a partisan in the right knee.

The besieged were now so weakened by the loss they had sustained in this action, and several others before, and by the distempers, which daily grew more malignant, and at last became pestilential, that they could no longer continue their sallies with the same vigour: upon which account Captain *Palme*, an *Irishman*, and *Francisco del Arco*, raised a paliade round the covert way, to keep the enemy so much longer at bay, and to prevent them from coming near enough to annoy the counterscarp, which was maintained till the 1st of *August*. On that day, the trenches being brought up thither and ready to be opened, the besieged fastened two petards to the earth, which hardly now closed the mouths of them, and breaking through into them on a sudden, attacked those that were at work there and did some damage: but towards evening, the *French* having opened them in a regular manner, got possession of the counterscarp, where the *Spaniards* immediately sprung a mine and blew up above forty of them. The mouths of the trenches were fortified by the *French* that night, and the next morning they began to raise a large cavalier close by the right hand trench, to batter the fortifications and flanks of the bastions. On the following days, they endeavoured to destroy the casemates with fougades, saucisses, and other sorts of fireworks and contrivances, in which they were day and night continually employed: yet such was the resolution and vigilance of the besieged, that the enemy gained but very little ground in the course of many days. But after they had proceeded as far as they could by sap, and the galleries were already advanced to the very foot of the walls, Monsieur *De St. Luc* raised a battery of eight pieces of cannon, to play upon a raveline that covered the entrance of the bridge and gate, and the artillery kept a constant fire upon it till the 24th, upon which day the *English* and *French* made two separate assaults, and got possession of the raveline: but as the night was short, and they were so fatigued that they could not sufficiently cover themselves there, Captain *Durando* attacked them with so much vigour the next morning at the beating of the reveille, whilst great quantities of fireworks were thrown amongst them from the wall, and Captain *Oltava's* musketers poured in continual volleys of small shot upon their flank, that they were obliged to quit that post: however, as it was soon totally demolished by the cavalier, now raised to a proper height, the *French* recovered it the same night, and the regiment of *Picardy* immediately encamped itself upon the spot. The Governor, therefore, upon this

this loss, ordered Captain *Gagliedo* to throw up a small half-moon upon the edge of the rampart, with earth carried thither in scuttles and baskets : and at the same time the Marquis *De Montenegro*, to delay the further approach of the enemy, caused a large trench to be drawn along the bank of a branch of the river, which on that side runs very near the wall, that so, though the first fortification was beat down, they might still meet with sufficient opposition at the others.

After this success, the assailants endeavoured to make themselves masters of the great tower near the gate, which, after a furious battery, was assaulted on the 28th, and a mine sprung at the same time that had been sunk betwixt the tower and the wall, which made a very great breach and choaked up the avenue to the tower in such a manner, that it was cut off from the city and deprived of all succour. But Captain *Ollava*, with an ensign, who was upon guard there, bravely maintained it : whilst the Marquis and Governor took no less pains to have the rubbish removed, in order to assist them : for which purpose, their men worked with such diligence, that they cleared a passage before night, through which eighty *Irish* and as many *Italians* entered to relieve the former guards, who being fatigued with the defence, and roughly handled by the enemy, were obliged to retire. The sap, however, at last effected what the valour and utmost efforts of the besiegers could not, for in less than four days after, they were in possession not only of the tower, but of the wall adjoining to it : not was it long before they got upon the rampart also, where, besides the first half-moon raised by *Gagliedo*, *Federico Pacciotto* had likewise thrown up two others, just in the front of the assailants, which prevented them from advancing any further at that time.

During these operations, the King having received intelligence that Commissary *Contrera*, with several other commanders, had set out from *Doway* to reconnoitre his camp, and the roads to it, left the care of the army to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and went in person with Marshal *Biron* and six hundred horse, on the 29th of *August* in the evening, to meet them, ordering the Count *D'Auvergne* to follow him the next day with eight hundred horse more. He himself led the way at the head of an hundred Gentlemen, and the *Sieur De Montigny* followed him at some distance with the rest ; in which manner he pursued his march till he arrived at the top of a hill about eight o'clock on the 31st in the morning, where he saw the enemy, who had suddenly come out of a wood, ready drawn up in his front. The space betwixt them was but very small, and he was determined not to retire : so that, as they were much superior to him in numbers, he thought it necessary to shew so much the more courage, and having put down his beaver, advanced on a round trot to charge them.

1597. them. So bold a step had a very good effect; for the *Spaniards*, astonished at such an attack, and imagining the *French* would not have been so courageous if they had not a greater force near at hand, immediately wheeled about without making any resistance, and were pursued by the King till they came to a little river, that runs from *Miraumont*, and falls into the *Somme* near *Corbie*, which they passed in a precipitate manner, and afterwards taking several ways, escaped with much difficulty to *Bapaulme*, though they had only eleven men and a Captain of horse killed, and some few taken prisoners. But this did not wholly answer the King's design: for Count *Giacopo Belgioioso* and *Emanuello de la Vega*, who had but few men with them, having passed by him another way without being met or observed, got so near the camp, that they had a sufficient opportunity of taking particular notice of every thing, and returned with a very minute account of what they had seen, to the Cardinal Archduke.

The King at his return to the camp, expecting an army would now soon be sent to relieve the town, caused the works to be carried on with so much expedition, that on the 4th of *September* his forces made an attempt to storm the half-moons, which, though it did not succeed, was attended with very great prejudice to the garrison: for whilst the Governor *Portocarrero* was advancing to succour his men there, he received a musket-ball under his cuirass on the left side, and instantly dropped down dead upon the ground: which loss was very grievous indeed to the besieged, and even lamented by his enemies, who held his extraordinary valour in admiration.

The Marquis *De Montenegro* succeeded him in his command, and with equal courage and resolution assumed the charge of the defence: for the continuance of which *Alonso Rivera* and Captain *Durando* entered the half-moons; and on the other side, Monsieur *De St. Luc* with the regiment of *Navarre*, and the Marshal *De Biron* with a body of *English*, drew two trenches from the middle of the rampart, in order to make their approaches to the fortifications on each flank, and to come at the works in their front, where both the Marquis and *Federico Pacciotto* continually attended in person: and as the *French* infantry were in a great measure worn down by continual labour and hard duty, and many of them sick, the gens d'armes, cuirassiers, and light horse, cheerfully undertook to do the same duty, working with spades and mattocks, and fighting with pikes and muskets. Whilst these trenches were carrying on, Monsieur *De St. Luc* going into the works to forward them, on the 8th of *September*, received a shot in the head from a harquebuss, and was carried dead into the camp: at which the King was exceedingly affected, as he had a very great esteem for him, on account of his valour and

and other good qualities: for beside his military skill and experience, he was a man of letters, of a graceful person, mature in council, bold in action, engaging in his conversation, and in every respect a most accomplished Gentleman. The works that were in the front of the trenches were stormed on the 12th, and though the assault lasted from sun-rise till two in the afternoon, yet the besiegers did not gain any advantage at all: but whilst they were preparing to redouble their attacks on the following days, in hopes of wearying out the besieged, the arrival of the *Spanish* army diverted their attention from these designs, and called them off to still more dangerous service.

The Cardinal Archduke had met with many difficulties in drawing an army together: for after the *Spanish* Ministers had revised the accounts of those that had lent money to the King, they treated them with such unseasonable rigour, that the merchants stopped their hands and would advance no more for the payment of his forces: so that it was very late before those that were to come out of *Italy* under the command of *Alphonso D'Avalos* could move: and those that were raised in *Germany* were slow in assembling. The Cardinal, however, having overcome all impediments by his wonderful diligence and application, reviewed his whole army at *Doway* (the appointed rendezvous) towards the end of *August*, which consisted of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse: and though the States of *Holland* made a considerable progress in several parts, especially in *Friezland* and the county of *Brabant*, yet, as he either had such instructions from the court of *Spain*, or was more inclined to keep and defend what he himself had acquired during the time of his command, he resolved to postpone all other interests to the relief of *Amiens*: being likewise desirous to save the lives of so many brave men as were shut up in it, and hoping to get very great honour, if he could make the King of *France* retire, who lay before it with all the forces of his kingdom united.

With this resolution, having left *Doway* in the beginning of *September*, with a large train of artillery, and vast preparations of pontoons, carriages, and ammunition, he came to *Arras*; where, after he had considered the reports made by *Belgioioso* and *De la Vega*, he called a council of war to consult what were the most proper measures to be taken to relieve *Amiens*, or to raise the *French* army. Some advised him to pass the river with his army below *Corbie* and advance towards the east side of it, which was not invested by the King: for if he could throw a powerful relief into the city without resistance, he would have no occasion to hazard a battle, and the King's attempts being vigorously opposed by those fresh supplies, must of course prove ineffectual, especially as the winter was coming on. But the majority of the commanders were of opinion,

1597. opinion, that to march into a country now entirely laid waste and surrounded by so many of the enemy's towns, was to besiege themselves: for if the King, who was master of all the passes upon the river, should cut off their retreat, he would either starve them, or force them to some desperate resolution. These objections determined him to move directly towards the *French* camp by way of *Dourlans*, in hopes, that if the King should leave his camp and advance to meet him, he should find some opportunity of succouring the town: for which purpose he proceeded to *Dourlans* on the 12th of *September*, and there having gathered together a sufficient quantity of provisions, not only to support his own army, but to relieve the town also, if he could force a way into it, he began his march towards the enemy, early in the morning of the 14th.

The first troops of horse were led by *Ludovico Melzi* and *Ambrogio Landriano*, with the flying squadron betwixt them, consisting of four thousand *Spaniards* and *Italians*, under the command of *Diego Pimentello*: in the front of which were above two hundred officers armed with pikes and corslets. Three battalions of infantry came next, two of them *Spanish*, conducted by *Carlo Colombo* and *Ludovico Velasco*; and the third, of *Wal-loons*, which was in the center, headed by the Count *De Buquoy*. Then followed the main battle, in which were the Duke of *Aumale*, the Count *De Sore*, and the Prince of *Orange*. *Alonso Mendoza* brought up the rear with his squadron, which consisted of two *Spanish* regiments. The artillery was guarded by the three first squadrons, and on each flank of the army the baggage waggons were ranged and chained together, as the Duke of *Parma's* discipline had taught them. The office of Major-General was executed by *Peter Ernest* Count of *Mansfelt*, a grey headed venerable old man, who was obliged to take that charge upon him, as *Monfieur De Rhosne* was killed by a cannon-ball a few months before at the siege of *Hulst*: but not being able to ride on horseback, he was carried in an open litter. The Archduke likewise travelled in the same manner, attended by the Duke of *Arescot* and the High Admiral of *Arragon* to consult with upon occasion.

In the mean time the King, whose army was so increased by the arrival of the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* with fresh forces, that it amounted to about nineteen thousand foot and above eight thousand horse, having put strong garrisons into *Corbie* and *Pequigny*, to obstruct the passage of the river, resolved, by the advice of Marshal *Biron*, to go and meet the enemy in the field with all his cavalry; for as he thought himself much superior to them both in the number and goodness of his horse, he judged it the best way to keep them at a distance from his infantry, in which he did not put much confidence. But whilst he was getting ready to take horse, the Duke of *Mayenne* came in, and being informed

of the King's design, said loud enough to be heard by many, "That 1597. whosoever gave his Majesty such advice, did not know what sort of an enemy they had to deal with, and that if he ventured out with his cavalry only to engage a potent and veteran army, he would certainly be defeated, by which his infantry, being left destitute and exposed, would be cut off, his camp lost, so many toils and hardships undergone to fortify it, entirely thrown away, and his kingdom staked upon one single throw of the dice." And the King asking, "What then was to be done?" the Duke made answer, "That they were come thither to reduce *Amiens*, and ought to attend only so that, and keeping the army secure in their forts, leave the Archduke to run the risk of attacking and endeavouring to drive them from thence." But the King objecting, "That the enemy would then pass the river and relieve the besieged:" the Duke replied, "Your Majesty may be very easy about that matter, for they will neither pass the river, nor can they force these trenches." The King, therefore, to the great mortification of Marshal *Biron* (who was always inclined to bold undertakings) determined to stay where he was, and leave the defence of the camp to the conduct of the Duke of *Mayenne*: who presently ordered fifteen hundred foot to pass the river, under the command of Monsieur *De Vic*, to take possession of, and throw up a trench round a church which stood on the other side, a little more than a mile from the town: and having posted many corps de garde along the banks of the river, went himself to *Longpré* to fortify it in a better manner. The foot were stationed in the forts and trenches, and the cavalry drawn up in battalia, under the command of the guns upon their own works.

The Archduke lay that night with his whole army at *Betricourt* abbey, where he caused a general discharge of his artillery to be made, as a signal to the city that relief was at hand: and Monsieur *De Montigny*, who had been patrolling with the *French* light horse in the sight of the enemy, came into the camp about midnight, and having acquainted the King where the *Spaniards* lay, and that he supposed they would appear the next day, was ordered into his quarters to refresh the horse, which were not a little jaded with the duty of the two last days. The next day, which was the 15th of *September*, the first troops of the Archduke's army came in sight, about one in the afternoon; and having passed a water that was fordable two leagues above *Amiens*, left *Pequigny* upon the right hand, and bending their course towards the left, made a feint of marching directly to *Longpré*. Upon which, the sutlers and soldiers boys, and many others of that sort of people, who lodged there for greater convenience, took to their heels and ran to save themselves in the camp in so precipitate a manner, that the foot, who did not know *Montigny*

1597. had returned in the night, thought he had been routed, and was then flying before the enemy: which threw them into a panic, and made them quit the trenches in such haste, that neither the Constable nor the Duke of *Espernon* could stop them from following their ensigns (who ran away faster than any of the rest) to the river, on that side which looks towards *Abbeville*.

By this time the *Spanish* flying squadron had advanced in sight of the trenches, and the experienced officers that were in the front of it, perceiving this disorder and the flight of the ensigns, shouted, *Victory, victory, battle, battle*. And though the Archduke heard their shouts, and was desirous to have the trenches immediately assaulted, yet he at last resolved to make a halt, by the persuasion of the Admiral of *Aragon* and the Duke of *Arscot*, who advised him not to give way to the precipitation of the soldiery, who were always eager to engage without any consideration, but to proceed with due caution, and first to reconnoitre the condition of the *French*.

But the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* taking advantage of this delay, extended the cavalry of the vanguard to hinder the enemy from seeing the trenches, and the cannoneers fired without intermission, that the smoak might conceal the disorder their men were in, and give them time to rally: whilst the Marshal *De Biron* galloped as fast as he could from one place to another to make the infantry sensible of their error, and pointing with his finger, to shew them that the enemy had made a halt in the middle of the field, soon persuaded them all to return to their posts. In this manner the Archduke, by too much caution and circumspection in his Counsellors, lost the opportunity of gaining a glorious and compleat victory, which at his first appearance had been so obvious even to his private Captains.

The Marquis *De Montenegro* perceived the advantage as well as they, and was ready to have sallied upon the *French* that were in the trenches in the fosse, and upon the ramparts over-against his works: but he found that the regiment of *Navarre* that guarded them had not moved, and that the *Swiss*, who were encamped something lower, stood likewise firm in battalia.

The rest of that day passed in various skirmishes in the field, which the King caused to be renewed with great vigour every hour, to keep the enemy in play, as he apprehended the Archduke had still a design to attack his trenches: but the *Spanish* Commanders represented to him, that it was necessary in the first place to engage so great a strength of cavalry that were drawn up on the outside of the works, and defended by so many pieces of cannon, that it was in vain to think of defeating them: the breast-works and forts, they also said, were so high, that they had
not

not seen stronger quarters for many years. It was therefore resolved at night to make some other attempt, and on the 16th in the morning, the Count *De Buquoy* with his squadron, and a great number of boats carried upon waggons, advanced towards the bank of the river in order to pass it: but the guards which the Duke of *Mayenne* had placed there gave them so warm a reception, that though the enemy made several attacks upon them in different places, and the *Walloons* were sometimes very near succeeding in their design, yet after they had laboured all day to no purpose, they were at last forced to retire.

In the mean time the King had pretty well harrassed them on the other side also, both with his cavalry and artillery; for having caused seven culverines to be drawn up to the top of an eminence in the rear of his vanguard, he played upon them from thence with such effect, that the Cardinal having had two different sets of mules killed by them, which were harnessed to his litter, was obliged to mount a horse, whilst his cavalry were grievously galled on all sides. The *Spanish* artillery likewise kept a constant fire; but as their elevation was too great, they did little or no execution. In the variety of skirmishes that continually happened in the field, it was observed, that when cuirassiers were engaged with cuirassiers, or carbines with carbines, the *French* almost always had the advantage: but when they were attacked by the *Flemish* and *Burgundian* gens d'armes, they were obliged to give way to the shock of the lances. To prevent this, which often proved fatal to the Noblesse, the King himself rode up to the head of his squadrons, and ordered the cuirassiers not to join so close together as usual when they skirmished, but to leave a good space open betwixt each other: and after this had been often tried, it was found, that when the lances did not meet so firm a resistance, their impetuosity had little effect: an expedient that was of very great service, as they general skirmished in small troops, and in a field where they could easily open in that manner, and the enemy's lances were but few in comparison of the *French* cavalry.

Towards the evening another trench was finished, at which the Duke of *Mayenne* had laboured all that day, in order to block up the way to *Longpré*: so that now the Count *De Buquoy's* attempt had failed, and there was no longer any hope of passing the river, since neither *Longpré* had been assaulted, nor the King's quarters attacked the first day, the Commanders of the *Spanish* army (by whose advice the Cardinal Archduke was governed) determined to retire the same way they had advanced, before the provisions which they brought with them were consumed, and their army reduced to extremities: for the country was so desolated, that for fifteen leagues round about them, there was nothing to be found that was fit for the sustenance either of men or horse.

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The next morning it plainly appeared they had raised their camp, by the baggage and sutlers which covered all the road towards *Dourlans*: upon which the King, resolving not to let the enemy draw off unmolested, sent two squadrons of horse, flanked with two others of carbineers to fall upon them in the rear: but the sun being many hours high, when the army began to move, they saw them make their retreat in such admirable order, that, as their main design was to prosecute the siege of *Amiens*, the King himself thought it most prudent not to attempt any thing else; in which opinion all the rest of his Commanders concurred with him. The *Spanish* army had changed the order of its march, so that *Alonso Mendoza* now led the vanguard (if the first divisions that retire can be called a vanguard) and the flying squadron was the last in the rear guard to cover their retreat. The pikes were in the center of this, and a large wing of musketers on each flank, which made a curve something like a crescent with its horns towards the enemy, so that they could not approach to charge it without first receiving a storm of musket-balls, and after that they had a firm battalion in front to encounter, which made a formidable appearance, brandishing their pikes, and seeming determined to give them a warm reception: and if any body of cavalry made a feint of attacking the wings of the squadron, *Melzi's* and *Landriano's* squadrons of horse presently advanced, which, with two bodies of lances flanked with carbines, were to sustain the shock, till the musketers could have time to load again, and put themselves in order to return to the charge. In this manner the pikemen began their march with their pikes upon the left shoulder, and instantly facing about at any little beat of the drum, proceeded so leisurely, that it was above two hours before they had moved half a mile: in which time the King's light horse made several attacks upon them, but were always furiously repulsed by the last ranks of the flying squadron with considerable loss. At last Monsieur *De Montigny* having obtained leave to skirmish with them, the *Spanish* squadron made a halt every now and then, and poured in such showers of small shot upon his light horse, that they were forced to wheel off, and being vigorously charged at the same time by the carbines who sallied out of each flank, they were driven back even to the King's squadrons, which still gently advanced as the enemy retired, more for the reputation of the thing, than for any damage they were able to do them. Above forty of the light horse were killed, and many more wounded, amongst whom the *Sieur De Coquirvillier* received a musket-ball in the right arm. But after this last charge, the King's squadrons halted for a while, and the *Spaniards* quickened their pace till they were got out of cannon-shot, when they shouldered their pikes and muskets, and continued their march without further care or concern. However,
when

when they arrived at a water which they were obliged to repass, the King himself pushed forwards with all his cavalry, in hopes that impediment would have given him an opportunity of throwing them into disorder: but the flying squadron instantly facing about, made a stand in their front till the rest of the army was got over, and then passed the water themselves up to the knees, without the least impediment or confusion in their ranks. So fine a retreat in the face of so many large and powerful squadrons of the enemy's horse which covered the field, so astonished the King, that he could not help publicly declaring, "That no other soldiers in the universe could have done the like: and that if he had their infantry joined to his own cavalry, he should not be afraid of engaging the forces of all the Princes in the world united." But as soon as they had passed the water, the King did not care that so many of his troops should proceed any further, but sent back part of the horse for the defence of the camp: yet he himself, with the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier*, the Marshal *De Biron* and the rest of the cavalry, set out again in the evening to watch the motions of the *Spanish* army. The Archduke lay that night at the abbey of *Betricourt* again, and the next day passing by *Dourlans*, marched directly to *Arras*, with a design to turn his attention to the affairs of *Flanders*, since he had failed in his attempt to relieve the besieged at *Amiens*.

At the King's return to the camp, he sent a herald to tell the Marquis of *Montenegro*, "That now he had seen the issue of the relief he expected, he thought it high time for him to surrender: and that as he was desirous to save the lives of so many gallant soldiers, he would grant him honourable terms." But the Marquis, though he already had the Archduke's leave to capitulate, in a letter which he privately received from him by a soldier's boy, was yet determined to hear the opinions of the other Commanders upon that point: and they having unanimously agreed, that now the contagion in the city was grown so mortal, their match almost wholly spent, the garrison reduced to a very small number, and the enemy in possession of the rampart, there was no possibility of maintaining the place any longer, he returned for answer, "That he desired a safe conduct for an officer to go to the Archduke to know his further pleasure:" which being courteously granted, he dispatched *Federico Pacciotto* for that purpose, who returned with an ample commission for him to capitulate: so that after a short treaty, he agreed to surrender, upon the following conditions. "That the monuments of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* and all the rest of the Commanders slain in the siege, should not be violated, nor the inscriptions upon them erased, and that the *Spaniards* should have liberty to remove them when they so pleased. That all the soldiers in the city should march out in battalia, with colours fly-

ing,

1597. ing, drums beating, trumpets founding, and should be furnished by the King with waggons to carry their baggage and sick men as far as *Dourlens*. That if any sick or wounded man should be left behind, he should have good care taken of him, and suffered to depart whenever he had a mind. That the soldiers should not be obliged to pay for any medicines they had been supplied with in the city, nor for two thousand weight of musket-ball, which they had taken up from private men and expended. That all the prisoners on both sides should be released without any ransom. That the townsmen who were inclined to stay there should not be oppressed, but treated as good subjects, upon taking a fresh oath of allegiance to the King of *France*; and those that chose to march out with the garrison should have full liberty so to do. That there should be a truce for the six next ensuing days, at the expiration of which they would deliver up the city, if they were not relieved with at least two thousand men: and that in the mean time, they should give a *Spanish*, an *Italian*, and a *Walloon* Commander, as hostages for the performance of these articles.

The * serjeant-major carried the conditions to the Archduke, and soon after returned with his ratification of them: in consequence of which, the garrison marched out of *Amiens*, on the 25th of *September*, to the number of eighteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, with the Marquis *De Montenegro* at the head of them, gallantly accoutred and mounted upon a fine charger, with a battoon in his hand; and when he arrived at the place, where the King and the whole army in battalia stood waiting to receive him, he dismounted, and laying down his battoon, kissed the King's knee, and said loud enough to be heard by all the by-standers, "That he delivered up the town into the hands of a Prince that was a soldier, since the King his master had not been pleased to send Commanders that were so to relieve it:" a speech that gave every one occasion to reflect, that if the *Spanish* army had either advanced at first on the other side of the river, or taken the advantage which fortune had presented them with, during the disorder in the trenches, the siege must certainly have been raised. The King answered, "That he had defended the place like a soldier, and now restored it to its lawful Sovereign like a man of honour." Besides so handsome a compliment, he treated both him and all the rest of the Commanders with very great respect, desiring to know their names as they passed by him one by one, and hav-

* The *Serjeant-Majors* and *Serjeant-Major-Generals* in the *French* service, seem formerly to have been what we now call *Adjutants* and *Adjutant-Generals* in our army, vid. p. 119. l. 1. vol. ii. Whether they have any officers so called at present, and whether I am right in this conjecture or not, I must leave to be decided by better judges of the matter.

ing dismissed them with the applause of the whole army, he took care to have them safely conveyed to *Dourlans*. 1597.

The first that entered *Amiens* were the Constable (to whom the possession of it was delivered) the Marshal *De Biron* and the Duke of *Montbassin*, and next to them the King himself, who, after he had been to perform his devotions in the cathedral church, gave the government of the town to Monsieur *De Vic*, and hastened out of it again as fast as he could, for fear of the contagion, and with a design to march after the Archduke: but he, after a stay of only two days at the passage of the river *Auts*, had by this time got safe within the walls of *Arras*.

On the 26th an accident happened which would have created great confusion if it had fallen out sooner, but at this time proved rather a matter of merriment than otherwise: for so furious a fire broke out on a sudden in the King's quarters (the cause of which was not known) that it presently burnt down all the soldiers huts, which yet was not of the least prejudice either to them or their baggage, because they had then decamped and were ready to march. On the contrary, every one rejoiced at it as a bonfire, and many looked upon it as a good omen of future peace: in which hopes they were confirmed by what immediately followed: for the General of the order of *St. Francis* returned from the court of *Spain* about this time, with dispatches for the Cardinal Archduke, which occasioned an interview upon the confines of *Picardy* and the county of *Artois*, betwixt Secretary *Villeroy* on the King's behalf, and President *Riccardotto* for the Archduke, where it was agreed, that the Cardinal Legate, *Francisco Gonzaga* Bishop of *Mantua*, Nuncio from the Pope, and Deputies on both sides, should meet at *Vervins* (a place famous for several treaties that had formerly been concluded there) and use their endeavours to establish a peace.

What inclined his Catholick Majesty to listen to proposals of peace, was the bad state of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, which had been neglected for two years together, and were now declining very fast: so that he was reduced to a necessity of attending to the defence of his own dominions, instead of invading those of others. To this was added, the extreme want of money he was then in, which had forced him to suspend all payments this year, to the great prejudice of his credit and reputation, and the utter ruin of such merchants as had lent large sums to the Crown. The desire of firmly establishing his son in the succession was likewise a motive of no small weight with him: for as he was now far advanced in years, and knew he could not live much longer, according to the common course of nature, he was afraid of leaving his successor, who was then very young, embroiled in a troublesome and dangerous war, with a Prince of maturer age, more powerful in forces, of great

1597. great experience in military affairs, and so remarkably fortunate in all his undertakings. His adherents likewise gave out, that now he saw life declining, he was extremely desirous to make peace with his conscience, by a restitution of what did not justly belong to him, and to see Christendom in tranquillity before he died; which seems probable enough, from the well known equity and moderation of that Prince in all his actions. However, it is most certain, that the retaking of *Amiens* confirmed him in his disposition to peace, and induced even the Cardinal Archduke (who was to marry the Infanta *Isabella*, and to have the sovereignty of the *Low Countries* in dower with her) to come into any measures that would secure him from a war with so puissant and formidable an enemy as the King of *France*.

After this conference was agreed upon, Secretary *Villeroy* returned to the King, who, following his good fortune, was encamped before *Dourlans*: for having advanced to the very walls of *Arras*, and filled the whole country with terror, he began to be aware that he could not leave the towns in *Picardy* behind him still in the enemies hands, without exposing himself to great danger, and therefore had invested *Dourlans* as the nearest of them, the reduction of which he knew would be of wonderful advantage to him. But the rains of autumn very much incommoded him; and his army, which till then had been healthful, now began to be visited with the bloody flux and contagious disorders. His Treasurers likewise represented to him, that they had no more money left to pay his troops: so that he resolved to disband them, and apply himself wholly to forward a peace, the desire of which he no longer concealed, now his affairs were in so prosperous a condition, and he had given full satisfaction both to his own honour and the expectations of his people.

This mutual desire of peace in both Princes greatly facilitated the treaty: but the Duke of *Savoy's* interests in some measure retarded it. For though the war had been very hot, and attended with various success during the two last years, rather to his disadvantage than otherwise: and notwithstanding Monsieur *De les Diguieres* had not only reduced *St. John de Morienne* and all that valley in the *Alpes*, but had made an incursion into *Piedmont* to ravage and lay waste that country: yet the Duke, being still resolved to retain the marquisate of *Saluzzo*, raised many difficulties on purpose to obstruct a peace.

The conference, however, was opened at *Vervins*, where Monsieur *De Bellieure* and President *Sillery* appeared for the King of *France*: and President *Riccardotto*, *Juan Battista Tassis*, and *Ludovico Verrichen*, Auditor of *Brabant*, on behalf of his Catholick Majesty. The *French* Deputies came along with the Pope's Nuncio, and the *Spanish* with the General of the *Franciscans*. The Cardinal Legate also met them there, and all

all disputes about precedency being settled by him, they proceeded to business in the beginning of *February* 1598, a year appointed by divine Providence to close the wounds and put an end to a calamitous course of forty years war.

Each side earnestly wished for peace, and great was the authority of the Legate with both, nor was there much altercation betwixt them about the conditions. For the *Spaniards* willingly consented to restore *Ardres*, *Dourlans*, *La Capelle*, *Castelet*, and *Montaulin* in *Picardy*, *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, and only desired to retain *Calais* till the war with the *Hollanders* was ended, for which they offered to give the *French* an equivalent in the mean time: the *French*, on the contrary, insisted upon having *Calais* and *Cambray* freely restored, and also revived some old claims upon the confines of *Flanders*. But the *Spaniards* remonstrated, that all former pretensions were settled by the peace concluded betwixt the two Crowns at *Chateau Cambresis* in the year 1559, and that *Cambray* was not properly within the jurisdiction of the King of *France*, but of the Archbishop there, and violently wrested from him by the Duke of *Alençon*, not many years before: wherefore, as it was a free town the King could not pretend any right to it, especially since it had always been under the protection of the possessor of the *Low Countries*, not in consequence of an absolute sovereignty over it, but a conditional one, and founded upon compact. With this answer the *French* were so well satisfied, that they gave up all title to *Cambray*: and the *Spaniards* with the same readiness waved their demand of retaining *Calais*. So that the only difficulty now remaining was, that the King of *France* insisted that *Blavet* should be restored in the condition it then was, with all the artillery and ammunition which were in it: and the *Spaniards* demanded, that the fort they had built there should be totally demolished, and liberty granted them to carry away the artillery and other things of their own which they had brought thither. But this obstacle was also soon removed: for as the treaty was conducted with great sincerity, the *French* complied with this demand, which they were sensible was not an unreasonable one.

All other matters were of small importance in comparison with these: so that little else remained to be done, except to take care of the interests of their allies. For as the King of *France* was desirous that the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland* should be comprehended in the treaty, the King of *Spain* would likewise have had the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Merceur* included in it. This occasioned a sharp dispute: for the *French* would not consent to the inclusion of the Duke of *Merceur*, who, they said, was the King's own subject; and the *Spaniards* answered, that the States of *Holland* were also his Catholick Majesty's subjects. Upon which they began to upbraid each other with abetting rebels, and at last grew

1598. so warm, that they could not help expressing their resentment in very angry and severe terms: however, at the Cardinal Legate's interposition they agreed to acquaint their respective Princes with the affair, and to wait for their instructions. But these differences were ended in a few days: for the King having left the Constable with some forces in *Picardy*, was gone in person to *Angiers*, to draw his army together and march with it into *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Mercur*, therefore, now seeing all his designs ruined, and thinking it would be very unwise in him to stick out till he was either totally ruined or forced to a compliance, at last came into an agreement, by which he delivered up that part of *Bretagne*, that was in his possession, to the King, on condition that his only daughter should be married to the King's natural son, and that he himself should have a satisfactory compensation in money and pensions: so that there was no longer any occasion for his Catholick Majesty to use his good offices to have him included in the peace. Nor was it necessary to stickle much for the Queen of *England* and the States of *Holland*: for after they had both done all that lay in their power to prevent the treaty from being concluded, they were so highly dissatisfied with the King, who, they said, had promised in the confederacy which he had entered into with them the year before, not to make any agreement without their consent, that they declared they would not be comprehended as allies, nor listen to any peace with the King of *Spain*.

The last obstacle that remained to be got over was the Duke of *Savoy's* claim, which had like to have overset the whole treaty when it was upon the very point of being concluded: for the Marquis *De Lullin*, the Duke's Ambassador, being admitted into the conference, said, "That President *Sillery*, one of the Deputies there present, had treated of an accommodation with the Duke a year ago, and that the King then seemed contented that he should hold the marquisate of *Saluzzo* in fee from the Crown of *France*." To which the President made answer, "That what he said was very true, and that the King indeed had been so inclined, but that it was at a time when the state of his affairs made it necessary for him at any rate to detach the Duke from the King of *Spain*: and that the Marquis very well knew it was upon some conditions, which he would not divulge at present for fear of raising discord amongst friends;" hinting, that the Duke had offered to make war upon the State of *Milan*, provided he might keep the marquisate. This occasioned so much debate, that the treaty seemed likely to be utterly dissolved: but the General of the *Franciscans* going to the King, and *Juan Battista Tassis* to the Archduke, returned in a few days, and entered into an agreement, that the Duke and the King should retain what they possessed at that time, and that the difference concerning the marquisate should be referred to the

the Pope, who should give judgment upon it in the space of one year; 1598. after which, all that each held of the other's should be mutually restored. The Marquis, however, would not consent that the King should retain the valley of *Morienne*, nor ratify the agreement without acquainting the Duke, who was of so obstinate and inflexible a disposition, that it would have been almost impossible to surmount this impediment, if mere chance had not happily removed it: for the Duke in the mean time had recovered *Morienne* with a great slaughter of *Les Diguieres's* forces: and on the other hand *Les Diguieres* took a fort which the Duke had built near *Grenoble*, and not only put the garrison to the sword, but entirely demolished it. So that as the Duke was now in possession of no other place in *Provence*, besides the town of *Berre*, it was agreed, that he should restore that, and leave the affair of the marquissate to be decided by the Pope.

The treaty was accordingly concluded and signed by the Deputies on the 2d of *May*, with an express article that it should not be published till a month after: for the King of *France* wished to have the *English* and *Holland* Ambassadors first gone from court, that it might not be done so immediately before their eyes: and the Archduke was desirous that it might be postponed till he could receive a ratification of the agreement concerning *Flatz*, from the court of *Spain*. At the expiration of that term, peace was proclaimed at *Paris* on the 7th of *June*, at *Amiens* the same day in the presence of the Legate and the King's Deputies, and also at *Brussels* by previous appointment: every one rejoicing that the kingdom of *France*, after it had been so long distracted by contending factions, and desolated by forty years of ruinous and bloody wars, was at last entirely reunited under a Catholick *French* King, to enjoy the fruits and blessings of peace for the future, as a comfort after so many past miseries and afflictions.

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